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The Modern Review

V. 77

1945

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पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या
पुस्तक संख्या
आगत पंजिका संख्या

January 1945
to
December 1945

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

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THE MODERN REVIEW

1945

January, February, March, April, May-June.
July-August, September October
November, December 1945

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THE MODERN REVIEW

1945 :: JANUAR

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

A New Source of Maratha History : *Sir Jadunath Sarkar*

Some Non-Political Achievements of the Congress : *H. C. Mookerjee*

The Negotiations and After : *D. N. Banerjee*

The World and the War (*illust.*): *K. N. Chatterji*

War Nurseries (*illust.*) : *Cicely Fraser*

The Golconda Fort (*illust.*) : *M. Fathulla Khan*

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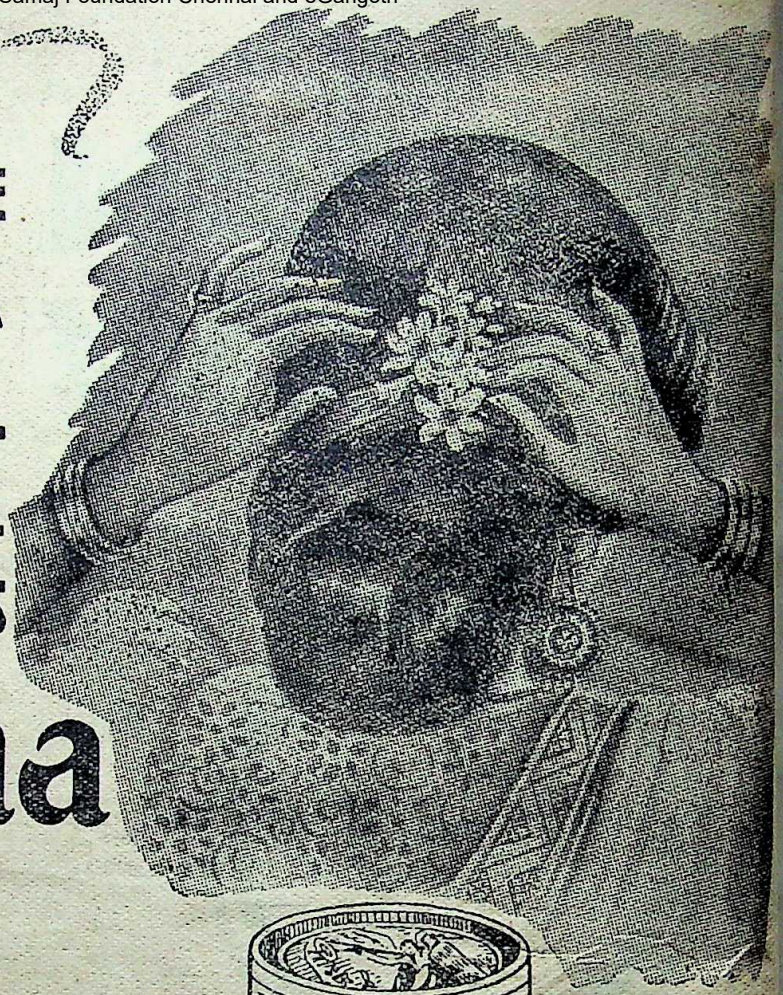

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This irrigation gate in the Western U. S. State of Colorado controls the flow of water into the canal which carries water to miles of farm fields

The main canal in an irrigation project in the western State of Oregon supplies about 65,000 acres of farm land with irrigation water

Courtesy: USOWI

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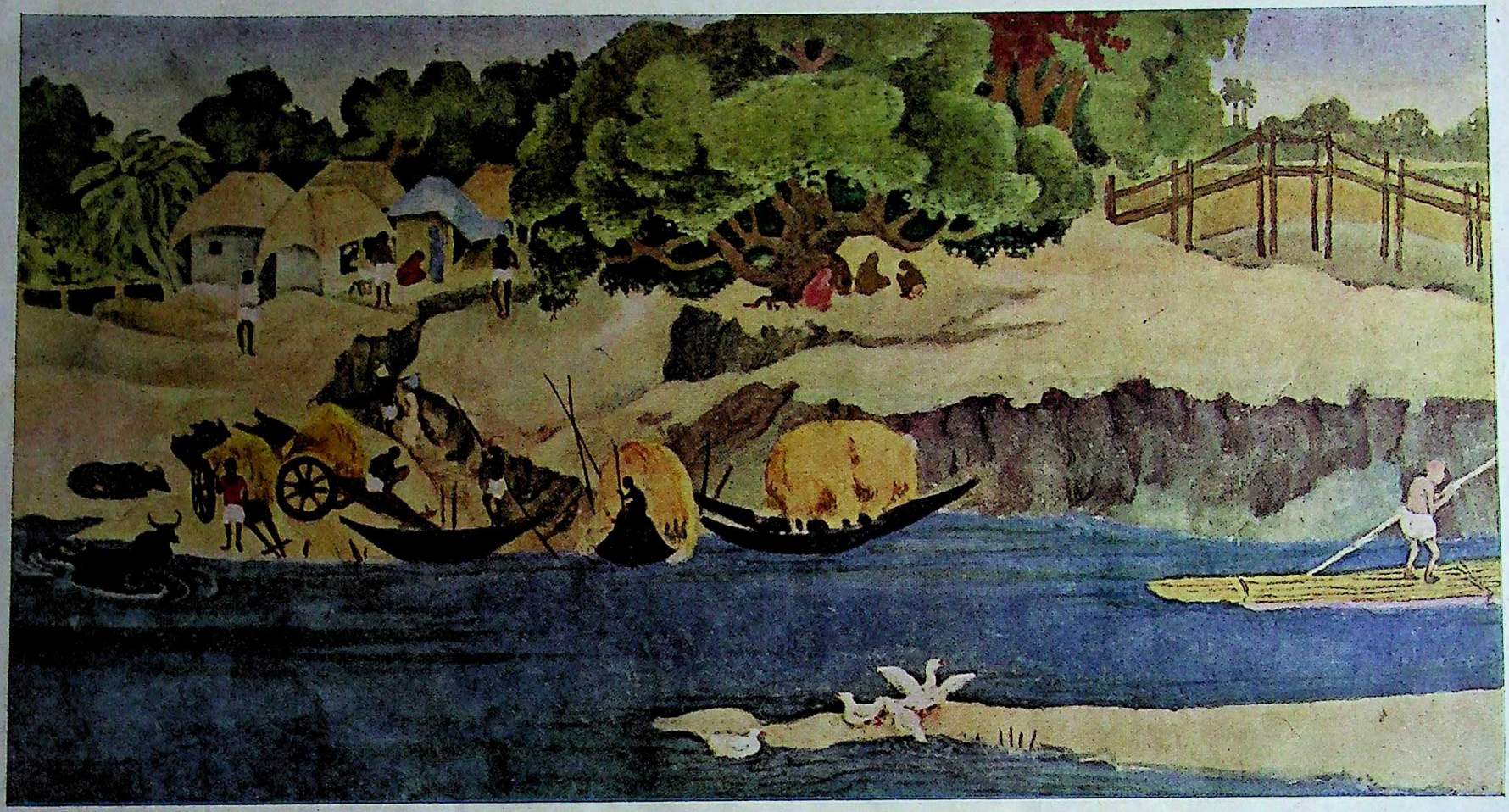

AFTER HARVEST
Nihar Ranjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

1945

The Old Year is dragging out its miserable course to an end as we pen these columns. But what are the portents for the New Year, do they bear any augury of the dawn of peace and, what is still more important, of the return of sanity to this unhappy planet of ours ? We are no prophets nor do we possess the ability to see into the dim and murky future any further than the average man, but judging by the history of the Post-World-War I period, we are constrained to say that in 1945—and probably for a full decade thereafter—this world will remain the same sinful, passion-torn, power-lust riven, inferno as it has been ever since the beginning of this century.

When the Democracies were hard-pressed, there came forth from the lips of those who were leading the nations of the world to fight the war-to-end-aggression, promises of a rosy, prosperous and peaceful Post-War-World. There would be no more war, no more exploitation. no more subjugation of man by man they said, and the Ether veritably throbbed with the broadcasts about Atlantic Charter, the Four-Freedoms and so on and so forth. Came the turning of the tide against the Axis and with it started the slow dispersal into the thin air of the Most Glorious Vision of the Post-War World. Into 1945 will continue the disillusionment of this weary world, we make bold to say, that started in 1944. In India we had even an earlier start with Mr. Churchill's unequivocal statement about India being outside the pale, so far as the Atlantic Charter was concerned. That helped us to assess the full value of Western ethics. The rest of the world started to learn the lesson in 1944. Stalin being the first preceptor with his strong-arm exposition on Poland, Mr. Churchill following up with his tutorial dissertations in Parliament and Mr. Roosevelt ably summing up with his "de-bunking" of the "Atlantic Charter."

Who are we to malign the Great thus, and whom do we represent, it may well be asked. Well, we represent all of that great tribe, the tribe of Nobodies composed of those vast masses of suffering, voiceless and submerged humanity who possess little of the birthrights of man beyond the classification of Homo Sapiens, and who are amongst the worst suzerers from the wars waged by the power-lust maddened "followers" of the Apostle of Peace. And how dare we pronounce judgment ? We do not judge but like bits of straws we merely point the way the wind is blowing, and what with the partition of Poland, the propaganda campaign against China to deny her the just fruits of her heroic stand, the intervention in Greece which has raised a storm even in democratic Britain, there is no want of indications. We would rather not say much about the campaign of slander against India in general and Hindus in particular that has been continuously in action for over a century and a half. Abbe Dubois the French Jesuit, subsidized by that most Christian body, the British East India Company, was the first outstanding figure of the last centuy in this matter, in this century we have had the Western Sapphira, Miss Mayo—who wrote so ably about the Philippines as well—and the latest is that remarkable English author Beverley Nichols, who never grew out of his conceited puppyhood. This last scribe has rolled all the great heads of Hindu India into the dust. Mahatma Gandhi he has made into a charlatan and Tagore he has lowered to the state of a "minor poet." Perhaps he later felt that Tagore was a brother scribe, however unworthy—and therefore some amends were due, and so in a moment

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of unctuous charity, he raised the geographical site of Tagore's University, Santiniketan, some thousands of feet up into the Himalayas ! Not content with this remarkable feat of levitation, nor yet with his culinary efforts with truth, this worthy descendant of super-fatted haberdashers delivered a lecture on art and artists in India, and, what is more, had it printed. But since he himself says that he is a follower of Winston Churchill, staunch and true, we shall accept all his statements as being on par, and leave it at that.

We confess that we are not well-versed in International Politics and therefore we have hopes that we are wrong, but the signs of the times do indicate that the seeds of the Third World War are being sown. Neither the Four Freedoms nor the Atlantic Charter seem to be in the offing. The only certainty that seems to be in store for the Post-War World is that fine product of Western culture and civilisation, namely, Power-Politics. And as Western culture —especially the European variety—rests mainly on a cash basis, the troubles of man will be on the increase. The only hope of mankind lies in the hands of Him Who is greater than all the dictators and pro-consuls of the world. In 1945 we can only hope and try to work for our own salvation under His eye. No one will help us unless we strive for it ourselves that much is certain. While there is a war, they are all too pre-occupied with the prosecution of war. After the war they would be too busy scrambling for the spoils.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Address

In his presidential address to the 26th session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Bilaspur (C.P.), Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee struck upon a new note which would no doubt be welcome. At the outset he described in short the systematic destruction of Indian trade and industry and declared : "It is a calumny to say that India has been mainly an agricultural country. Not only was she industrially rich but she sent out materials and finished goods to other parts of the world." He narrated how under the Company as well as under the Crown the 'bleeding' has continued regularised, systematised and camouflaged by "services rendered" in return. Dr. Mookerjee rightly pointed out, a point which is often missed, that India's economic slavery is due to her political subjugation and Swaraj is the first and essential remedy for Indian poverty.

Discussing the political situation in the country, Dr. Mookerjee dilated on several important subjects. Acceptance of office under the present constitution, in his opinion, could never be the be-all and end-all of any political organisation. He said : "I know from my own experience how helpless a provincial Ministry sometimes is to carry into effect any important plan of reform and reorganisation concerning the economic or political rights of the people if the Governor and the permanent officials take it into their heads to obstruct such proposals." In spite of this shortcoming, however, he believed that "a boycott of the constitutional machinery was sometimes more harmful to the interests of the people than its utilisation as a weapon for fighting reactionary forces and for preparing the field for wresting large powers." This is exactly the position the Congress had taken up in 1937. Dr. Mookerjee echoed the voice of the Congress when he said : "Every seat of power has to be captured and the whole machinery worked in a team spirit backed by popular support, so as to prevent avoidable mischief and to advance the good of the people whenever possible. . . . But let there be no misgiving that our real work must remain outside the Legislature."

Dr. Mookerjee boldly declared the Mahasabha's views on the communal question and pointed out their differences with the Congress He disagreed with the C. R. formula and called Gandhiji's attempt to conciliate Mr. Jinnah a fresh Himalayan blunder. He said : "Once we allow religious considerations to determine the sovereignty of particular areas in India which will by no means be confined to one single community following one religion, there will be no peace and progress for us." He brought out the points of unity underlying the Indian civilisation and said that irrespective of provincial barriers or the diversity in faiths and languages there existed a remarkable economic and cultural unity and inter-dependence which could not be destroyed at the dictate of interested parties. He expressed his eager support for ample safeguards to protect the religious and cultural rights of minorities wherever necessary. He explained the Mahasabha's attitude towards Muslims and said that it was not on of hostility or domination. The Muslim League policy was attacked because it was actuated by considerations which would retard progress in India. Here also Dr. Mookerjee stands on the same platform as the Congress.

We welcome the new orientation that Dr. Mookerjee has given towards a uniform nationalistic outlook with the Congress. The foremost leaders of public opinion in this country are slowly coming to the conclusion that the main function of the Congress is that of a Tribunal or rather a forum where all particular differences in the political outlook of the different parties and communities in India would be discussed freely and settled with amity.

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Lord Wavell's Speech

Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery spoke almost simultaneously and in the same vein. Both tried to shift the responsibility for the continuance of the deadlock on Indian shoulders. The Viceroy said :

"It is now once more fashionable to demand a move by HMG 'to solve the deadlock.' But remember that HMG has made two attempts in the last decade. The first was the Constitution Act of 1935—a complete constitution based on years of discussion and research. I agree with Mr. Mealing that had that Act been worked in the right spirit, it would have carried us far, in fact, I think we should now be near the goal. The second attempt was the draft declaration propounded by Sir Stafford Cripps. Both attempts failed.

"After the second failure, HMG said, they could do no more and that India herself must make a constructive suggestion. No such suggestion has yet emerged; and the recent discussion between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah shows how intractable the communal problem still is. I am glad to see that prominent Indians are undertaking further discussion of the problem.

"The previous rejections of their offers must naturally make HMG chary of a further advance until they feel that the spirit of compromise and co-operation is real. But their desire for a solution remains perfectly genuine; and I have tried to indicate lines on which progress might be attempted, if the Indian leaders desire it."

The Act of 1935 has been condemned by the people and stands fully exposed. This Act has taken away India's right to defend her own borders and to conduct her own foreign affairs, to run her railways and to determine her currency and exchange policies in her own interests. By this reactionary Act the Governor-General and the Governors, who previously enjoyed powers of emergency legislation by means of Ordinances for limited periods only, have been granted powers to enact permanent laws in defiance of the Legislatures. India's right to grant protection to her own industries against British competition has been circumvented by the provision for the establishment of (India) Ltds. and by equipping the Governor-General with powers "to prevent commercial discrimination." The martial races of the country have been placed out of the control of popular Legislature by a demarcation of Excluded and partially Excluded Areas to be under the direct administration of the Whitehall through the Governor-General and the provincial Governors. These in a nutshell, are the "Reforms" that India had "gained," which in the Britisher's opinion, marked a "long step forward." The Cripps proposal was even more reactionary in its immediate implications while for the dim future it held out vague promises draped around the sinister project for the vivisection of India. Even the Muslim League, composed mainly of the Government's own men, did not see any virtue in the Cripps proposals and rejected it. In spite of the British Government's pretensions to the contrary, Indian opinion will continue to urge that the initiative for resolving the Indian deadlock lies with Britain and Britain alone.

Lord Wavell on National Government

Lord Wavell told the Associated Chambers of Commerce that it was commonly said that current and post-war problems could only be solved by a National Government, but the precise meaning of the term was seldom or never defined. "I am afraid that to some a National Government may mean a government in which their own particular party is in power. I think of a National Government as one formed to meet a national crisis, in which 'none are for a party but all are for the State,' to quote Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome.*"

The Viceroy was very far from being accurate in saying that the meaning of the true National Government was seldom or never defined. The Congress has defined and explained it in a way which would have convinced anybody except such as are pledged to obduracy. A Government composed of the leaders of the people and responsible to the Legislature with the Governor-General as the constitutional head was the Congress definition of National Government. Congress had made the very important concession in this definition that they did not want complete control over the Defence services during the continuance of the War.

Lord Wavell seems to have a fancy for Macaulay. We quote below a few of his words which, although written a century ago, may be applicable in a fair degree to modern conditions in this country :

"The servants of the company obtained—not for their employers, but for themselves—a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependents, who ranged thru the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while *30 millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness.* They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Suraj ud Dowlah. (Italics ours—Ed. *M. R.*)

The Mining Policy of the Govt. of India

The Government of India's mining policy forms a dark and characteristic chapter of British Indian history. The Geological Survey of India was established in 1845. Dr. Cyril Fox, Director of the Geological Survey in 1942, in the course of a statement made in a conference held on July 6, 1942 and presided over by Sir Firoze

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Khan Noon, called attention to the neglectful policy of the Government of India in regard to the development of India's mineral resources during the past century. The formation of the utilisation branch of the Geological Survey was announced in that conference and Dr. Fox made the astounding revelation there that the importance of geological work on the part of the Government was realised only in the interests of getting bunker coal for the purpose of supplying ships which came from Europe with merchandise to this country. This is what he said: "The work of geologists in India was mainly to promote the export of raw materials rather than to encourage industrial development in this country." The Government evidently took the view that the Department was concerned in getting minerals for export to other countries and was not interested in the question of manufacturing anything out of those minerals. Dr. Fox made a reference to the year 1902 when the Department possessed six specialised mineral experts and was prepared for a big utilisation drive. It was prevented by the Government and the experts were turned into simple mining inspectors!

The Government of India suddenly became active in its Geological Department after Japan entered the war, and particularly after the loss of Malay and Burma. British evacuee mining experts from Burma found ready employment here. The parent bodies under which they had worked in the Burma mines have not gone into liquidation and it is not known whether such evacuees drew salary both from their firms as also from the Government. Mr. K. C. Neogy, speaking in the Central Legislative Assembly on September 14, 1942, expressed a shrewd suspicion that "ultimately the activities of this branch (utilisation) of the department will be utilised for the purpose of rehabilitating in India, the powerful British financial interests which were dislodged from enemy occupied countries, interests which were engaged in the mineral industry in Malay and Burma." Subsequent events have tended only to confirm his suspicions.

Mr. Neogy investigated the activities of the utilisation Branch further. In reply to his question on Sept. 15, 1942, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated that the Utilisation Branch would, with the help of experts, prove deposits and undertake small-scale mining operations which might include the operation of experimental and pilot plants for smelting, etc., up to the stage when it became clear that production could be undertaken by commercial firms. In the course of the same reply Dr. Ambedkar gave materials for a contradiction of his own statement and the real fact came out. He stated that the Government of India, acting through Mr. Cowen, late General Manager of the Mawchi mines of the Burma Corporation, negotiated with the Mewar Government for working the most promising lead-zinc mines at Zawar in the Udaipur State. *They secured the cancellation of payment of compensation of the lease of the mines held by a private Indian firm* and obtained a prospecting license from the Mewar Government. Had Dr. Ambedkar's earlier professions been sincere what prevented the Government to work the Zawar mines jointly with the existing Indian leaseholder and why was it necessary to have the lease cancelled? Dr. Ambedkar evaded the question when Mr. Neogy pointedly asked: "Before getting the Udaipur durbar obligingly to cancel this lease, was any attempt made by the Government to find out whether any agreement could not be arrived at with that private party for the purpose of enabling whatever activities the department wanted to be carried on?"

In the course of a debate on the same subject on September 21, 1942, Pandit L. K. Maitra asked: "Is Dr. Ambedkar in a position to tell us that after the field-work is done and after the exploratory work is finished, when the Utilisation Branch recommends that certain metals or mineral substances may be commercially mined, Indians will get the benefit out of it? Is he prepared to give an assurance that the money that will be spent on this Utilisation Branch will eventually lead to the fostering of the Indian enterprise in the development of mineral industry, and not to the investment of British capital as has been our unfortunate experience in the past?" No assurance however came forward, from the Treasury Branches, to the effect that if the Utilization Branch decides that certain types of minerals could be developed in this country profitably, preference should, in the first instance, be given to Indian companies to work and develop them. When Mr. Jamnadas Mehta raised discussion about the exploitation of the mica mines by joint Anglo American interests to the exclusion of Indian commercial firms, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Leader of the House, frantically tried to have the discussion stopped and ultimately succeeded in his attempt on a ruling of the President, Sir Abdur Rahim.

After incurring a lot of expenditure on the mines, the Government of India have decided that the Zawar operations could not be considered as a war project in view of the fact that no pilot plant could get into production till very late in 1945, and that India and the Allied Nations were already receiving a substantial portion of their requirements from other sources. The Geological Survey has finally recommended discontinuance of further prospecting and disposal of the operatives to the best advanta

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of the Government of India. The essential desirability of developing a mine of two of the most strategic metals, lead and zinc, in India and in the interest of India has been completely neglected. With increasing prospects of the recapture of Burma, it may well be that the Imperialists desire to have the Zawar mine closed in the interest of the Burma Corporation unless the mines could be secured by the Corporation itself. It is understood that the Government of India are now trying to surrender their lease of the mines to the Mewar Government thus leaving the Mewar Durbar free to dispose of the concession in any way they like. The fear is entertained in informed quarters that this may be a devise for helping the Burma Corporation to secure the lease through diplomatic pressure of the Political Department.

Petroleum Concessions and the Need for a New Mining Legislation

The grant of petroleum prospecting licenses by the provinces deserves attention. Mr. K. C. Neogy had asked the Government of India whether petroleum was included among the minerals with which the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India was concerned. In reply, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated that according to the present programme, that is in 1942, petroleum was not so included,—although sulphur, mica, tungsten or wolfram, and non-ferrous metals like lead, zinc, copper and tin were included among minerals required for war purposes. The exclusion of petroleum from this list was mysterious and no explanation for it was put forward.

It is widely believed—as it was plainly stated in a scientific journal—that the right to carry on certain preliminary scientific investigations as regards the occurrence of oil in the foothills of the Himalayas and other areas in India has already been granted by the provincial governments in favour of certain well-known foreign concessionaires. Mr. Neogy, on other occasions also, enquired of the Government of India the reason for the grant of prospecting licenses for oil, a defence material, by the provinces instead of keeping it under their own responsibility. The Government of India have denied even any knowledge of such a grant on the plea that regulation of mines and oilfields form a provincial subject. In the provinces under Sec. 93, and in the others with subservient Ministries, it is not at all difficult to have licenses issued to most favoured parties. It is desirable to clarify once for all the constitutional position in respect of mineral rights between the Centre and the Provinces. Under the Government of India Act 1935, "Regulation of mines and oilfields and mineral developments to the extent to which such regulation and development under Federal control is declared by Federal law to be expedient in the public interest" is a Central subject, while there is an entry in the Provincial Legislative List which states that "Regulation of mines and mineral development is subject to the provisions of List 1 (the Federal list) with respect to regulation and development under Federal control." No Federal law has so far been enacted and therefore the provinces continue to possess full freedom to frame their own mining laws and rules to regulate the grant of mineral concessions in their territories. This has been the position since the introduction of the new reforms in April 1937, but it requires revision. The regulation and development of oil and strategic minerals as would be necessary for national defence should be in the hands of the Central Government. Experience during the present war has definitely proved Central control to be expedient in the public interest and the power to legislate for minerals of strategic and key industrial importance should rest with the Centre alone. The provinces have so far enjoyed this privilege by virtue of sufferance from the Centre and the position should now be made clear by means of appropriate legislation for giving effect to this policy.

"Churchill Must Go"—Wells

Under the heading "Churchill Must Go," Mr. H. G. Wells, in the Socialist London Weekly *Tribune*, describes the British Prime Minister as "would-be British Fuehrer." Mr. Wells writes :

> 'Churchill's ideology picked up in the garrison life of India, on the reefs of South Africa, the maternal home and conversation of wealthy Conservative households is a pitiful jumble of incoherent nonsense. A boy scout is better equipped. He has never given evidence of thinking extensively or of any scientific or literary capacity. His ignorance of contemporary social and physical science is conspicuous. He has served his purpose, and it is high time he retired before we forget the debt we owe him. We want him to go—now—before he discredits us further, for his own sake as well as ours, and if he takes all the Royalties in the world with him—so much the better for human hope. The matter is urgent.'

Princes' Resignation

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes have tendered resignation in a body, but the causes which led to the adoption of a drastic step of this nature have not yet been made fully public. In his statement to the press, Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber, has declined to elucidate the issue at

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the present moment. The *Hindustan Times*, however, throws some light on this hitch between the princes and the paramount power. The differences seem to have been seven-fold, the problems being (1) joint services, (2) protection against attacks from British India, (3) the attachment scheme, (4) industrial policy, (5) courts of arbitration, (6) post-war reconstruction and (7) Treaty rights. A deputation of the princes had waited on the Crown Representative, Lord Wavell, some time before the resignation, with the object of obtaining clarifications of these problems. The Viceroy's reply conveyed to them by the Political Department of the Government of India has been reported in the *Hindustan Times*.

The joint services scheme, in which the princes agree generally that the smaller Indian States which cannot by themselves maintain an efficient standard of administration should co-operate with some other State or States to secure this essential end, has been supported by the Crown Representative.

In demanding protection against attacks from British India, the States have expressed the fear of Jatha invasions and campaigns against them in the British Indian press. Lord Wavell has assured them that the States will continue to receive protections whether from baseless agitations against individual States directed from British India or from scurrilous attacks in the British Indian press. Such provisions have been made in the Government of India Act itself and protection of the princes form an important item in the lists of special responsibilities for the Governor-General as well as the Governors.

The States have claimed an equal participation with British India so far as the industrial policy is concerned. They demand production goods like machinery and fuel, etc., on the same basis as the provinces. The transference of capital from British India to the States to avoid the E. P. T. has engaged the attention both of the States and the Central Government and this transference has been brought under the supervision of the latter. The control of capital issue under Sec. 94-A of the D. I. Rules has also been a point of controversy. The industrial life of the States has already been chained up under this Rule in spite of their much vaunted Treaty Rights. An order has been issued to the States for receiving payments in British India for goods delivered to the Supply Department and the States have very much resented it. The reply of the Crown Representative on industrial policy has been rather vague and has been confined mainly to the expression of a pious wish. The problem of post-war reconstruction for the States are similar and the intention of the Government in this respect also is not quite clear. In the several post-war reconstruction committees, the states have not been adequately represented and the princes have made a grievance of it.

The remaining three crucial points have been left completely unsolved. The princes proposed that recourse to Courts of Arbitration should be had as a matter of right for resolving the issues which are justiciable or relate to fiscal economic or financial matters including the interpretation of Treaties and Agreements. The Crown Representative has expressed his inability to accept this proposal. The princes have been greatly alarmed by the attachment scheme, and the manner in which the India (Attachment of States) Act was rushed through the Parliament, without any consultation with the princes, has, not unnaturally, confirmed their apprehension. The groups of States formed under the joint services or co-operative grouping scheme will be some sort of a coalition of the autocrat princes while the real power will be exercised by the super-autocrat, the Political Agent. The States have been very much apprehensive of the merger scheme. The merger of small States into larger ones without consent of the merging states has involved the transference of the paramount power's rights to the attaching states. The Princes had earlier obtained an assurance that the functions of the Paramount Power would not be transferred to the British Indian Government. The Princes have failed in their attempt to secure a revision of the Instrument of Attachment so as to include in it the consent of the merging state, and the refusal of the Government to revise the Instrument has confirmed the Princes' fear that the principle may be extended in future also to States not immediately concerned with the merger scheme.

Too much fuss has been—and is still being—made about what the princes call Treaty Rights. These treaties are all in reality subsidiary alliances and the princes enjoy their "rights" under sufferance of the Paramount Power. Encroachments on these "rights" have systematically been made to meet Imperial needs. Dynastic rights and questions of misrule have always been determined in pursuance of an Imperial policy and the Princes' rights have been completely disregarded whenever they were in conflict with Imperial interests. The recent order of the Textile Directorate to pay for their goods in British India against the protest of the States and the application of the Control of Capital Issues order to the States are the most recent instances of the helplessness of the Princes against the Government of India in spite of what they call their sacred Treaty Rights.

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It is not only that the Princes have little freedom of action, but their freedom of speech is also greatly restricted. Just as they are unable to take any action even for their own welfare when such action tends to conflict with Imperial interests, they cannot deliberate on any question which is not favoured by the Viceroy. The Chamber of Princes only suggest the agenda for their meeting, discussion takes place only on such items of it as have been approved by the Crown Representative; the text of draft resolution which was framed for discussion by the Chamber of Princes, and which could not be discussed, shows that unilateral action has systematically been taken to trample down their treaty rights. The substance of the resolution which has been published by the *Hindustan Times* is given below :

The Chamber requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to be pleased to convey to His Majesty's Government the grave misgivings and apprehensions aroused in the states, by the recent tendency to alter the states' relationship with the Crown and to qualify the observance of the Crown's obligations, by unilateral action without the consent of the states notwithstanding the solemn royal pronouncements that these treaty rights shall be maintained unimpaired, and the recent assurance conveyed to the Indian princes by His Majesty's Government that the fulfilment of the fundamental obligations arising out of the treaties and sanads remains an integral part of His Majesty's Government's policy.

The Chamber further requests H. E. the Crown Representative to convey this expression of their devotion to his Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, with the respectful submission that in this matter of fundamental importance to the continuance of their relationship with the Crown, the Indian princes solicit His Majesty's personal good offices to ensure an early and satisfactory announcement.

Invoking the personal good offices of His Majesty is irrelevant as the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility in the British constitution restricts the rights of the British King to act otherwise than on the advice of the Cabinet.

U. P. Education Plan

The United Provinces, like Madras, is forging ahead with schemes of post-war development of education. A committee of officials, non-officials, and eminent educationists of the province has been appointed by the Governor to discuss the post-war development schemes of the Education Department of the U. P. Government. The committee recently met and the following decisions were made :

The meeting was of the opinion that compulsory education should be introduced in selected areas till the whole province was covered. The Government proposals envisaged that this should be done in 20 years, but the meeting thought that that period was too long and that it should be possible to achieve the desired results in about 10 years if the scheme worked successfully throughout the province. Compulsion was to be applied to children between the ages of five and 13 years.

As regards girls it was strongly urged by the lady members that if necessary, owing to there being no girls school available, girls up to the age of 10 should be admitted into boys schools, provided that there was a substantial number of women teachers in that school. It was revealed that while the number of girls in girls primary schools at present was 76,000, no less than 1,30,000 girls were voluntarily reading in boys schools.

The meeting then discussed the arrangements for training a large number of teachers required and was of the opinion that it would be necessary to open two new training colleges. The meeting noted with approval Government's proposal to add a large number of girls high schools throughout the province.

As regards the education of depressed classes, the meeting unanimously decided that there should be no separate schools, and that full facilities should be given to the members of the depressed classes to read in ordinary state schools, and liberal assistance by way of stipends and freeships should be afforded to them.

On the question of technical education, the meeting was of the opinion that technical education should be run parallel to general education and should have the same stages—primary, secondary, intermediate and degree—and that the degree courses should be managed by the university, and the others by a special board of technical education.

The meeting concluded with a general discussion on university and high school education. It was unanimously accepted that the intermediate examination should be abolished and one year of its course should be added to the degree course and the other year to the high school course, the total number of years required to take the degree not being exceeded.

It has been estimated that the 20 years educational scheme of the United Provinces in the post-war period involves an expenditure of Rs. 21,12,87,650 on junior basic schools and Rs. 16,22,47,290 on senior basic schools.

Mass Education to be Made Compulsory in Madras

The report on Educational Post-War Reconstruction prepared by the D. P. I. has recently been considered by the sub-committee of the Post-War Reconstruction Department of the Government of Madras. The Committee agreed that

Compulsory education for both boys and girls of all communities should be introduced in all areas, in the first place from standards I to V, providing additional accommodation and staff to the extent necessary in areas already served by existing schools, and opening new schools in schoolless areas with sufficient population, and building them up to V Standard schools.

It was agreed that, after the scheme for compulsory education up to V Standard had been completed, the further step should be taken of extending compulsion to the VI, VII and VIII Standards by stages.

It was agreed that special provision should be made for elementary schools for girls in all areas in which co-education was not fully possible.

It was agreed that there should be a considerable increase in the number of Arts Colleges for women that more L. T. Colleges for women should be opened; and that these institutions should be spread over areas hitherto unprovided with such institutions.

In Bengal, the Government is busy in devising ways and means for the denial of education. No effect has been given to the

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Primary Education Act passed by the Bengal Legislature years ago, although the Primary Education cess has been collected in some areas.

The Education Sub-Committee of the Post-War Reconstruction in Bengal recently considered the problem of secondary education and decided that a selective process should be adopted for deciding which boys and girls shall be provided with special facilities for higher academic learning. Way is also being cleared for the passage of the Secondary Education Bill for the curtailment of education by handing over important powers of the Legislature to the Governor. The measure has found eager and active support with the European members of the Bengal Legislature, the prop of the present Ministry and the upholders of the Imperialist policy of denial of education.

Corruption and Bribery Rampant in Food Administration

Hindustan Standard's New Delhi correspondent reports :

New Delhi, Dec. 16.—Sensational findings that corruption, bribery and petty harassment by minor officials, are rampant in the food administration of the country, are contained in a voluminous report submitted by Mr. S. Butler, officer on special duty, who toured many of the provinces in order to report on the Government Grain Purchases Schemes.

Mr. Butler says, "In no food administration is here complete absence of any bribery and corruption" and that "another aspect, more serious perhaps than bribery and corruption, is that of petty harassment by minor officials. That it goes on to a fairly extensive degree there is no doubt. That it should and must be eliminated is equally undisputed." That Provincial and State Governments do not generally speaking, "take sufficient specific steps in this direction, is, I am afraid, a fact."

It is understood that Government are now seriously considering as to what is the best way of eliminating corruption and bribery. In this connection, I understand, a special branch within each Food Control Administration, dealing with the elimination of bribery and corruption, may be set up. The Central Government seems to have brought the matter to the notice of the Provincial Governments, who are being urged to take effective steps to counteract such practices.

Allegations about serious cases of corruption have been made in the press and within the Legislature before now, all to no or little effect. It is hardly likely that this report will produce any better results. Bribery, corruption and inefficiency are the inevitable consequences of *Divide et Impera*, which means keeping time-servers and reactionaries in positions of trust.

Nature of Corruption in Railway Administration Revealed

The staff correspondent of the *National Call* reports :

A number of sensational and startling disclosures far beyond one's imagination, were made in the course of a lengthy statement by Om Prakash, an Out Agency Clerk at Baghpat, relating to the case against 64 persons including Mr. H. M. Nolan, Superintendent, S. S. Light Railway; Mr. D'Costa, Traffic Inspector, seven Station Masters, a railway contractor and a number of phrominent sugar Merchants of the United Provinces, proceeding in the court of R. B. Vinod Chand, Special Magistrate at Meerut, under the various sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Defence of India Rules: This case is described as the most sensational case of profiteering, bribery and corruption of the present war in Northern India: Om Prakash who was also one of the accused in the case has been given King's Pardon: According to a rough estimate about Rs. 800,000 were paid as a bribe and approximately double of this amount was made by the accused merchants as profit by selling sugar and Gur, etc., in the black market and contravening the various regulations of the Sugar Control Order:

There was a surprise to-day in the court when Lalita Prashad, Station Master, Kandhla, who had been declared absconder by the court, surrendered himself remaining under ground for over an year. He was immediately taken in police custody.

Among some of the facts which the approver Om Prakash had disclosed so far in the court during the course of his statement were that thousands of rupees were taken as bribe in the name of police, a number of documents were either torn or destroyed, thousands of railway receipts were antidated and written by the merchants themselves, and the signatures of the goods clerk were forged, railway receipts were prepared even without the forwarding notes, without the actual delivery of goods at the railway station, unauthorised railway receipt forms were printed, thousands of fictitious entries were made and several orders of the District Magistrate were deliberately defied.

The hearing of the case is proceeding.

Strictures on Ispahanis Expected in Woodhead Reports

The *National Call's* Delhi correspondent reports that the first part of the Woodhead Report is likely to be issued some time in January while the second part is expected to be issued in March. The first part will deal with the famine in Bengal and the second part will make recommendations regarding procurement and food supply. The correspondent says:

It is understood that the Woodhead Commission is taking due notice of the findings of the Braund Committee which purports to throw responsibility for Bengal on the Government of India rather than on the Government of Bengal. The Woodhead Commission, it is understood, is likely to white-wash the conduct of the various governments involved by showing that the Bengal famine was consequential on so many factors that blame cannot be made to rest on any single authority. I further understand that very serious strictures are likely to be passed on the conduct of the Bengal Food Procurement Agency whiih is in the hands of a famous Muslim League firm of Ispahanis.

The report, I believe, will be unanimous, the Indian members concurring to the findings of Sir John Woodhead and his colleagues, and the feeling is that the unanimity may be achieved at the expense of frankness.

Imperialism in Asia Doomed

A sharp contrast to the bulletin of the American Foreign Policy Association is pro-

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vided in the bulletin of the Pacific Relations Institute. The *United Press of America* reports that this bulletin calls on the U. S. Government to attempt to obtain at the Pacific Relations Institute Conference, to be held in New York in January 1945, from the European colonial powers an agreement to the unequivocal and deficits programmes under which the peoples of Burma, Malay, Indo-China and East Indies would be assured of self-government in "foreseeable future." The author Lawrence Salisbury says :

An effort must be made now because America's "bargaining power" among the Allies would be greatly lessened with the defeat of Germany and "we may miss a great opportunity of ridding the world of the ever latent threat to the global and inter-racial war." He adds, "Imperialism in Asia is doomed" and "whatever may be the attitude of the colonial Powers the people of Asia will eventually achieve self-government." Therefore in their best interest America and her European Allies should realise that "it is wiser to yield strength to the growing aspirations of the colonial Asiatics than to delay until they are forced to yield from weakness." He said America's "prolonged silence" on the issue of colonial independence meant "tacit commitment to support the imperial system which will inevitably come to an end." He warned that the Jap propaganda for pan-Asia will continue in the post-war, "seizing every opportunity of creating among the other Asiatics hatred of the whites." Hence unless America and the European Powers co-operated the "enlightened policy which treats the Asiatics as potential equals in the world affairs" Japan's purpose "to fight next time with Asia solidly behind her" would more probably be achieved. He said in such a war China might be on the side of Japan, "for if our policy in South-East Asia proves to be a failure, our policy everywhere in East Asia will have failed."

No solution of the Asiatic problem is conceivable until and unless India attain her freedom. Programmes for Burma, Malay, Indo-China and the East Indies, in spite of their unequivocality and definiteness, will be useless and futile with India remaining "a vast prison house with the key at the White Hall."

103 Detenus Die in Bengal Jails

During question hour in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, on December 12, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister informed the House that the number of persons detained without trial who died during detention was 59 in 1943 and 44 in 1942. The increase in death was, in the Government's opinion, due to admission of a large number of prisoners in a bad state of health. The number of prisoners who were released due to ill health was 67 in 1943 and 44 in 1944.

We are unable to appeciate the added amount of security obtained by the British Empire by imprisoning *large numbers* of prisoners in a bad state of heath. A perusal of the official records of the proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly reveals a good many cases of neglect of the health of the detenus in some instances resulting in the death of the sufferers. The parliamentary secretary's reply reveals a state of affairs which deserves the severest condemnation of the present jail administration of the province. The proportion of deaths appears all the more alarming when we remember Sir Nazimuddin's statement that there were 1577 such prisoners in detention.

Control of Colonies

A bulletin issued by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, says that the desire for national independence among Asiatic peoples can no longer be checked, even by force. The Association has suggested a three-fold policy. Firstly, the United Nations, instead of returning the Japanese occupied areas to their previous colonial rulers, should establish an international trusteeship over them. Secondly, specific dates should be set when this trust could reasonably be expected to be terminated. Thirdly, that during the period of trusteeship, every effort should be made to provide the dependent peoples with education in political and economic matters. Peoples of Asia have knowledge of how these theories of trusteeship and white man's burden have worked out in Africa and Asia. Given any option they would want to manage their own affairs, even if it be attended with a temporary chaos, rather than remain under foreign rule. The Association further says, "The difficulty of liquidating the heritage of empire in subject countries must be accomplished in as orderly a manner as possible if chaos is to be prevented." Asiatics have found to their cost that such pleas are put forward not for the liquidation of an Empire but for the continuance of it in a modified form.

War Effort Load Heaviest on Indian Peasant

The Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Claude Auchinleck at a press conference today gave some impressions of his recent tour of India. He acknowledged that even the humblest in India were bearing the burden of war effort, and that the sacrifice which the Indian peasant with his small margin of reserve was called upon to make was severer than the deprivation of comfort which people in other countries with higher standards might suffer.

Replying to question whether the burden on the civil population would increase with the increase in the tempo of the war against Japan, the C-in-C said one hoped not. He added as more resources became available from overseas, it should not be necessary to demand so much from India, but so long as the war against

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Germany continued those resources were difficult to come by. "I can assure you that the Government of India has this matter very much in mind. The strain on the civil population should not be increased to a point at which it becomes unbearable."

Difference in the Emoluments of British and Indian Troops

In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Legislative Assembly on Nov. 3, last. Mr. C. M. Trivedi, on behalf of the Government, made a statement about the difference between the emoluments of a British soldier serving in India and of an Indian soldier serving abroad. The figures are given below :

British other ranks serving in India (i.e., outside their own country):—

Rank	Monthly emoluments
PRIVATES—	
(Private after 3 years' service)	Rs. 119-12-0
NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS—	
Corporal	142-9-0
Sergeant	171-1-0
WARRANT OFFICERS—	
Class II (Sub-Conductor)	262-5-0
Class I (Conductor)	307-15-0
Indian soldiers serving outside India:—	
PRIVATES—	
(Sepoy after 3 years' service)	44-8-0
NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS—	
Naik	56-0-0
Havildar	63-0-0
VICEROY'S COMMISSIONED OFFICERS—	
Jamadar	108—5—133
Subedar	183—10—223

In addition to the monthly emolument, the married British soldier gets a marriage allowance at the following rates :

For wife	..	Rs. 30
For wife and 1 child	..	86
For wife and 2 children	..	136
For wife and 3 "	..	181
Each additional child	..	45

In his report, Lord Munster has suggested several amenities for the British troops, but the conditions of Indian troops serving inside and outside India, has not merited the attention of either of his Lordship or the British or Indian Governments.

India's North-West Frontier

The Leader's special New Delhi representative reports that an Afghan Military Mission has arrived in New Delhi. With the emergence of Russia on the world's diplomatic chess-board, India's North-West Frontier is again coming into lime-light as a bulwark of defence of the British Empire in India. A committee under the chairmanship of General Tucker is already examining the problem of frontier in regard both to the tribal aspect and future defence line. The arrival of the Afghan Military Mission at a time when the Tucker Committee is at work may be of some diplomatic significance. It is for the first time that a military mission from a neighbouring country has come to visit India during the war. Formerly goodwill or cultural missions have toured the country from Siam, Turkey and Iran. According to an official statement, the Afghan mission has come to study Indian Army methods.

Muslim League Politics

Muslim League politics in this country has developed three different characteristics, (i) one for Mr. Jinnah as Dictator, (ii) one for the provinces where the League is in opposition and (iii) one for the provinces where it is in office. The worthlessness of Mr. Jinnah's long standing grievance against the Congress parliamentary Board of the Working Committee in that it interfered in provincial administration has been proved by his uncalled-for intervention in Sind politics after Mr. Roger Thomas had been appointed Minister by the Sind Premier. The opportunist policy pursued in the provinces has also been exposed. In the Punjab, the League opposed the Members' Salary Enhancement Bill on grounds of principle demanding that any extra money should go to the small salaried people, while in Bengal such a Bill is being sponsored by the League to put more money in the pockets of the League members of the Legislature at a time when the petty clerks and school teachers, including a large number of their brothers in faith, are starving. In the Punjab the Leaguers have suddenly become conscious about the political prisoners and have demanded their release condemning the government action as "crushing the civil liberties of the people." The Punjab Premier has given a fit reply to them when he challenged the Leaguers who, he said, had one high command and one leader, to release all political prisoners and detenus in the N.-W. F. P., Sind, Bengal and Assam, and then press such motion in the Punjab Assembly. In respect of the states also the same dual policy is pursued. In Hindu majority states, where the Ruler is a Muslim, separatism is condemned but if the Ruler is a Hindu separatism is fostered. In the Hindu majority states where the Ruler is a Muslim, dictatorship is applauded as being the best arrangement, but where the Ruler is a Hindu popular government is demanded.

Index of "The Modern Review"

On account of restriction on paper it has not been possible for us to publish in this issue the index of the seventy-sixth (July-December 1944) volume of *The Modern Review*. Readers desirous of obtaining it should write to the *Modern Review* Office Manager, enclosing one anna stamp for postage.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The end of the year leaves the position of the Allies on the Western front in a state of flux. This is an anti-climax to the inspired news we have been receiving from that quarter regarding the desperate straits to which the German defenders have been reduced. After the magnificently executed landing operations of the Allies in June, the real war-situation became secondary in importance on the "News-front" the head lines being repeatedly and continuously pirated by this allied spokesman and that. predicting an early and summary collapse of the Germans on the West. Mr. Churchill predicted victory by the end of summer in the first instance, then by the end of autumn and finally after many disappointments discreetly refused to think of victory at all for the present. American spokesmen were no less optimistic and even amongst the Allied fighting generals many broke out in prophecies, Field-Marshal Montgomery being the most optimistic. The earlier checks in Normandy cooled down the optimists for a while but after the German started their retreat to the frontiers, they gushed forth again into a veritable spate of amateur strategy and mock-heroic perorations about the future. Even the very distinct set-back in Holland and the very stiff opposition encountered in the Palatinate and elsewhere failed to daunt these oracles even though Mr. Churchill himself cooled down to a more cautious vein. It is this back-ground against which the present German thrust comes out in such a violent contrast.

We do not think the Allied commanders-in-the-field were under any delusion, whatever the position might have been in the Supreme War Council, for the facts of situation were standing out in stark relief after the German master-plan stood revealed in Eastern Europe. There, after an orderly retreat across hundreds of miles of devastated Soviet territory, the German defenders stood to battle on the approaches to the Reich. Thereafter the fighting took on a new orientation. On the coastal territories of the Baltic States, on the marches of East Prussia, across the heart of Poland and on the foothills of Carpathians a series of grim show-downs took place in which the defenders fought for each square yard of territory with a ferocity and skill that belied all thoughts of an imminent collapse. The debacle in Rumania, the defection of Finland and the seemingly total collapse of the defences in the Balkans were all major disasters and if the Germans were in reality at their last gasp as Mr. Churchill and other Allied spokesmen led the world to believe, then the Wehrmacht would never have been able to pull the defence together out of such desperate straits. The Wehrmacht succeeded, at that time, in establishing the defence on fresh lines where it materially succeeded in containing the Soviets' assaults *en-masse*. The defence line in Warsaw stood in spite of the very violent thrusts of the Soviets forces—aided as it was most substantially by the truly valiant "forlorn hope" attempts of "General Bor" and his gallant and heroic two hundred thousand Polish patriots. That the Soviets' assault should fail in spite of such a major diversion in great force at the rear was proof enough of the resources and efficiency of the Wehrmacht. Stalin's condemnation of "General Bor" after the failure of the assault on Warsaw is not only one of the most ungracious incidents of this war, it is also an indicator of the extent of the up-setting of the Russian plans consequent on this unexpected check. In East Prussia the Soviets' forces were fought to a standstill and in the Baltic states their progress became progressively slow and laboured in the extreme. Even in Hungary the Russian assault met—and is still meeting—extremely fierce and highly skilled opposition. All these facts clearly go to show that the German supreme command is not so down and out, shorn of all reserves and bereft of all resources, as the wishful thinking of some of the great ones on the Allied side led the democratic world to believe. Turning to the Western front, the extremely slow and halting progress of Montgomery's armies, which virtually have come to a standstill for the present after being manoeuvred into the flooded and marshy areas of the Dutch frontier regions, and the long and bitter opposition the American forces met prior to the German thrust were all pointers standing up a mile high of the strength and capacity still retained by the Nazi war-machine. And the Allied commander-in-the-field must have been well-aware of the implication of these facts, else why their slow, cautious and calculated, step-by-step advance into enemy territory in spite of a more than five-fold superiority in men, armour and artillery and mastery of the skies above the battle lines ?

The fact is that the Wehrmacht is trying to force a long war of attrition on its opponents. The first essential of such a project is to disrupt the Allied plan of campaign with regard to both its continuity and coherence. The Russians succeeded in stalling the German campaigns in

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this manner before Moscow, at Rostov and finally at Stalingrad. After each set-back the Nazi supreme command had to plan afresh and, new reserves of men and material had to be sent to the field. Major alterations had to be made in the commands and drastic changes had to be made in the strategy of the assault in the matters of venue, tactical moves and the method of approach to seize the initiative. The Russians knew that they had not a ghost of a chance to obtain a decision on the field in their favour without the full weight of Allied intervention on a major continental scale in the West, which would force a substantial diversion of the forces of the Nazi High Command from the Eastern front to the West. And so they confined their counter-thrusts and winter-campaigns to limited objectives, which merely aimed at throwing the German campaigns out-of-gear, inflicting heavy losses in men and high wastages in material on the Germans thereby. Realization of the implications of such methods of warfare dawned on the Nazi war-lords after Stalingrad and with characteristic efficiency they changed their strategy from offence to defence in order to meet the imminent threat on the South and the West. That the defence plan was well thought-out and placed in capable hands is proved by the survival of the defence forces in the face of colossal disasters caused by the defectious of all its allies in the West with the exception of the Hungarian fighting forces. This thrust by F. M. Rundstedt is thus just one more move according to plan. "Aachen as Xmas present" and "Paris in New Year" is just so much ballyhoo by Allied news retailers for place names are of little moment in warfare on the continental scale. The German is fighting for time, time to add to and perfect his defences, to his reserves of men now in training and to his reserve of latest weapons, and the measure of his success is by the measure of time by which he can prolong this war.

It might be argued that the Russians could look forward to the day when the Western Allies formed the Second front and brought into action their vast resources in men and material against the enemy. They knew that once the Allies landed in France the battle in the West would be as exacting in costs to the Nazi resources as in the East and sooner or later the Axis war-machine would break under the load of the tremendous odds against it. But what have the Germans to look forward to, that they thus are trying to take a leaf out of the Soviet hook of defensive warfare? Apparent they have nothing—or have they? Japan's latest campaign in China provides much food for thought in that respect. As things stand already the U.S.A. has made substantial diversions of fighting forces to the Far Eastern theatre and indications are that still more and more troops and plans and material of war will have to be sent to that area. The Allied Supreme Command has had to modify its own dictum of "Asia must wait" already and if the war in Europe lengthens out to the end of 1945, then major alterations will have to be made in its plans. Japan did not wait though the rest of Asia had to perforce and it is gradually dawning on the Allied war-lords that further delay might be dangerous.

But will the Germans succeed in their attempts to gain time? This is a question for the Allied Supreme Command to answer. The situation in Luxembourg and Belgium at the time of writing (27-12-44) is too fluid for others to draw any conclusions. If Rundstedt succeeds in taking Liege and in consolidating for the winter on the line of the Meuse down to the approach to Sedan, then the Allied plans for the spring offensive would be handicapped.

In Italy the fight for the plains of the river Po blazed up about the middle of December and is still continuing in the pulsating manner that has marked the Italian campaign all along. We wrote in a previous issue that the Germans would probably stage a stubborn defence here, as beyond the Po the terrain would be in favour of the Allied forces due to their preponderance in the weight of armour.

In Hungary the battle for Budapest has now mounted to a climax. The Soviets' winter campaign has also started in the North and also on the Slovak border. The difficulties facing the Russians in this year's winter-campaign are peculiar, as we have remarked before, and therefore continuous long-term battering of the German positions have not been possible up till now. Even now the offensive has not mounted up to the proportions of the previous campaigns, though there are signs that the Soviets have solved their supply problems to some extent.

In the Far-East the Chinese have fought the Japanese campaign to a standstill. There is a welcome respite from the pressure on the slender and vanishing resources of China. The situation is far from the re-assuring as yet though the immediate danger seems to have passed. In the Philippines Leyte has been freed from the Japanese. This is a substantial gain for the Allies and it will probably aid the U.S.A. plans for a major offensive against Japan to a very great extent. Luzon and Mindanao have to be brought under American control, however, before the Japanese inner sea-lines can be cut, and that is the main objective before the Allies.

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A NEW SOURCE OF MARATHA HISTORY

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E., D.Litt.

At the end of the year 1771, Mahadji Sindhia rose to unmistakable prominence in Indian politics by the leading part that he took in restoring the exiled Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II to his capital at Delhi. Then followed years of stagnation and gloom for him owing to the premature death of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I (18 Nov. 1772), the murder of his successor Narayan Rao (30 Aug. 1773) and the civil war that broke out in Maharashtra against the next Peshwa Raghunath Rao. The English merchants of Bombay seized the opportunity of this internal weakness of the Puna Government to intervene and annex Maratha territory on the west coast (December 1774). The Maratha national leaders, popularly known as the *Bara-bhai*, patriotically met the challenge and war ensued with the English and the local traitor whom they supported. This is known as the First Maratha War, though it really consisted of two separate conflicts which were rightly styled in some contemporary English histories as the First and Second Maratha Wars. The treaty of Salbai in May 1782 put an end to them, recognising Mahadji Sindhia as guarantor of its terms to the English.

This people's war brought to the front two national leaders of unrivalled ability and character: Nana Fadnis the statesman and Mahadji Sindhia the soldier and diplomat. The work of the latter survives to our day. From the Convention of Wargaum (January 1779) in this war to the day of his own death on 12 Feb. 1794, Mahadji Sindhia dominated contemporary Indian history in North and South alike. He was the friend and "patron" of the English and the Regent Plenipotentiary (*Wakil-i-mutlaq*) of the Mughal Empire after December 1784, and his successor Daulat Rao Sindhia continued to hold that commanding post till his reduction by Wellesley in 1803.

Therefore, no history of India in the last quarter of the 18th century can be complete which does not use the original Marathi and Persian State-papers and news-reports emanating from the courts of these two Sindhias or the camps of their generals. Hitherto our best sources of the history of Mahadji were the letters relating to this period (published by Rajwade in his *Sadhanen*, vol. 12) and the despatches sent to Nana Fadnis by that minister's envoys (*wakils*) stationed in Mahadji's camp (printed by Parasnis and reprinted by the Gwalior Darbar). These are supplemented by the reports, also in Marathi, sent by the Peshwa's agents at Delhi (the Hingane family) and also (though incidentally) by Nana Fadnis's agents at the Court of Ahalya Bai Holkar (both series printed by Parasnis), besides a mass of Persian news-letters called *akhbarat* written by professional 'reporters of events' (called *waqia-navises*) kept at the Emperor's Court or in Sindhia's camp by prominent princes and nobles. This last class of records has not yet been printed, or even fully listed.

The Marathi despatches and news-letters sent from Mahadji Sindhia's camp run in an unbroken stream so long as Mahadji was absent in Northern India. But after his return to Puna in June 1792, they naturally ceased, because Nana and Mahadji being now at the same place there was no occasion to send such information about the one to the other in writing. This gap in our materials is filled by Persian *akhbarats* from the Peshwa's Court and Mahadji's camp written in Puna for employers in Northern India, such as the Nawab of Oudh, the English Council in Calcutta and others. A mass of these manuscript newspapers covering the years 1793-1795 are preserved in the British Museum (London). I have worked through photographs of them belonging to Kumar Raghuvir Sinh.

But these Persian "private press reports" from Puna do not supply us with any information (except at second hand or hearsay) about the happenings in Sindhia's dominions and spheres of influence in Northern India. *Akhbarats* were undoubtedly sent from those places to the Peshwa and the two Sindhias at Puna during these ten years, but they no longer survive among the Peshwas' Daftar in Puna and the Sindhia archives at Gwalior.

This gap has most happily been filled by the recent exploration of the *Gulgule Daftar*, preserved in the Sarola House in the city of Kotah. These are the property of a family of Saraswat Brahmans surnamed Gulgule who were placed at Kotah as the managers of the Maratha tributes from Rajputana as early as 1740. The founder of the family Balaji Yashwant and his son Lalaji Ballal cover between them the long period from about 1734 to 1810. Balaji started his career as a clerk of Sindhia about 1733 and rose to be *Kamavisdar* or Commissioner of tribute collection for Sindhia at Kotah.

Kotah was for a long time the pivot of Maratha interests in Rajputana, Malwa and further north, and a convenient half-way house between Delhi and Poona, being just at the gate of the Mukundara Pass. Money governed the unending military operations of the Marathas, and Gulgule at Kotah was constantly kept

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informed of the developments of their campaigns and diplomacy. He received frequent despatches from Sindhia's captains, envoys and civil administrators in various places, reporting the progress of events, the substance of the letters received by Mahadji and his orders on them, and the diplomatic moves in which they were engaged. Besides, Gulgule like other high officers had his own paid newswriter at his master's court or camp. Thus, after Mahadji Sindhia's arrival at Puna in June 1792, this is the only source from which we get *inside* information in full detail about the sayings and doings of Mahadji and of his chief officers. The Persian *akhbarats* mentioned above and the Marathi letters in Khare's *Aitihasik Lekh Samgraha* often give only the current reports and echoes of original information. Lalaji Ballal's agent, Jagannath Vishwanath, wrote to his master from Puna during 1791-94, full details of the affairs at the Peshwa's Court, and Sindhia's moves and fortunes there. These letters are an invaluable corrective and supplement to the letters of the Southern Maratha jagirdars printed by Khare in many volumes.

For the period 1789-1802, when the Sindhia-Holkar rivalry dominated and distracted the history of Rajputana, Malwa and Puna, one would naturally look for the primary sources of information in the record offices of the Gwalior and Indore States. But the old historical papers of the Holkars were badly burnt in a fire in the wooden house where they were stored, and only their charred fragments have been printed in three or four thin volumes by the Indore Darbar. Hence, this side of the case is practically silent except for the book *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* which is open to doubt as a later compilation, written in 1824 on the basis of hearsay and traditions and not quoting original documents.

As for the Sindhias, the record office at Gwalior contains only a few historical papers for the period before 1803, and these are of second-rate or third-rate importance, often relating to money matters only. After 1803 the records in the English language are profuse and most authoritative, except for the small domestic concerns of these two States. The full correspondence, both letters received and sent out, of the successive British Residents with Sindhia have been published in five volumes in the "Poona Residency Correspondence Series" (Bombay Govt. Press),—the last of them being under preparation.

Thus it happens that the Gulgule Daftar is of supreme importance, and in some points our only source, for the history of Mahadji Sindhia from 1792 to 1794 and also for the Sindhia-Holkar relations from the rise of Jaswant Rao Holkar at the beginning of 1799 to the neutralisation of Daulat Rao Sindhia by Wellesley in the first months of 1804. On the early career of Jaswant Rao Holkar, the Gulgule Daftar contains the only original sources in Marathi that I know of, and these documents with their exact dates and precise details, very usefully supplement, and where necessary correct, the memoirs of Bhawani Shankar Bakhshi written in Persian. In fact, no full history either of Mahadji Sindhia or of Jaswant Rao Holkar can be written unless the Gulgule records relating to them are printed.

The Gulgule records change in character as we pass from the year 1742 when they begin to 1785, when Sindhia became regent of the Emperor. At first the letters are very short, mostly bare entries or orders about small money transactions or land rights and similar commonplace things, without the least historical significance. But after 1785 they become despatches, giving authentic accounts of battles and diplomatic negotiations, announcements of policy, or exact reports of the speeches and doings of the chiefs on the two sides. Here we get State-papers in the true sense of the term, written on the spot by competent agents and exactly dated. An example may be here cited: the detailed study of the Lakheri campaign of De Boigne (1793) which I had composed with great labour and thought from the previously known materials, had to be vitally changed and corrected after the Gulgule papers on the subject were made available to me.

In addition to the Marathi records, the Sarola House archives contain a number of Persian letters written to Lalaji Ballal or to Zalim Singh (through Lalaji) on behalf of the French commanders of Sindhia, such as De Boigne, Perron, Bourquien, &c. by their Persian secretaries (*munshis*). But they are of no historical importance, in not being despatches on campaigns, but mostly conventional letters referring to petty matters. On them, however, we get the exact signatures of these officers and also impressions of their Persian seals.

The despatches and news-letters in the Marathi language in the Gulgule collection number over 5,000. They have been carefully preserved and sorted according to the different chiefs to whom or for whom they were written. This work was done by their late owner Pandit Purushottam Rao Gulgule about 20 years ago. He permitted Sardar Anand Rao Bhau Phalke, a noble of the Gwalior State, to transcribe them from the Modi script of the originals into Devanagari characters, and to publish them. Phalke printed two volumes of selections from these archives; the first (printed in 1929) contains 296 very short documents

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relating to the family of Sindhias from Ranoji (the founder of the house) to Ravloji, 9 persons, covering the years 1742-1767; his second volume (printed in 1930) is made up of 198 letters from the Peshwas, the Pawars of Dhar and Dewas, the Gaekwads, and the Holkars, from 1738 to 1814. But both volumes are very scanty, as not a single despatch or news-letter relating to any of these chiefs has been included, because the latter class of records are not *letters* written by them ! No letter of Mahadji Sindhia has been yet printed, as Sardar Phalke reserved this chief's correspondence for future publication on account of their vast size which demands several volumes to deal with them exhaustively.

The present head of the Gulgule family Pandit Chandra Kant has very kindly permitted Maharaj-Kumar Raghuvir Sinh, D.Litt., LL.B., the heir of the Maharajah of Sitamau (in Malwa) to take typed copies of these records. All lovers of Indian history must pray that this highly enlightened and liberal prince will be able to publish the very cream and truly unique portion of the Gulgule archives,—namely, the records of Mahadji and Daulat Rao Sindhia, under the competent editorship of Rao Bahadur Govind Rao Sardesai, soon enough to enable the older generation of students of Maratha history like myself to use them before we leave the earthly scene.

SOME NON-POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

I

What, it may be asked by many not friendly to our only all-India non-communal political organisation, has the Indian National Congress done so far ? A complete answer to a question like this should cover so many points and concern itself with so many aspects of national life that one naturally shrinks from undertaking such an onerous task. Naturally the answer which comes first of all to our mind is its achievements in the sphere of political progress. It may point with just pride to the progressive advance made in widening our liberties and claim that these have been secured mainly, if not wholly, on account of the repeated demands made by this organisation and the self-sacrifice and devotion of very large number of its members who have courted imprisonment and even physical pain in order to put pressure on an alien unsympathetic bureaucracy.

It is not intended to deal here with those political advances for the securing of which the activities of the Congress are responsible, but to discuss certain other improvements in our all-India condition which the present writer regards as the outcome of the activities of this great organisation.

II

Ever since the foundation of the Indian National Congress, it has always carried on a vigorous campaign for the inclusion of Indians in the various branches of the public services. Even up to the seventies of the last century, the highest of Indian ambitions was limited to appointment as the Principal Sudder Amin on the Judicial and as the Deputy Magistrate on the Executive side. No one could then imagine that an Indian could aspire to the position of a Session Judge or a District Magistrate. The present writer has heard from his father that when in 1871, three Bengalis forced their way into the I.C.S., the late Rev. K. M. Banerjee, always known for his balanced judgment and the sobriety of his language, described their success as the "second great battle of Plassey fought on British soil." Since that time, many such battles of Plassey have been fought and won but without attracting much public notice. Even the most careless comparison of the Civil List of the period just referred to with any of today will show what progress has been made in this direction all of which, it is maintained, represents gains made by the country through the constant agitation carried on by our great national organisation.

Today we see Indians occupying the highest possible positions everywhere and administering the country in various different capacities with skill and success but into this it is not necessary to enter. Only those who have any knowledge and recollection of those older days can fully appreciate the robust optimism which urged the Congress to demand the legitimate rights of Indians in no uncertain voice and to continue insisting on them till they had been secured.

There is, however, still a sharp distinction between the Provincial and Imperial services as well as special provisions for safeguarding the interests of a certain class of the servants of India. National India does not feel the slightest doubt that it too will disappear. In this connection, something ought also to be said about the rapid Indianisation of the Army which has been forced on the British administration by the exigencies of the present war but it is such an important matter that the present writer will content himself with merely making the barest reference to it.

III

Bengal and Madras had long an indigenous textile industry but they had been ruined by the importation of cheap foreign textiles from Lancashire. It was in 1905 that Bengal launched the boycott movement as a protest against partition. The present writer has vivid recollections of the mammoth meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, where there was an audience said to have numbered between thirty and thirty-five thousand. There were three meetings held simultaneously—one on the first and the second on the ground floor of the Town Hall but the largest was held in the *maidan* opposite the Town Hall. The boycott movement spread like wild-fire all over India and it was then that the British administration came to realise the intensity of the opposition this uncalled-for measure had provoked as well as the strength and the unity which lay behind the boycott movement. The Congress did not formally sanction the boycott but gave its approval to *Swadeshi*.

The first to benefit were the Bombay mills. They had to be enlarged again and again. There was greater demand for hand-woven stuff. We next had small-scale

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and cottage industries supplying many of our major wants and every Indian is aware to what extent we are growing self-sufficient. Large-scale Indian industries have also come to stay. But these are too well-known to require any but the barest mention. It is the Congress and the Congress alone which gave the required fillip to industry and it has thus indirectly met many of our most crying needs. In conclusion, to fill in this barest of sketches, reference has to be made to the organisation of the National Planning Committee and the unfortunate circumstances under which its activities have been suspended.

IV

It was Hume, the "father of the Indian National Congress" who, in laying down the aims and objects of our national organisation, said that they were "the regeneration of India on all lines, spiritual, moral, social, industrial and political," though at the same time he added that the energies of the Congress were to be principally "directed to national and political objects upon which the whole country was able to stand on a common ground." Later on, another friend of the Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, pointed out how "the workers for political progress were the most active friends of social reform."

Who of the elder generation does not remember the question of sea-voyage and how it was tackled by the older race of Congressmen so that it has today ceased to be a problem at all? We are now concerned with another and still more difficult problem, the problem of the *Harijans* and of untouchability. This too is being boldly faced everywhere. When they were in office, the different Congress ministries made educational grants for the uplift of this backward community. The use of public wells and roads by *Harijans*, their proper treatment in schools, dispensaries and hospitals and temple entry are now insisted on. The present writer confesses his inability to give an adequate description of the value of the work done by Mahatma Gandhi both through his own efforts and through the *Harijan Seva Sangh* in this direction.

In addition to the campaign against untouchability carried on by the *Seva Sangh*, we also find that the destruction of caste exclusiveness has been hastened by the national struggle for political freedom. Common ideals and common sufferings have brought the different classes closer to one another. In the jails, members of all castes mixed freely and came to know and love one another. Then again, the distinction between the rich and the poor was obliterated and new bonds of sympathy forged between them. It was in the jails that the economically prosperous Congressmen came to learn something about the miseries of their poorer brethren and the oppression to which they are only too often subjected. The first-hand knowledge acquired in this way explains the whole-hearted enthusiasm with which the richer and the more influential have given their moral and financial support to organisations, such as the All-India Spinners' Association, the All-India Village Industries Association, the Harijan Seva Sangh, the Wardha Scheme of Education and the Prohibition policy of the Congress.

V

Three years after its foundation, the Congress alarmed by a large increase in the consumption of liquor entered a demand for a policy to promote temperance. This led to an increase in the import duty on foreign spirits, the imposition of excise duty on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the abolition of the outstill system in Bengal and the closing of more than 7,000 liquor shops in Madras in 1889-90. Ten years later at the Lahore sessions, the Congress passed a resolution in which a further rapid increase in the consumption of alcohol was ascribed to the "cheap supply of liquor" rendered possible by the indifference of the administration to the problem of intemperance. Recommending the enacting of legislation to discourage the easy availability of liquor and the imposition of additional taxation upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicines, the Congress stated that unless these or similar steps were taken immediately

"the moral, material, and physical deterioration of those classes among whom liquor etc., have obtained a firm hold would be inevitable; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class, the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian arts and industries would bear no fruit."

As the Congress became more and more broad-based, the new blood that entered it and which had more intimate contact with the masses and sympathised with their miseries, came to the conclusion that hesitating measures such as an increase in the duty would merely scotch the evil but would never kill it. These people also noticed a serious increase in the consumption of narcotics as also that the use of drink and drugs was growing more and more extensive in the rural areas so much so that, in most provinces, the revenue from excise formed a considerable proportion of the total revenue. This explains why total prohibition became one of the planks of the Congress platform from 1920 and why it was pressed on the attention of the people and a large volume of public opinion in favour of it was sought to be created by Congress leaders not the least among whom was Mahatma Gandhi.

This move received little support from the British administration which probably held that it was a political stunt to capture the imagination of the masses. Dr. Ansari, the nationalist Muslim leader, was referring to this unsympathetic attitude of our rulers when he said,

"Forbidden by his religion to the Mussalman and held pernicious by the Hindu, the evil of drink would not have spread so rapidly and extensively, had the Government taken sympathetic attitude towards those who were endeavouring to stop it."

Though the necessity of prohibition was urged on the country by Congressmen from 1920, the movement assumed its most militant form during the Civil Disobedience Movement when shops selling liquor and drugs were picketed with very great success by women most of whom belonged to highly connected and prosperous families. Two or three of them would be seated on chairs, sometimes provided by the shop-keepers. Every one would have a badge with a number and a book of printed forms in which the names of those who patronised these shops were entered. An appeal would be made to them not to buy and if it failed, a letter enclosing "temperance" literature and some sort of pledge was posted to them.

The campaign was carried on up to the time of the introduction of Provincial autonomy when Congress ministries were formed in some of our provinces. The seriousness of the menace was realised only when it was found that the revenue from drink and drugs constituted as much as 25 per cent of the total revenue of Bombay, Madras and Bihar and 20 per cent or more of the revenue of the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Assam. In spite of the inelasticity of the revenue structure, the different Congress ministries took immediate steps to introduce prohibition in certain restricted areas and, to make up the loss, taxed the rich with the anticipated result of incurring their hostility. It is a regrettable fact that, little by little, prohibition has been withdrawn on the plea that it leads to the illicit manufacture of liquor, smuggling, etc.

The one thing, however, with which we are concerned here is that the introduction of prohibition has reformed many a drunkard and drug addict so that today their families have at least the happiness of knowing that the whole of their earnings is spent on

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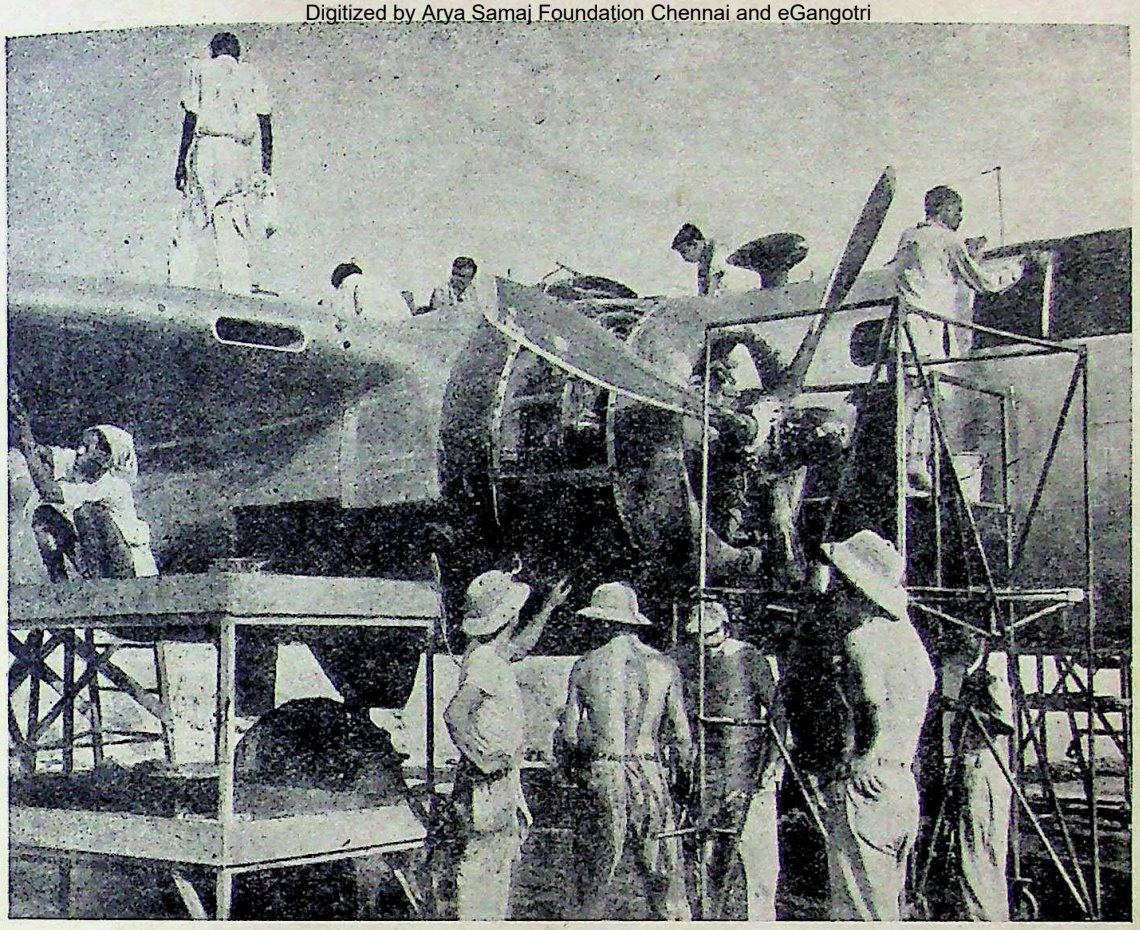

Indian mechanics work under the direction of U.S. Engineers on a B-25 at a field somewhere in India

These dogs and their trainers are attached to the Marauders, the American infantry troops that fought for the city of Myitkyina, Burma

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Courtesy: USOWI

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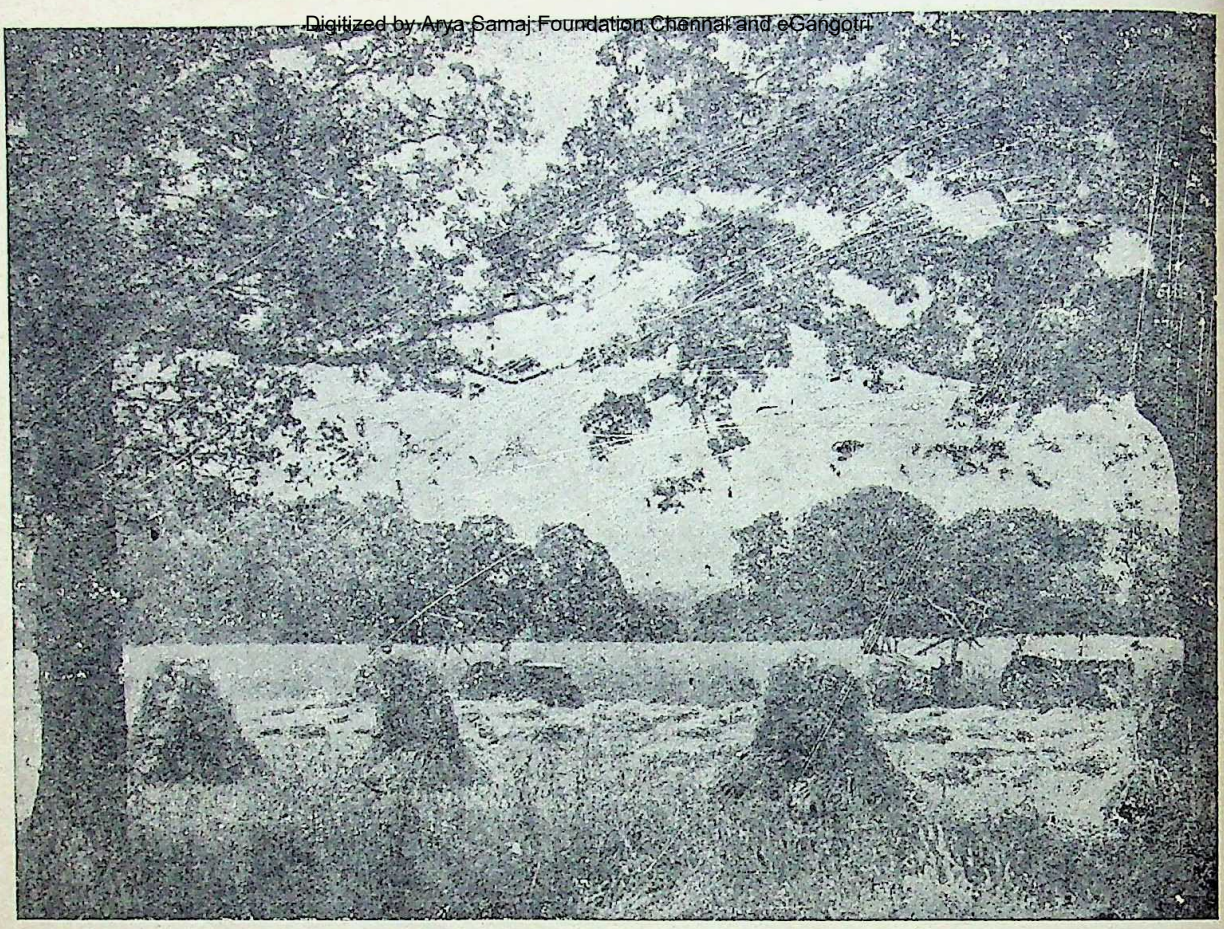

Britain's harvest is being gathered in Sussex by tractors driven by Land Girls

Accompanied by parishioners, members of the Women's Land Army and Young Farmers' Club, the Bishop of Salisbury passes through a wheat field blessing Britain's crops

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met many such persons in different parts of India and is therefore in a position to vouch for the correctness of the opinion expressed above. The one thing about which he is certain is that though indulgence in stimulants and narcotics is easier than in the days when the Congress ministries were enforcing their prohibition policy, there can be little doubt that the example of these reformed drunkards and drug addicts must open the eyes of their friends and neighbours as regards the benefits derivable from abstinence—indeed a valuable contribution to their economic betterment.

VI

The Civil Disobedience Movement very greatly accelerated the disappearance of the *purdah* and the awakening of women. Many women came out of the *purdah* for the first time and never went back. Ladies belonging to the highest and wealthiest aristocratic Hindu families as also ladies belonging to the wealthiest Parsi families picketed liquor shops and shops selling foreign cloth, led processions, were handled roughly, often beaten and flung into jail.

The present writer has seen an enthusiastic Congresswoman, the wife of a Hindu holding the very highest of official positions, dragged by the hair of her head by an Indian police constable in front of College Square, Calcutta, and in the presence and under the eyes of a non-Indian Commissioner of Police, not fit to black her shoes. It is true that she was breaking the law by picketing the Presidency (Government) College but what he witnessed he considered deliberate "frightfulness." Jawaharlal Nehru has told us in his autobiography how even his frail mother was beaten. This happened not here and there but all over India and only cases concerned with people occupying high positions attracted public attention and called forth public comments. It was when our women in their thousands were treated thus that the iron entered into our soul and we felt what Englishmen must have felt when only one Englishwoman had been ill-treated at Amritsar during the troublous days in the Punjab.

Thanks, however, to Mahatma Gandhi the resentment natural as it was, never found any expression in violence. And violence too in a disarmed country would have been useless. Probably this was as much responsible as the principle of soul force in keeping the country quiet. It had, however, one very beneficial effect. *Purdah*, at least among Congresswomen, disappeared for good. Only yesterday, the U.P., had a woman minister. A lady belonging to a very respectable and highly connected Muslim family was the very active secretary of a coolies' union in a city of North India when the present writer visited it three years ago. Two of the most prominent socialists are women. Truly, out of evil cometh good. Today we have Hindu and Mussalman women members in the different provincial assemblies.

VII

When engaged in conducting the campaign against the oppression of the ryots by the European indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar, Gandhiji had observed that in meeting these poor men he felt that he was face to face with God, Ahimsa and Truth. But it would be a mistake to suppose that a burning love for the masses is confined to him only. Vallabhbhai Patel has said,

"If any one is fit to walk with his head erect on this earth, it is the peasant. He is the producer, the others are parasites."

Along with these great men, leaders like Jawaharlal, Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, etc., had realised the appalling poverty of the peasant because of his enforced idleness for periods varying from four to six months every year due to lack of supplementary occupations. Congressmen, as a class, began to feel sympathy with the masses when such among them as had participated in the different attempts made to enlarge India's political powers, were sent to jail where intimate contact was established with them.

Gandhiji's suggestion that hand-spinning along with hand-weaving offers an immediate, practical and permanent solution of this our most vital problem, unemployment with its concomitant, chronic undernourishment, was enthusiastically accepted. All understood that India had ample supplies of the raw material and that no appliances beyond the means of the masses were required for implementing the *khadi* programme. Its value lay in the fact that it could be taken up and laid aside at the convenience of the operator, that it could, by supplying all the cloth required by him, reduce the expenditure he has to incur for procuring this necessary of life and that even two annas a day, small as the amount undoubtedly is, promises a substantial addition to the very meagre earnings of the agricultural population living on the verge of starvation.

The extent of economic benefit which can be derived by the adoption of the *khadi* programme becomes evident when we remember that only 10 crores go towards the payment of the wages of cotton operatives in our Indian mills which are normally said to manufacture cotton textiles worth about Rs. 50 crores whereas the sale of *khadi* of the same value would mean the payment of Rs. 35 crores as wages to the workers.

The All-India Spinners' Association, originally organised by Mahatma Gandhi, recently severed all connection with the Congress mainly because it was felt that no handle should be given to the critics and opponents of the latter to describe it as part of its political machinery to influence public opinion. According to the report of the All-India Spinners' Association for the year 1940, it provided work for more than 275,000 villagers including nearly 20,000 *Harijans* and nearly 58,000 Muslims who received as wages nearly 35 lakhs while the value of the *khadi* produced was about Rs. 50 lakhs. It has to be remembered that the figures given above do not take into account probably still larger numbers engaged in similar work though not under the direct supervision and control of the All-India Spinners' Association.

The attention of the reader may now be drawn to the light in which the *khadi* programme is regarded by a well-known Western thinker. G. D. H. Cole on page 290 of his *Guide to Modern Politics* says,

"Gandhi's campaign for the development of the home made clothes industry, *Khaddar*, is no mere fad of a romantic age to revive the standard of the Indian villager."

This is why the present writer regards it as one of the most precious non-political contributions of the Congress to our national well-being.

VIII

The impact of Western industrialised civilisation on our old agricultural economic order has implied not only loss of employment for our rural craftsmen and increasing pressure on an already overburdened land, but also expenditure which he cannot always afford by the rural buyer for the purchase of manufactured articles which he cannot do without. In other cases, it has meant the substitution of less for more lasting articles and adulterated for pure foodstuffs. What is most regrettable is the unexampled rapidity with which our rural arts and crafts have been disappearing.

It has also been realised that the fundamental problem of India, like that of almost every other country in the world, is the adoption of effective measures for the gradual increase in the volume of employment and that industrialisation is no cure for large-scale unemployment. Improvements in technical processes merely mean cheapening the cost of production through displacement of industrial labour, a fact

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amply proved by what Mr. Philip Murray, Chairman of the Steel Workers' Organising Committee, said on the 6th May, 1940, in the *New Republic*,

"The continuous automatic steel strip enables 126 men to do the work previously performed by 4,512."

So far as India is concerned, Mahatma Gandhi with his accustomed clarity emphasised the difficult problem we have to face when he remarked that

"Mechanisation is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work as is the case in India. The problem, therefore, with us is labour absorption and not labour saving machinery."

The aim of the All-India Village Industries Association organised in 1934 by the Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, was the resuscitation and popularisation of our village arts and crafts in order that we might use our raw materials in the areas where they are produced or in places as close to them as possible thus ensuring a continuous demand for them and a fair price for their producers. The second object was the supply of adequate quantities of manufactures at prices within the reach of the poor consumers. The third purpose was the providing of employment for our village craftsmen and, along with it, the reduction of the pressure on the land. The fundamental idea was to make the villages prosperous by making them self-sufficient and to decentralise production thus avoiding the evils of capitalism.

On the first page of the Report of the All-India Village Industries Association for 1941 we find the following account of its activities :

"The Association fixed on a minimum wage, organised exhibitions and museums to demonstrate the possibilities of persons taking to village industries, carried on propaganda to make the village people conscious, and develop their economic thought along decentralisation of industries."

Industries like paddy husking and flour grinding, oil pressing, *gur* making, bee keeping, paper and soap making, tanning and leather work, coir spinning and weaving, mat and basket making, slate pencil manufacturing, horn work, button making, etc., have been started in suitable villages. In 1935, the Gram Sevak Vidyalaya was organised to train students in various village industries. Along with the above, the Association also carried on village uplift and rural welfare work. No one can deny the valuable nature of the services sought to be rendered to the masses by this purely non-political activity of the Congress.

IX

Recognising the intimate connection between illiteracy on the one hand and poverty, ill-health and superstition on the other, Mahatma Gandhi outlined his scheme of Primary education in 1937. This, either in the form he gave it or with modifications to suit local needs, has captured the imagination of India. To realise its true place in the educational system, we must remember that it is meant for villages where the percentage of illiteracy is much higher than in towns, that it aims at imparting what may be characterised as practical literacy and familiarity with some useful handicraft and that one of its objects is to prevent the rush of rural folk to large urban centres. Its special feature is that the whole of the elementary school curriculum centres round a basic handicraft which, in its turn, leads to several subsidiary occupations.

There seems little doubt that its adoption with such variations as may be found necessary in different areas, would revolutionise village education within a few years provided the different political organisations could be persuaded to withdraw their opposition to it mainly because it comes from what many of them regard as a dubious quarter. The present writer with over four decades of educational work to his credit holds the above view as he regards it as the most practical attempt at a type of education that has its roots in village life. In addition, he believes that the mass drive against adult illiteracy sponsored by the Congress ministries during their limited period of power and continued, though with less intensity, after they had withdrawn from office, owes nearly all its inspiration to the efforts made to popularise mass education through this scheme.

X

It did not take the Congress long to realise the importance of having one common language through which a man from say a province like Bengal could make himself understood say in Maharastra or Tamilnad. Though it is perfectly true that English has played a valuable role in the interchange of ideas between Western educated people belonging to different provinces, it cannot be denied that it is useless as a means of communication where the masses are concerned. There is also the fact that the United India which nationalists envisage will require a medium of national self-expression which cannot but be one or other of the so-called Indian vernaculars. While there are objections to the selection of that particular type of Hindi which one authority has very happily called "Bazar Hindusthani," with its words drawn from Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu sources, for South India specially does not know much of it, we cannot deny that it is spoken in a more or less modified form more largely and that it is more widely understood than any other Indian language.

The steps taken by the Congress to popularise this language were characterised probably more by enthusiasm than by discretion and its political opponents did not fail to take advantage of the mistake made. But as they have no constructive suggestion to offer and moreover as the need for an all-India language is recognised, it is difficult to see by what other equally widely understood language it can be substituted. Under these circumstances, the establishment of an organisation for the popularisation of an all-India means of communication seems a distinct service. The use of Hindi or variants of it in the cinemas is also another pointer to the evolution of this common language for the whole of India and this too may fairly be regarded as one of the by-products of nationalism.

XI

It cannot be denied that, by temperament, the average Indian is unwilling to assert himself even when he has justice on his side. A little reflection will show what a marvellous change for the better has come over his character under the stress of the no-tax and the no-rent campaigns as well as other militant forms of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It is admitted that critics of the Congress are not altogether wrong when they contend that the adoption of what has been called "direct action" has brought in indiscipline as against which it has developed a capacity for suffering, a new type of pugnacity displaying itself by not striking back when struck and a self-confidence to which the Indian had been a stranger for generations.

The transformation referred to here is noticeable not only among those who defied the British administration and had to pay the penalty for doing so but also among those who stood by and watched the struggle from a distance. And what is still more remarkable is the fact that this psychological change noticed first among the leaders, nearly all of whom were drawn from different layers of the middle classes, was later on manifested by the masses whose patient endurance of all kinds of oppression has been noted and commented on by most non-Indian observers.

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Gandhiji, the sincerest and most consistent exponent of Ahimsa, had given India the political *mantram*, "*Swaraj* is the abandonment of the fear of death. A nation which allows itself to be influenced by the fear of death cannot attain *Swaraj*, and cannot retain it if somehow attained. . . We are not yet completely free because we are not prepared to look death quietly in the face."

Not content with merely giving this *mantram*, Gandhiji taught by his own example that the one and only way to freedom is absolute fearlessness with the result that thousands, if not lakhs, of Indians not only accepted the message but also acted up to it. It was astonishing to see a whole nation including the generally timorous down-trodden masses throwing off, as it were overnight, what an Englishman has called "the mental bonds of servitude" and acquiring a new dignity through sheer cold courage. The process commencing in the days of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920-22, found its consummation in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32 when an Indian commenting on what he had seen wrote as follows, in June, 1930 :

"The national upheaval has well-nigh broken the mental bonds of slavery. Man, woman and child are learning to hold their heads high and breathe as free beings. The dread of imprisonment is gone. The fear of bullets and *lathis* is also going."

In his *India and the Simon Report*, Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews was referring to this wonderful psychological change when, after giving a patient hearing to an Indian friend who was bitterly condemning the Non-Co-operation Movement, he asked the very pertinent question,

"Does the Indian villager today stand up to the Englishman more fearlessly than before ? Has he become less afraid of the Government official, of the landowner, and of the police ?"

and the Indian, after a very long pause replied,

"You're right, I never thought of that. Of course there is no comparison. The villager looks every man in the face today."

That this new fearlessness even in the face of death was not confined to the villager was demonstrated most clearly in Bombay when a young and humble Congress-worker drawn from the poverty-stricken working classes was run over and killed by a motor lorry carrying foreign piece-goods while offering Satyagraha by lying in front of it.

As the funeral procession that escorted the dead body of this poor and unknown boy was passing to the burning ghat, people were astonished to see that Hindu women who never attend funerals were carrying the bier along with the men. Still more wonderful was the fact that although no Hindu female may light the pyre even of her husband, father, brother or son, it was a Brahmin woman of the most exclusive sect and family who set fire to the funeral pyre of this youth.

It was thus that under the stress of common suffering, new bonds between the rich and the poor were forged. Even if they weaken with time, it is not likely that they will disappear altogether. The Congress and the Congress alone should get the credit for the establishment of this new relationship between the Indian classes and the Indian masses.

XII

Still another remarkable result of the conscious or unconscious imbibing of Congress teachings has been a marked improvement in the character of Indians in general. This naturally enough comes under the notice of a man like the present writer who has lived long enough to compare what was to be seen nearly seventy years ago with what one sees today. In every grade of society, there is a greater love of truth, a more passionate hatred of insincerity and a larger measure of admiration for uprightness. People no longer show any backwardness in giving public expression to their convictions and to pay the penalties contingent on doing so. It is true that these qualities, praiseworthy in their own way, occasionally display themselves in undesirable forms specially among the educated young men and young women. None the less we must hope for the disappearance of their objectionable features and the retention of those only that are admirable.

The present writer for one can never sufficiently admire the obstinacy often displayed by Bengali youngman in refusing to get married before they are in a position to support their families. The disintegration of the joint family system is another very welcome sign of a change of heart brought about by the urge for self-respect and economic independence which ever goes hand in hand with the desire for political independence.

Then again, the insistent demand for better treatment, the readiness with which gratuitous insults whatever the quarter from which they proceed are resented and, above all, the claims for justice and fairness are all more or less due to that independence of character which has been fostered by constant Congress propaganda. That cringing servility which has been the shame and the disgrace of India's manhood and to which Lord Macaulay made such caustic reference is no longer the rule either in official or public life. The restoration of the self-respect of Indians as a class had come first of all in the days of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920-22 but it had not touched directly or indirectly so many Indians as the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32. Here in addition to the thousands who actively participated in it and most of whom paid the penalty for their temerity in ways about which the future dispassionate historian of Indian nationalism will have much to say provided the records are not destroyed or placed beyond his reach, there were others, numbering millions, who in spite of their fundamental ideological differences with the Congress felt a glow of pride when they realised the steadiness with which sufferings were borne and were stirred to the inner depths of their beings when they contrasted the gallantry of their countrymen and countrywomen against what appeared to them, at least in those hectic days, as the calculated frightfulness of an administration which claimed to be civilised and to be present in our country for the benefit of its people.

When Gandhiji after his march from the 12th March to the 5th April, lasting for 24 days in which he and his followers covered about 200 miles, lifted a piece of salt from the sea-side on the morning of the 6th April, 1930 without paying the tax, he was doing exactly what had been done more than a century before in the famous Boston tea party—asserting the freedom of the Indian people as a matter of right. In the frail, weak old man defying the mightiest empire in the world, India saw herself: poor, helpless and unarmed, asserting not merely her right to self-determination in the political sphere but also the acquiring by her children of a new dignity and a new self-respect. No one who calls himself an Indian will care to deny that, here, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress was rendering a service to the people of this country which no other organisation in our motherland had ever even dreamt of performing.

Formerly, Indians patiently endured the results of natural calamities and, if relief came, it was received from official sources. It was very rare to find Indians organising themselves for doing this kind of work. Today, if there is a devastating flood, a disastrous famine, a great fire, any outbreak of an epidemic or even overwhelming pressure on local resources on account of a large religious concourse, one finds Indian organisations and Indian volunteers in large numbers ready to cope with the situation. Whatever the faults and shortcomings of the educated community, and no

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one denies that they have their share like others including even their critics, it has to be admitted that it is a manlier and a bolder race inspired by higher ideals of public duty and public responsibility than earlier generations. Today Indians engage themselves in public service because they are patriotic and for their public activities the only reward they expect is the appreciation of their countrymen and the approbation of their conscience. The valuable work done by Indian organisations during the disastrous earthquake in Bihar and in the recent famine in Bengal is too well-known to require anything except the barest mention. It is the contention of the present writer that all this is the result of the example set by the Congress and of the work which Congressmen are doing even today.

XIII

A scrutiny of the actual situation will prove that, in spite of difference of language and even of race, there are and have been real points of unity among Indians all over the country. The Hindu religion, the universal acceptance of the obligatory nature of pilgrimages, the conception that India, like Palestine for the Jews, is a sacred country are all factors which have continued to hold up before the country at large some idea of territorial unity. This has been strengthened by remembrance of the historical fact, that, from time to time, very large areas, though not the whole of present day India, have been ruled by one sovereign. Another factor tending to produce the same feeling is the cultural unity of the Hindu barkground which, in a sense, resembles the idea of "Christendom" in medieval Europe.

It is admitted that during the centuries of Mussalman ascendency, the unity found in the Hindu period disappeared to a very large extent, that the history of India became a history of the different provinces and also that, even under British rule, there was a time when there was little if any sympathy between the people of the different provinces. But those times have changed. The railway and the steamer have brought them together. Business has promoted intercourse between the provinces nd removed distance. Lastly, a common political aspiration has made it easy for the non-communal among their people to meet in the spirit of brotherhood on the common platform of Indian nationalism. Remembering all these things and recognising their value as unifying elements, one has to admit that all Indians are being gradually stamped with a common seal.

The partition of Bengal aroused indignation not only in that province but all over India. Whole India shuddered when news regarding the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy leaked out and the Creeping Lane insult filled every Indian heart with intense resentment. The Khilafat agitation which followed, united Hindu and Muslim at least once, while the Non-Co-operation Movement was characterised by the absence of class antagonism and communalism. The rich and the poor, the educated and uneducated and followers of different faiths united under the pressure of what was regarded as common political suffering and thus the way was paved for a unified Indian nation. The earthquake of Quettah and that in Bihar were regarded in the light of all-India calamities. The recent famine in Bengal aroused the sympathy and opened the purse strings of Indians of every part of India. These are some out of many incidents showing the gradual disappearance of provincial isolation.

Two examples taken from art and literature tend to prove the correctness of the above view. The first is concerned with the work of a particular and popular school of painting in Bengal which, at least in the eyes of an amateur, bears a very close resemblance to the frescoes of Ajanta. Instances taken from literature also prove the same thing. The Bengali and the Rajput are essentially different. But every one familiar with Bengali literature is aware of the extent to which the events of Rajput history have influenced it. Similarly, the doings of Sivaji and the Marhattas and the stories of the Sikh *gurus* have fascinated Bengali writers. Today many of them have been dramatised, others are found in historical novels which are very widely read and the rest have been enshrined in moving poetry of very high literary merit. On the 26th May, 1939, the *Marhatta*, a weekly published from Poona, in an editorial made a moving reference to the lead given by Hindu Bengal to nationalism and expressed regret for the way in which its interests were being neglected by the then Government. There are still other instances to prove that the barriers of provincialism are breaking down very rapidly.

Indians as Indians are today conscious of the link of common sympathy binding them together when they hear about the sufferings of Indians abroad. One has only to turn to any of the newspapers and read the comments made in the editorial columns as well as in the correspondence which appears from time to time in order to gauge the feelings of indignation excited when our brethren overseas are the victims of injustice. And yet, in a majority of these cases, these Indians are born and bred abroad and have but little in common with their brethren in India.

Though we have many all-India organisations to-day, it cannot be denied that the Congress has done more than any other single political party in making us forget inter-provincial jealousies and misunderstandings thus taking the leading part in gradually moulding the vast heterogeneous population of India into a homogeneous nation. This was referred to by the late Amvica Charan Majumdar, the President of the 31st Congress held at Lucknow in 1916, when he said,

"A generation ago, the stalwart and turbulant Punjabi, the intelligent and sensitive Bengalee, the orthodox and exclusive Madrassi, the ardent and astute Marhatta, the anglicised Parsi and the cold, calculating Guzrati, were perfect strangers to one another, and if they happened to meet anywhere they learnt only to despise each other. Their hereditary tradition was one of mutual distrust, while their past history was marked only by internecine feuds, pillage and bloodshed. But what are they today? They are now all united by a strong and indissoluble tie of brotherhood, over-riding all distinctions of caste and creed, and inspired by mutual appreciation and common fellowship. Hatred has given place to love and callousness to sympathy."

This very clearly proves that the Congress has not only laid the foundations for the colossal work of nation-building but has also made considerable progress with it. This one achievement is sufficient justification for the existence of the Congress.

When a leader like a Gandhi, a Nehru, a Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Rajendra Prasad or an Abdul Gaffar Khan visits any part of India, he is made welcome at once. Difference in the religion professed makes no difference here. The present writer has seen Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan given as hearty a welcome as any non-Muslim leader. Many in India have at last come to realise that difference in the language spoken or the faith professed is no drawback to unity. The case of the United States of America where many languages are spoken and many faiths professed as well as that of Switzerland have taught us this lesson. It only remains for all to learn it when we shall achieve communal unity.

The Congress has gradually become the most powerful factor in bringing about an all-India unity. The present writer has toured through every part of India except Sind and the North-West Frontier and has been the guest of the very well-to-do, of the middle as well as of the poorer classes. He has, in a majority of cases, been entertained in the homes of his brothers in faith. But he has also been invited to meals at the houses of

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non-Christians. In a very large number of these homes, he has seen pictures of Mahatma Gandhi. Pictures of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stand next in popularity. Then come pictures of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Rajendra Prasad. After these come the pictures of leaders of local Congress organisations. The time may yet come when the claims of Mahatma Gandhi to immortality will rest on his unique achievement in not only introducing the technique of non-violence and truth in the political field, but also in miraculously forging an all-India unity.

XIV

It was probably Lord Salisbury who remarked that the success of a people who know how to wait is always sure. The Indian National Congress has been working under exceptional difficulties for more than 50 years, differences of opinion and of policy have manifested themselves from time to time but they have been composed and the march towards the goal resumed with unfaltering steps. The political consciousness of the people has been aroused. This has naturally raised new and difficult problems. They are being sought to be solved satisfactorily by those who have been entrusted by Providence to guide the destinies of this great national movement.

Our Mussalman brethren have been galvanised into increased vitality of which the signs are to be found in the keenness they now show for safeguarding their interests. There is no doubt that the somewhat unfortunate shape their political consciousness is taking is causing sharp differences between the two largest communities in our motherland. But we firmly hold that an ultimate union is inevitable and that once all communities unite for the attainment of economic and political freedom, "there is no force on the surface of the earth," as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, President in the 12th session of the Indian National Congress observed in 1896, "which can resist our just and legitimate demands."

In the midst of a constant struggle between a jealous bureaucracy determined to retain power as long as possible and a progressive political organisation equally determined to force as much as possible from unwilling hands, the national movement, in spite of misrepresentation, calumny and downright persecution, has been gaining strength ever since 1885 when it first came into existence. Like a mountain torrent which in its headlong rush sweeps away all obstacles which lie in its path, the Indian National Congress is gradually obliterating those differences which are presented by dissimilarities of creed and caste, of language, customs, habits and manners. The work of unification is proceeding rapidly, the angularities due to provincial and racial causes are being rounded off and a united Indian nation fired by common aims and aspirations is in the making.

No doubt mistakes have been committed from time to time but these are unavoidable in every organisation which is alive and active. The pity of it is that its critics very rarely realise that if they had been placed in a similar position, they also, unless they are gods, would have made perhaps worse mistakes. But the one thing which stands out clearly is that there is no other single organisation, political or non-political, in India which has so much to its credit and so little to its discredit and that is the note on which the present writer would like to close this discussion.

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THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

Position of Gandhiji

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I

In this article I propose to deal with the position taken by Gandhiji during his recent negotiations with Mr. Jinnah and afterwards.[1]

II

In his letter, dated 24th September, 1944, Gandhiji wrote to Mr. Jinnah, among other things[2]:

"With your assistance I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied.....

"I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, *i.e.*, Baluchistan, Sind, N.-W.F.P. and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements, and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

"Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore on my basis and on the following terms :—

"The areas should be demarcated by a commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

"If the vote is in favour of separation, it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can, therefore, be constituted into two *sovereign independent States*.

"There shall be a *treaty* of separation which should also provide for the *efficient* and *satisfactory* administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the *contracting parties*.

"The *treaty* shall also contain *terms for safeguarding* the rights of minorities in the two States.

"Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League, the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of the independence of India.

1 As indicated in a foot-note to our preceding article, our original plan was to deal with the question of the "two-nations" theory of Mr. Jinnah in this article. Considerations of space, however, do not permit this. We shall deal with the question in our next article in this series.

2 See *The Statesman* and *Hindusthan Standard* of 29th September, 1944 (Dak Edition).

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"The League will, however, be free to remain out of any direct action to which the Congress may resort, and in which the League may not be willing to participate."[3]

If the letter from which the above extracts have been taken, has been correctly reported in the Press, as is very likely, then there is some confusion of ideas in it. It is not very clear from the language which Gandhiji has been reported to have used in extract 5 as quoted above, as to whether the Muslim-majority areas as contemplated by him are to constitute "a separate State" or "two sovereign independent States." Probably he meant—and this also follows from the wording of extract 7 above—that if the plebiscite suggested by him favoured separation, then India, after it had been freed from foreign domination, was to be divided "into two sovereign independent States." Our examination of Gandhiji's position in this article will proceed on this assumption—which we believe to be correct—of his view on this particular point.

Gandhiji suggested the formula contained in the extracts quoted above, in place of that which is popularly known as the "Rajaji" (or the C. R.) formula for the settlement of the Indian communal problem, but which had also previously received his own approval. He did this because Mr. Jinnah had stated, in his letter to him, dated 11th September, 1944, that the Rajaji formula[4] had not only put the Lahore Resolution[5] of the Muslim League "out of shape," but also "mutilated it."[6] We shall refer hereinafter to the formula presented by Gandhiji himself as the "Gandhiji" formula. Let us now analyse the implications of the formula.

According to this formula, India is to be divided into two sovereign independent States, and these two States are to be "the contracting parties" to "a treaty of separation," and this treaty of separation is to "provide for the *efficient* and *satisfactory* administration of foreign affairs, defence," etc.[7] Further, the treaty "shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States." And in the course of an interview granted to a correspondent of *The News Chronicle*, London, on 30th September, 1944, Gandhiji is reported to have said :

"It is my suggestion that provided there was safeguard of plebiscite, there could be *sovereignty* for predominantly Muslim areas, but it should be accompanied by *bonds of alliance* between Hindusthan and Pakisthan. There should be a *common policy* and *working arrangement* on foreign affairs, Defence, communications and similar matters. This is manifestly vital to the welfare of both parts of India."[8]

With all due deference to Gandhiji, we are constrained to observe that in expressing these views as he has done, he has spoken like a layman who is totally ignorant of the lessons of history of Federations like the United States, Switzerland, and the German Empire (formed in 1871), and who does not know how human nature works in Politics, whether national or international. Moreover, there are, as we shall shortly see, not merely misuse of political terms, but also some inherent contradictions, in his views. May we ask him in all politeness, what will be the sanction of his "treaty of separation"? In the absence of a common central authority, capable, in the last resort, of enforcing its decisions, if necessary, with the application of physical force, who will enforce the terms of the treaty, or of the alliance, as suggested by him, in the event of their non-fulfilment by either of the contracting parties? The philosophy of non-violence will be worse than useless in such matters. Government is not a matter of charity, goodwill, advice, instruction, or even persuasion. Ultimately, it involves the application of physical force. And it must be borne in mind in this connexion that this "treaty of separation" is to govern matters of such vital concern to India as foreign affairs, defence, etc. We do not like to repeat here what we have already said in our previous article[9] in this series, in connexion with the position taken by Mr. Jinnah. We only want to emphasize here that all those arguments which we have put forward against that position, apply with equal force to the position taken by Gandhiji in this matter. It is, indeed, not only a gross, but a very dangerous, delusion to think that a treaty as contemplated by Gandhiji, can solve the Indian problem satisfactorily. The very same arguments may also be advanced against the view taken by Gandhiji when he clarified, in his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 11th September, 1944, clause (iv) of the Rajaji formula.[10] He said : "'Mutual *agreement*' means *agreement* between *contracting parties*. 'Safeguarding defence, etc.' means for me a central or joint board of control. Safeguarding means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy."[11] This is mere paraphrasing unless Gandhiji meant that his central or joint board of control would be a real Government, amply vested with legislative, judicial and executive powers, and capable, in the last resort, of enforcing its will, if necessary, with the application of physical force. And if he did really mean this, then there would be no room for the continuance of separate *contracting parties*. They would be *ipso facto* merged in one Indian Union or Federation, and would form politically a single State.

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3 The italics in these extracts are ours.

4 For convenience of reference and comparison we may reproduce here the Rajaji formula:—

(i) "Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period.

(ii) "After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

(iii) "It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(iv) "In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

(v) "Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

(vi) "These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India."

5 The relevant extracts from this Resolution were published in the first article in this series. See *The Modern Review*, December, 1944.

6 Gandhiji has been reported to have said on 30th September, 1944, to a correspondent of *The News Chronicle*, London, that Mr. Jinnah had "rejected Rajaji's formula."—*Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 3rd October, 1944 (Dak Edition).

7 See extract 6 from Gandhiji's letter of 24th September, 1944, as quoted above. The italics are ours.

8 See *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 3rd October, 1944, (Dak Edition). The italics are ours.

9 Published in *The Modern Review* of December, 1944.

10 See foot-note 4 above.

11 The italics in this quotation are ours.

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If, however, it is argued against the position taken above by us that under the Gandhiji formula there will be a treaty of separation which will "provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence,"[12] etc., then our reply is that this is the very thing which the proposed treaty will not be able to ensure. Apart from what we have already said in our previous article[13] against the efficacy of such treaties, we may observe here that a treaty between two or more independent and sovereign States cannot permanently and effectively bind them. The reason is that it does not create a political power superior to the contracting parties. Moreover, as a distinguished American political scientist[14] has rightly pointed out in another connexion, "*Rebus sic stantibus,* expressed or implied, is a clause in every treaty, and States have ever asserted the right to declare such instruments of no force when by change of conditions their welfare has become so greatly affected or menaced as to overbalance the evil results to be expected, by way of retaliation or otherwise, from the violation of their faith as given in a treaty."

If, however, the words "efficient" and "satisfactory" have been used by Gandhiji to mean what they really imply, then there must be, by force of logic, a single State for the whole of India, an All-India Union or Federation—and not a Confederation, nor an Alliance, of Sovereign States, as the expression "a treaty of separation" seems to imply. Gandhiji owes it to the people of India to explain what he really meant by his formula. There must not be any subterfuge, intentional or unintentional, or any hide-and-seek policy, in such a vital matter. As it is, the formula is self-contradictory. If, however, Gandhiji says that he really meant by his formula the creation of a Federal Constitution for the whole of India, then we have no quarrel with him. In that case he should abandon the use of such misleading terms as "a treaty of separation," "two sovereign independent States," "two States," etc., and openly declare that India should be a Federation of autonomous, constituent units, as suggested by the All-India Congress Committee in its resolution, adopted on the 8th of August, 1942, in its Bombay Session.

In his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 22nd September, 1944, Gandhiji stated: "I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interests, such as defence, foreign affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity." Certainly, there "will be no feeling of security by the people of India" without this recognition and also its translation into *consequential constitutional provisions.* But we may point out to Gandhiji that he cannot have both. If he wants to appease the Muslim separationists by conceding to their absurd and unreasonable demand for a "division" of India, he should not expect any "simultaneous safeguarding" of common interests. The two things are, by virtue of their nature, fundamentally incompatible with each other.[15] Indeed, it appears to me, after a very careful consideration of the correspondence that passed between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji, and also of what followed the break-down of their negotiations, that Gandhiji's mind must have been in a serious conflict during the negotiations between two things—his desire to maintain, in consonance with his unequivocal declarations in the past, the unity and integrity of India as far as possible and the implications of the commitment he had made by giving his assent, *while he was fasting,*[16] to the communal formula which Mr. Rajagopalachariar had presented to him at Poona. As a consequence, the offer made by Gandhiji himself to Mr. Jinnah is indefinite, misleading, and self-contradictory. It cannot really solve the Indian problem unless it has for its object the establishment of an All-India Federation, composed of autonomous, constituent units, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial or religious minorities in this country. But in so far as the offer made by him concedes the principle of separation or partition, it has the same mischievous potentialities as the Rajaji formula. The partitionists would make a full use of it in a future negotiation for the settlement of our communal question, and the enemies of India's unity would not be slow to take a full advantage of it either. And Gandhiji has said that, so far as he is concerned, the offer made by him stands.[17] Moreover, in his correspondence[18] with Mr. Jinnah, Gandhiji again and again assured the former that, although he refused to assume any representative capacity, he pledged himself to use all the influence he might have with the Congress, to have any agreement reached between them ratified by the latter. And this means much. Herein lies a danger of the Gandhiji formula. And there is not much essential difference between the Rajaji formula and the Gandhiji formula in so far as their mischief-making

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12 See extract 6 from Gandhiji's letter of 24th September, 1944, as quoted above.

13 Published in *The Modern Review* of December, 1944.

14 See W. W. Willoughby, *An Examination of the Nature of the State,* pp. 198-99.

15 Gandhiji has also been reported to have said at a Press Conference at Bombay on 28th September, 1944, that "he accepted the principle of sovereign States, consistent with friendliness." And "friendliness suggests," he said, "that before the whole world we must act as one nation, not united by extraneous circumstances, or united by force of British arms but united by greater force, that is our own determined will. This is, undoubtedly, a very fine sentiment. But, unfortunately, the politics of sovereign States and friendliness as Gandhiji contemplates, are seldom compatible with each other. Things would not be otherwise here. As Spinoza rightly pointed out long ago, "Two States are natural enemies." And this is particularly so in the case of border States. Gandhiji cannot have both "sovereignty" and "friendliness." *Federalism* is the only durable and satisfactory solution in a case like ours. Gandhiji should work for that.

16 It appears from a statement of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar to the Associated Press of India, dated at Panchgani 9th July, 1944, that he "had secured Gandhiji's personal approval *even during his fast* in February-March last year (*i.e.,* 1943) for the formula that" he was then releasing to the public. We cannot help remarking here that it is really strange that Mr. Rajagopalachariar should have chosen to present his highly complicated formula with its far-reaching implications, to Gandhiji when the latter had been fasting and, therefore, could not be, being a human being, in a sufficiently proper and alert state of mind and body. Gandhiji has been reported to have said at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944: "When he (*i.e.,* Rajaji) found me in the Aga Khan Palace and presented the formula (*i.e.,* the Rajaji formula) I did not take *even five minutes* and I said: 'Yes, because I saw it in a concrete shape'." (The italics are ours). We do not know if the implications of the Rajaji formula were so simple as to enable Gandhiji to come to a decision within *five* minutes. At least we do not think so. Perhaps Gandhiji has since realised that the formula is not really so simple as it may have appeared to him when he was *fasting.* At any rate, this only confirms what we have said above in this foot-note.

17 See Gandhiji's statement at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944.

18 See, for instance, Gandhiji's letters to Mr. Jinnah, dated 11th and 26th September, 1944.

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property is concerned.[19] This is our deliberate view. Of course, it is far from our mind in saying this to ascribe any sinister motive to the authors of the formulas. We are only exposing here the inherent defects of the formulas and their probable consequences. And Gandhiji himself has invited criticisms of his offer from the general public.[20]

III

We should also like to refer here to another view of Ganlhiji, which we think in the public interest shuold not be allowed to go unchallenged. At a Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944, he has been reported to have said in reference to his own formula:

"I think it is a just solution of the problem and it is in the spirit of the policy which the Congress has *consistently*[21] adopted in connexion with the communal question, namely, self-determination." And, with reference to his assent to the Rajaji formula, he has been reported to have said at the same Press Conference :

"Thereby I have not departed from the Congress standpoint in general terms. Congress has accepted self-detelmination and the Rajaji-formula has also accepted the principle of self-determination and the formula had become a common ground."

Further in the course of a statement to a special representative of the *United Press,* Gandhiji has been reported to have previously said[22]: "At the same time, at the time I made the statement you refer to, I was also a party to the self-determination resolution of the A.I.C.C. I hold that Rajaji's formula gives effect to that resolution."

The clear implication of these statements is that, even though the Gandhiji formula and the Rajaji formula may concede the principle of partition of India, yet they are quite in consonance with the object and policy of the Indian National Congress. We should like to submit to Gandhiji very respectfully that his view is both wrong and misleading. And, quoting his own words used in another connexion, we may also say that mere "assertion is no proof." Nor can the repetition of what is not a fact make it a fact. We have already dealt with this question in an article entitled *The Rajagopalachari Formula and the Congress,* in the October (1944) number of this *Review,*[23] and, therefore, do not propose to repeat our arguments here. We should like to invite Gandhiji's attention to this article, and to say only that the Rajaji formula is definitely against the declared policy and object of the Congress. The resolution of the Congress Working Committee adopted at New Delhi early in April, 1942, which presumably Gandhiji had in mind when he made the statements quoted above, was completely neutralized and nullified by the resolutions of the A.I.C.C. (All-India Congress Committee), adopted by the latter in 1942 during its Allahabad and Bombay sessions—and, in particular, by what is now known as the Jagatnarain Lal resolution. This resolution—rather counter-resolution—of Mr. Jagatnarain Lal which the A.I.C.C. adopted on 2nd May, 1942, by a majority of 92 votes against 17 during its Allahabad Session, and which we have quoted in our article referred to before, is so categorical and so unequivocal that there can be no room for any reasonable doubt about its implications in anybody's mind. Moreover, the A.I.C.C. accepted this resolution of Mr. Jagatnarain Lal after he had made it definitely clear, in the course of his speech in support of his resolution, as to what his real object was in moving it. He had said:— "I want the A. I. C. C. to give a clear and unequivocal declaration against the disintegration of India.....I appeal to the members of the A.I.C.C. to give here right now their firm, clear and unequivocal mandate against the disintegration of our country and against Pakistan." And the A.I.C.C. did it. The A.I.C.C. did not pass in 1942 any "self-determination" resolution. These remarks apply equally well to the Gandhiji formula. We really wonder how after all this Gandhiji still maintains that his formula as well as the Rajaji formula, both of which concede the principle of division of India, is consistent with the position of the Congress. He seems to be under a misapprehension. This is evident from the following sentence in his letter to Sardar Durlab Singh, dated at Sewagram 14th November, 1944:—

"Maulana Saheb explained the implications of the Jagatnarain Lal resolution which please see."

We have seen what the Maulana Saheb said. "Giving permission for the resolution moved by Shri Jagatnarain Lal, the President (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad)," says an official document of the Congress, "gave it *as his opinion*[24] that the resolution no way contradicted the position taken up by the Working Committee at Delhi with regard to the question of the demand for the partition of India made by the Muslim League and incorporated in the resolution dealing with Sir Stafford's draft proposals."

This was a purely *personal opinion* of the President as the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee, and not even an *official* ruling. Even if it had been an official ruling, it would not have mattered in the least. As we have shown in some detail in our article published in the October (1944) number of this *Review,* under the Constitution of the Indian National Congress, the Working Committee, being what it is, has no power to act against any policy or programme laid down by the All-India Congress Committee or by the Congress itself. Further, it is subordinate to the All-India Congress Committee which can undo what the former has done. The Working Committee is in a sense a Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, and an agent of the latter. As its master and official superior, the All-India Congress Committee may, therefore, with unquestionable constitutionality, set aside or repudiate any action or decision taken by the Working Committee. Moreover, the language of the particular resolution of the A.I.C.C., which Mr. Jagatnarain Lal had moved, is to be the determining factor here. And that language, Gandhiji knows very well, is absolutely unequivocal and categorical. No personal remark of the President, not even an official ruling by him can undo, nullify, or neutralize the implications of a resolution which the A.I.C.C., while in full possession of all facts, solemnly and deliberately adopted. There is no provision in the Constitution of the Congress which empowers the President to neutralize the effect of a resolution which has been adopted by the A.I.C.C. The A.I.C.C. itself, or its own master the Indian National Congress in its annual or special session, can undo it, and none else. This is the correct constitutional position. The acceptance of Gandhiji's view would mean the placing of the Working

19 And Gandhiji himself said at the Press Conference at Bombay on 28th September, 1944:—"Where there is an obvious Muslim majority they should be allowed to constitute a separate state by themselves and that has been fully conceded in the Rajaji formula or my formula. There is not much distinction between them. That right is conceded without the slightest reservation."

20 See Gandhiji's statement to the correspondent of *The News Chronicle,* London, dated at Bombay 30th September, 1944.

21 The italic is ours.

22 The "United Press" message, dated at Wardhaganj 8th August 1944.

23 Also see our letter entitled "The C. R. Formula and the Congress" in *Hindusthan Standard* of 4th September, 1944, Calcutta (and of 5th September, 1944, Dak Edition), and in *Free Press Journal* of Bombay, dated 7th September, 1944.

24 The italics are ours.

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Committee above the A.I.C.C., and the enthronement of the dictatorship or absolutism of the President of the Congress. We believe that the Congress is yet a democratic body, and not an authoritarian institution. Being a lawyer, Mr. Jinnah, therefore, was perfectly right when he pointed out, in his letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th September, 1944, the difficulties created by the Jagatnarain Lal resolution in the way of the division of India, so far as the Congress was concerned.

In regard to the much-abused and much-misunderstood doctrine of self-determination referred to by Gandhiji, all that we should like to say here is that the right of self-determination is, as Lord Curzon pointed out once in 1923, like a two-edged sword and can be admitted only with reservations. The doctrine is to be applied to a country as a whole, and not to any section of its population at its dictation. Otherwise, there will be a disintegration of the country. Moreover, if the doctrine is unwisely applied to sections of the population in a country on a religious basis, then the minorities in the areas affected, who may be opposed to the majorities in them, should also have the right of self-determination on the same ground. Logic, reason, and equity would, therefore, require that there should be parallel governments, over the same territories, for majorities and minorities. Thus there would be created an absurd situation. The principle of self-determination is not such a simple thing as some people imagine it to be. It is not without any reason, therefore, that we find such a comment on it, in Hall's great Treatise on International Law,[25] as the following:—

"The phrase (self-determination) is one of *dangerous vagueness* as encouraging *inordinate* nationalist claims, and its application, in ignoring economic conditions, has led to some *disastrous results*."[26]

And if Gandhiji applies this principle to sections of the Indian people as he proposes to do, it is sure to lead to equally, if not more, disastrous results for this country.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place to refer here to the Aaland Islands dispute and to a certain view of the Committee of International jurists appointed in 1920 by the Council of the League of Nations to give an advisory opinion in this connexion.[27] The dispute "was one concerning certain islands which lie midway between Finland and Sweden, inhabited almost exclusively by people of the Swedish race, but which historically and geographically had always formed a part of Finland." The Finish Government "declared that the Aalands were geographically part of Finland, and that it was strategically impossible for Finland to surrender them." The Swedish Government complained that the Finns were refusing "to allow the Aalanders the right of self-determination."[28] As a matter of fact, by plebiscites held in 1918 and again in 1919 the people of the Aaland Islands, writes Professor Garner,[29] an American authority on International Law, "had voted almost unanimously in favour of separation" from Finland. The Committee of Jurists, however, declared its opinion, continues Professor Garner,[30] "that there was no rule of positive international law which recognized the right of fractions of peoples as such to separate themselves by a simple act of their own will from a definitely established state of which they form a part, any more than it recognizes the rights of other states to demand such separation.....It added that the recognition of the right of self-determination in the form asserted by the inhabitants of the Aaland Islands would amount to an infringement upon the sovereignty of existing states, would lead to destruction of the stability which the very word 'state' implies, and would endanger the interests of the international community."

In June, 1921, the Council of the League of Nations decided to recognize Finish sovereignty over the Aaland Islands, practically accepting the recommendation of a Political Commission previously appointed by it. And in October, 1921, this decision was accepted by the League of Nations "under the condition that *autonomous rights*[31] should be granted to the population of the Islands." This incident has a very valuable lesson for us, and we invite the attention of both Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji to it.

25 8th Edition, p. 54n.
26 The italics are ours.

27 See *The Annual Register*, 1920, pp. 153-54, 218-19, and 267; also *The Annual Register*, 1921, pp. 76, 152-53, 199-200, and 257-58.
28 See *Ibid.*
29 See his *Political Science and Government*, p. 135.
30 *Ibid.*
31 The italics are ours.

DESERT

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Wounds have replaced warm roses. Nothing stirs
Except black winds which dally with the hours:
Weed-gatherers have exiled the gardeners
And with uncanny cunning do succeed
In making men wild lovers of the weed
Oblivious of their heritage of flowers.

Inheritors of the desert, grim and bare,
We are mad, self-crowned monarchs who contend,
Painting red struggle on the envenomed air:
In love with ugliest intrigue and strife,
Driving authentic beauty out of life,
We record the beginning of the end.

Sowers of song-seeds have departed, and
Our gardens bloom no more; the singing throng
Makes way for vultures, while the poet's hand
In sad, star-widowed solitude withdraws,
Leaving a multitude of hungry claws
Which close around the throat of real Song!

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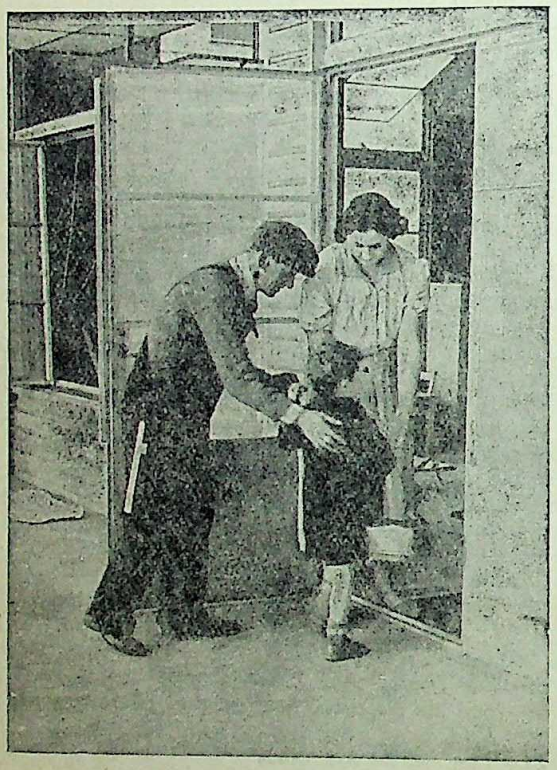
WAR NURSERIES

By CICELY FRASER

Before the war, a mother with a baby to look after had no time for any duty outside her own home. The war has altered that, for now that women are going to work in factories to produce shells and tanks, means have had to be found of relieving mothers of this domestic task.



Father is taking his little son to the nursery school and handing him over to one of the charming and efficient nurses

In a large and airy room, its walls distempered and lined with nursery frescoes, forty children between two and five are eating their mid-day dinner. The miniature tables at which they sit in groups of four are painted in bright colours. The children—industriously feeding themselves with large spoons—are dressed in gay check overalls of blue and red and mauve. To look at you would say they were "country bred" children, for their faces are round and their cheeks rosy. Yet a year ago these same kiddies lived in mean houses, with no better playground than the city streets. To see what they looked like then you have only to notice the newcomer in the corner, whose face is pale and thin, and who seems much smaller than the other children of his own age.

The children's new home is a war nursery, built in the country some thirty miles from London. They themselves are evacuees whose mothers are engaged in war work, and who are brought here for the day to be looked after while mother is working.

This particular nursery has been specially designed and built for the purpose. It stands in a field, where the toddlers can play in fine weather. All the furnishings—chairs, tables, the washbasins and lavatories—are made to scale. In the cupboards lining the playroom walls are toys of all kinds; dolls, engines, books, paints. In another room are forty small beds for the afternoon nap.

The scheme of war nurseries, set up by the Ministry of Health in the first place as an emergency scheme, has spread and developed and has proved one of the most valuable contributions to social service brought about by the war. When at the outbreak of war large numbers of mothers and children below school age were transferred from the town to country districts, the problem of how to see that the children were kept healthy and occupied became a pressing one. It became still more pressing with the need for mobilising woman power for

With the encouragement of her teacher this little toddler is learning to fit a puzzle together

factory work. And so the Government began setting up nurseries in all parts of the country. They are of two main types, one for children under two, and the other for toddlers

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from two to five. Some nurseries are open for school hours, from about nine till five, others from seven in the morning till seven or eight at night. Nurseries have been opened both in country and in city areas, in all cases under the auspices of the Government.

Britain's young children are being cared for with every kind of attention in the way of feeding, recreation and training

From the very beginning, the idea was to provide something more than a mere place where children might be kept out of the way. Those nurseries are training the children, seeing to their physical health, teaching them to be independent, clean, intelligent, and good citizens. Frequent medical inspections take place, minor ailments are cured.

The trained helpers who are in charge of the nurseries report that most of the children improve in health and physique after a very short time. And they are well-behaved too—not because they are regimented, but because they are occupied and happy.

The parents pay a small sum, a few pence a day, but the main cost of the nurseries (which includes two or three meals a day) is borne by the Government.

Some mothers have been unable or unwilling to evacuate their children under five. For these infants nurseries have been started in the towns. One manufacturing district has no fewer than seventy, scattered about the outskirts and centres of its towns, and more are being built.

These nurseries are usually converted houses. One of the biggest is in an old Victorian mansion. The house has been refitted and re-decorated, with coloured walls and furniture which make it suitable and attractive for children, and is now one of the full-time nurseries. It opens at about 6·30 or seven in the morning, so that mothers going early to work in the factories can bring their children on the way, and it does not shut till about eight at night. It caters for children up to five years of age.

The top floor belongs to the babies in charge of a trained nurse, assisted by a number of helpers. It has a sick room where babies with any suspicion of illness may be isolated —if necessary they are transferred to a hospital. Clothes are found for babies who are poorly dressed, and each baby is bathed every day. They spend most of their time in cots, though babies old enough to start

School-children evacuated to all parts of the country have contributed models, drawings and paintings to the Exhibition of "The History of English Life"

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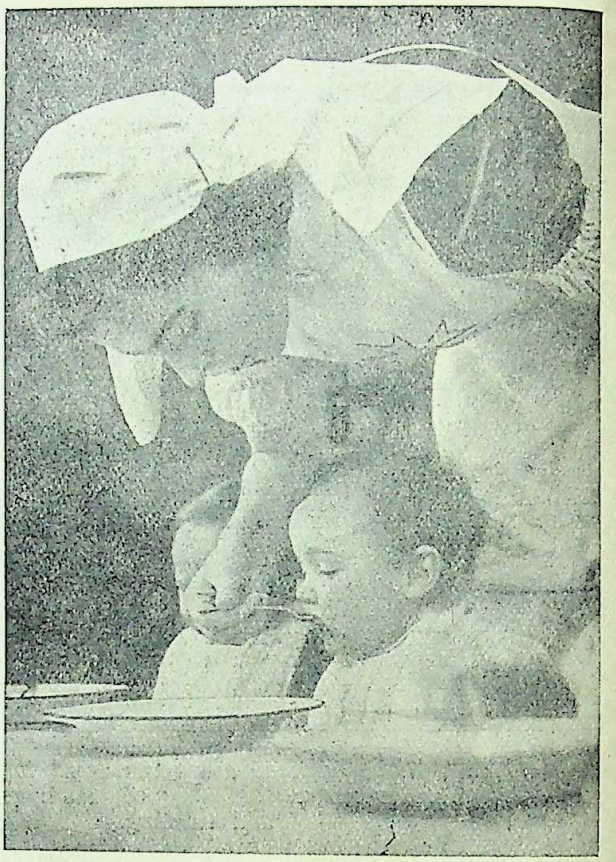
crawling are allowed periods of exercise round the floor.

Down below are the older infants, in con-

The wash basins, like all the other nursery fittings, have been specially constructed in miniature to suit the young children

ditions like those described in the country nursery. They have not had the same advantages of country air, but plenty of rest and healthy food has done wonders in improving their health and clearing up the coughs, colds, and similar ailments which often affect city children.



One of the very young children is enjoying her mid-day meal

The problem of providing nurseries for the small children of working mothers has always been a serious one, but it has taken the war to solve it on a proper scale.

THE GOLCONDA FORT

How a Cowherd Helped a King in Its Construction

By M. FATHULLA KHAN

Some queer legends about the celebrated fort of Golconda in Hyderabad-Deccan, round which centres the romantic rise, the glorious prosperity and the sudden fall of the famous Qutb Shahi dynasty, have come to light in connection with its construction for the first time. These are contained in an interesting three-centuries old document which has come to the notice of the writer.

Although there is no recorded history of the fort prior to the year 1363 A.D., traces in the citadel indicate that it is at least as old as the fort of Warangal which dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. Therefore, it must have originally been a small mud fort, like that of Warangal, under some Hindu prince before it fell under the sway of the Warangal rajas who subsequently ceded it, together with its dependencies, to Muhammad Shah Bahmani in the year 1363. It was after this Sultan that Golconda was known, for a time, as Muhammad Nagar. Even though the Bahmani kingdom began to break up in 1490 A.D., Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, the Bahmani Viceroy of Golconda, continued to hold allegiance to Sultan Muhammad Shah II, his benefactor, until the latter died in 1518. Thereon he assumed independence as Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda.

Quli Qutb Shah is said to have had replaced

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the mud fortifications by substantial stone ones during his viceroyalty.

The fifth king of Golconda, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611) was the next monarch who is recorded to have made extensive additions to the fort.

Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah

We then come to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672), the seventh king of Golconda, who apprehended danger from the Mughals, and, therefore, further strengthened the defences of the fort, making it as far as possible impregnable. He added new defences in the new wall to the fortifications on the north-east, which is 3,340 yards long, taking in the small strategic hillock within the fort, as otherwise this hill would have presented a very favourable position to the enemy making it difficult to dislodge him from there.

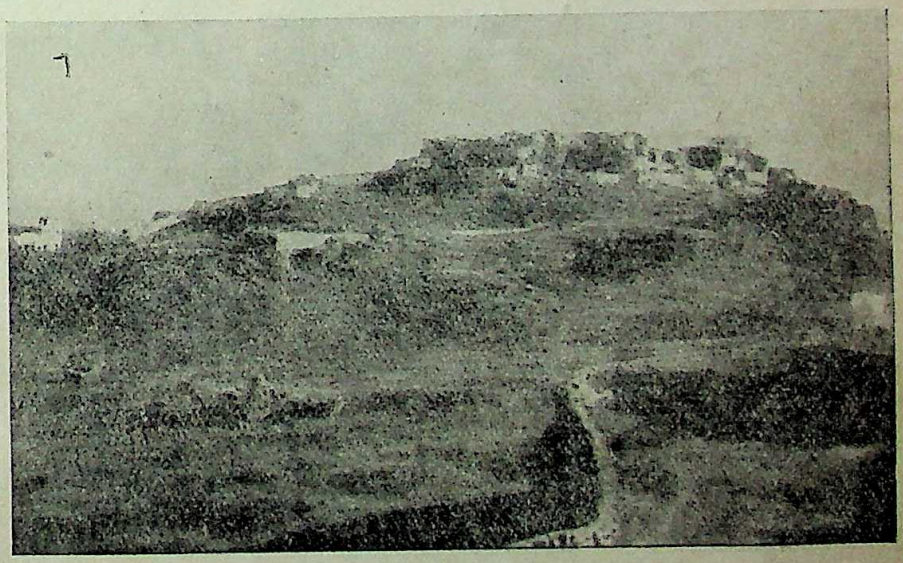
It will thus be seen that the fort did already exist at Golconda long before the Qutb Shahi dynasty was founded, and that its fortifications had been strengthened not only by two of the Sultans prior to Abdullah Qutb Shah, but also by the latter himself to a considerable extent.

Story of the Cowherd

The *sanad* or document, which is written separately in Persian and in Telugu and bears the seal of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, with whose name the events mentioned therein are associated, is granted in the name of *Dhangar* (Cowherd) Kondiah, and it is now in possession of a distant descendant of the original recipient.

The sanad mentions the original name of the citadel as Manugal fort, *alias* Golakonda, situated at Muhammad Nagar in Bhagnagram pargana, and it records the story as to how Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah managed to construct the fort.

The Sultan, narrates the document, having failed in his attempt to construct a fort consulted a *murshid* or spiritual guide by name Syed Muzaffar Shah of Aurangabad, then residing at Gulbargah, as to why his ancestor was not able to construct a fort and why even his own attempt had failed. The *murshid*, thereupon, suggested that the services of the *Dhangar* (Cowherd) Kondiah, who had promoted the scheme to construct the forts at Warangal and Bhongir for Raja Pratapa Rudra Deva, and which fact had been acknowledged by the Raja himself in the sanad granted to Kondiah, be requisitioned in this connection. The Sultan agreed; and the cowherd was accordingly sent for. When Kondiah arrived at Golconda, he was entrusted with the task of completing the Sultan's project. The cowherd,



The Golconda Fort

in obedience, laid the foundation of the fort, calling it, after his occupation, *Golla Konda*. The cowherd then pointed out to the Sultan the mysterious gold image lying in Sadhu Gokuldas' well, and explained to him the secret about it. The construction of the fort was eventually completed

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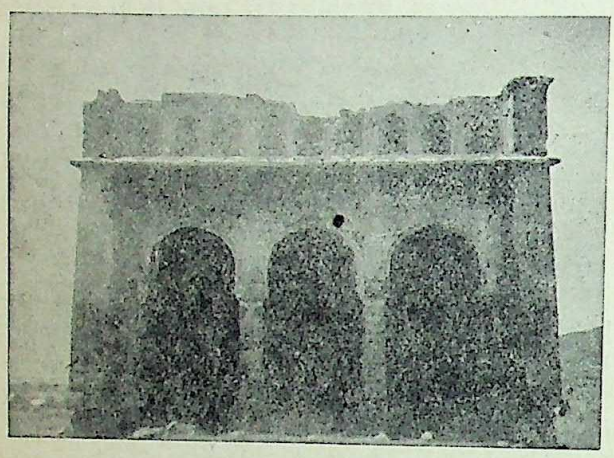
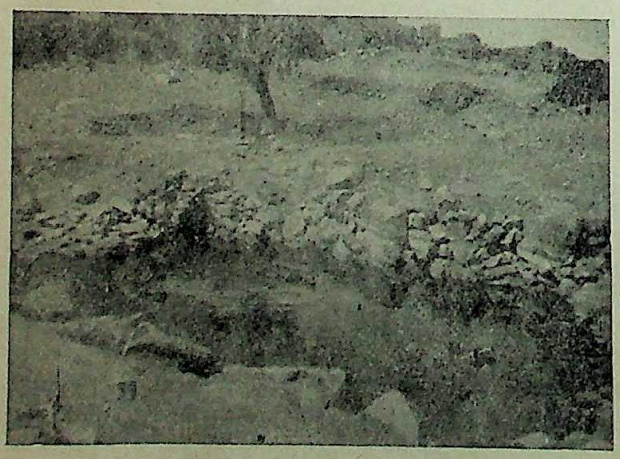
with the wealth obtained out of the idol in the well. The Sultan was greatly pleased with the services rendered by the cowherd, and he asked the *murshid* to find out from the cowherd what he wished to have in return from him. When asked, the cowherd said that as he



The Mosque

was the *guru* of 12 cowherd and two shepherd castes, a sanad granting him rights and privileges similar to those granted by Raja Pratapa Rudra Deva be awarded to him, with the seal and signature of the Sultan.

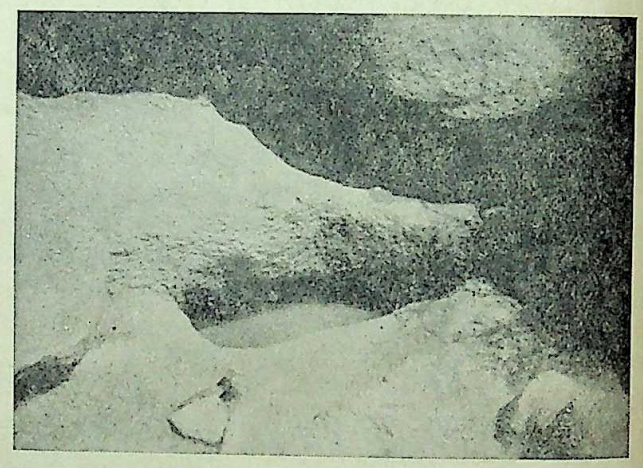
Members belonging to cowherd and shepherd castes should not be killed and if this condition were to be violated, evil would befall his kingdom and the goddess of wealth also desert the ruler. Full rights over the Ellamma temple, the mosque, and the Mari Mutta be given to him, and also the lands surrounding these places for the purpose of their maintenance. The honours granted to him by Raja



Sadhu Gokuldas' Well

Pratapa Rudra Deva, such as the use of palanquin, umbrella, crown, musical drums on elephants and camels, ear-rings, lion-headed gold bangles, *panjah* (five-fingered emblem), etc. etc. and the use of all the titles which he had been enjoying ever since the institution of their *peetham* (seat of learning and authority in the community) for the past 5007 years be allowed to him throughout the Sultan's kingdom. He further requested that some lands and rights for performing certain *jatras* (fairs) be given to his castemen, and that all their rights and privileges should be safeguarded and instructions to all Government officials be issued accordingly. They should have the right of settling their disputes amongst themselves. Except in the case of theft, Government interference should not be allowed. Wherever the sovereignty of the Sultan was extended, their rights and privileges should also be extended in those territories. The right to collect one rupee from each house of his caste people should also be given to him. Such were the wishes of the cowherd Kondiah who asked that a sanad granting them be awarded to him.

When the *murshid* conveyed the cowherd's wish to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, the Sultan



Naga Jharra

issued a sanad granting him and his *peetham* all that he had asked for.

Sanad Historically Examined

There can be no doubt with regard to the authenticity of the document itself. But some of the dates and events mentioned therein are so very contradictory, covering the periods of previous rulers, that one is led to believe that the document might be only a renewal by Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah of the original grants.

The French travellor Monsieur de Thevenot, who visited Golconda in 1666, during Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's rule, does not mention of either this Sultan as having founded the fort, or of the cowherd as having come to his rescue. He gives quite a different story. He says that the site where the fort stands was pointed out to Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, the first king of Golconda, by a shepherd who guided him to it through a wood, and that the king called it

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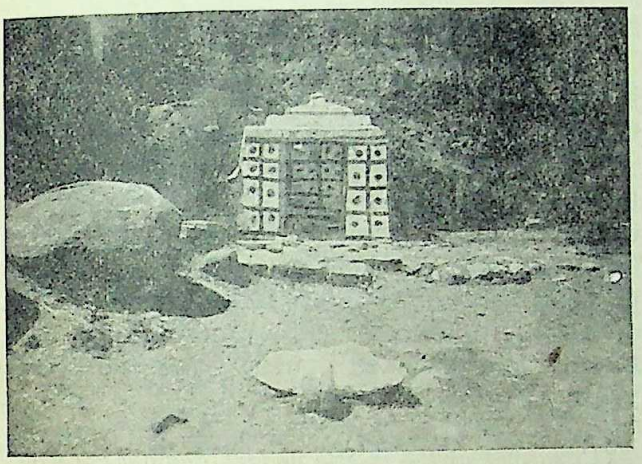
Golconda, from *Golcar* the Telugu word for shepherd. Thevenot's own words are: "Qutb Shah the first, gave it that name because after his usurpation seeking out for a place where he might build a strong castle, the place where the castle stands was named to him by a shepherd, who guided him through a wood to the hill where the palace is at present; and the place appearing very proper for his design, he built the castle there, and called it Golconda, from the word *Golcar*, which in the Telenghi language signifies a shepherd."



Ellamma Temple

Had the story of the cowherd occurred, as the document would give us the impression, during Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's reign, why should not have Thevenot told us so, instead of having associated it with the first king of Golconda?

So, from these divergent stories, it occurs to a searching mind that the cowherd legend about the founding of the fort might have originally been associated with the first Hindu rulers of Golconda, and subsequently handed down and kept current by the descendants of the original cowherd Kondiah for the purpose of perpetuating the grants made to his caste *peetham* by the founders of the fort. Thus, the story of the cowherd does not seem to have anything to do with the fortifications built by the Qutb Shahi Sultans.

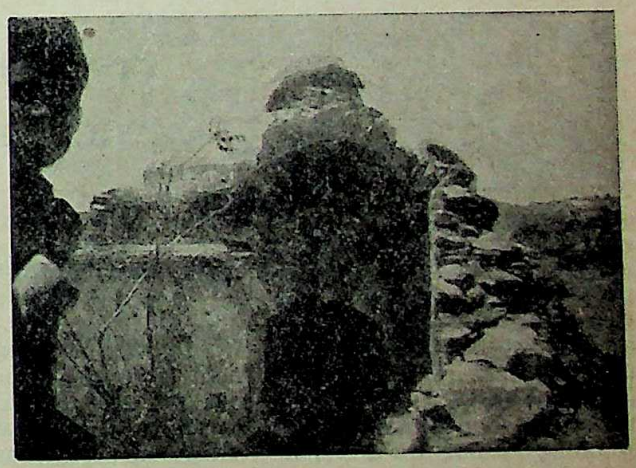
Legendary Sites

It is, however, interesting to see within and around the fort such sites as the Naga Jharra, Mari Mutta, Ellamma temple, Mallana Mutt, and Sadhu Gokuldas' Well. All these are mentioned in the document, and were pointed out to the writer.

The Gold Idol

There are two queer but slightly varying legends about the gold idol of Sadhu Gokuldas well mentioned in the sanad. One is that, once there lived near the fort an old sadhu by name Gokuldas. A cowherd who used to graze his cows in the vicinity greatly venerated the sadhu, and used to offer him daily milk. When the sadhu became confident of the faithfulness of his disciple, he, one day, placed a big vessel filled with oil on an oven, and calling the cowherd said to him: "I want to do you some good; go round this vessel three times." The cowherd obeyed the sadhu. As he was making the third round, the sadhu caught hold of him and tried to hurl him into the boiling oil. The cowherd became furious and lifting the sadhu, in turn, threw him into the vessel. The sadhu suddenly disappeared, and in his place stood a gold image. At this, the cowherd became nervous, and, not knowing what else he should do, he seized the image and threw it into a well close by.

The mystery about this gold idol was that whenever a part or piece out of it was cut it became intact again the next day. This secret was known to the cowherd Kondiah, who explained it to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, as narrated in the document; and that it was from the gold derived out of this idol that it became possible for the Sultan to meet the cost of the construction of the fort.



Mallana Mutt

The other legend is that, during the reign of a certain Hindu ruler, a cowherd used to graze his cows in the vicinity of a rock on which was a temple. One day, the cowherd met a sadhu who had come there for penance. The cowherd respected him profoundly, and used to offer him milk. The sadhu asked him one day if he had ever seen a plant whose leaves grew up as soon as they were eaten away by the cow. The cowherd replied that he had so far never seen such a tree, but that if he came across it any time, he would immediately inform him. Some days afterwards, the cowherd came to the sadhu and told him that he had seen a tree with the qualities described by him.

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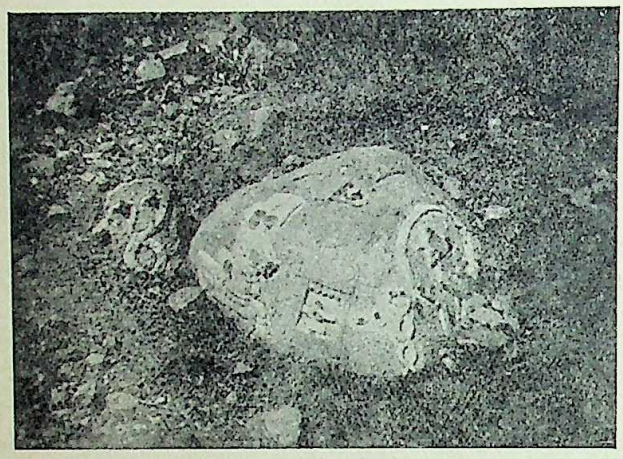
Thereupon, the sadhu immediately went to the tree and set fire to it. While the tree was in flames, the sadhu told the cowherd that if he went round the burning tree it would do him good. And as the innocent man was going round the sadhu caught hold of him and was about



Mari Mutta

to throw him into the flames, when the cowherd struggled and, freeing himself from the sadhu's clutches, lifted him in turn and hurled him into the fire.

The cowherd went there the next day to see if the sadhu was completely burnt to ashes. But he was amazed to behold a gold image standing in place of the tree, which resembled the sadhu. As the cowherd could not tolerate his sight, he began to break the idol with an axe. No sooner had he cut one hand of the idol than it became intact again. So, he changed his mind and carried the idol home. Thereafter, he would daily cut a piece out of it and exchange the gold piece for his daily requirements from a merchant. While the idol remained intact all the time, the merchant amassed gold in plenty.

One day, the king of the place came to know of the sudden prosperity of the merchant and wished to know the truth of it from him. The merchant, thereupon, revealed the secret to the king, who took away the idol from the cowherd. The king thereafter extended his territory with the help of the gold derived out of this mysterious idol. Later, when this king died and his successor happened to be an immoral and wicked ruler, the idol disappeared.

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CONTROL FOR CHAOS

By P. R. SRINIVAS

Nearly always, the Old Year is like a guest who has overstayed his welcome—the departure occasions no regrets. For ten years at any rate, every year has proved in the end a disappointment, being no better than its predecessor in some respects and distinctly worse in many others. 1944 has the advantage that no extravagant hopes were entertained of it at the beginning. It opened in India with the food crisis reaching its climax, the general economic life nearly breaking under the demands of wartime and prices particularly, straining against the leash of controls and other anti-inflationary measures. Let it be said of the year now closed that it could easily have been worse than it was. The food position was slowly brought under control, though by no means to the satisfaction of the people. The national economy was strengthened at a few points; and the markets relating to some of the necessaries of life have been better regulated than before. These are small mercies it would be churlish not to feel some gratitude for. But the general outlook from the point of view of the national economy is by no means brighter. This outlook embraces such questions as the progress of the "grow more food" campaign and the general adjustment to wartime conditions and demands, the success of anti-inflationary measures, the progress of post-war planning and India's position in international trade and finance after the war will be over. In the background is the war itself, its vicissitudes and the prospect of its early end. It is indeed a pity, as well from an individual or sectional as from a broad human point of view, that the last quarter of the year failed to strengthen the hopes of an early end to this war that the third quarter kindled in men's minds. The progress of allied arms has slowed down since the liberation of France, while the practical value of American gains in the Pacific is not as highly rated as it used to be. So far as India is concerned, not only is there no prospect of early relief from the strains of the war period, but 1945 may well add to our burdens and privations; so that the main trends of 1944 are less important in themselves than for what they may be expected to lead to.

Take first the food problem. Here the main trends were almost determined by the events of the previous year. 1944, in fact, opened with Bengal and parts of South India in the grip of severe shortage of food-grains. In Bengal particularly, the whole machinery of the food administration had completely broken down, and men had begun to die in tens of thousands in many districts. Destitutes poured into the city of Calcutta in large swarms; and hastily improvised systems of relief did their best to mitigate the suffering and the distress. It is a sad commentary on the administration as a whole in all its rings that a tragedy so acute and on so vast a scale was needed to bring about a realistic appreciation of the food position. From the international plane of the U.N.R.R.A. down to district boards and local authorities, there was for the first time recognition of the gravity of the problem. Questions were asked in the House of Commons; and though Mr. Amery characteristically blamed the Indian birth rate on the one hand and on the other emphasised the priority of British and American lives over Indian, there was sufficient anxiety to avoid the repetition of a similar disaster. It was some advantage that the worst had already occurred. There were less indigent mouths

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to feed. The next rice crop was better. Shipping position, too, had eased. And what was most important of all, public opinion was more disposed to support drastic measures of food control.

Meanwhile, the Food Policy Committee had submitted its report. And the basic recommendations were import of wheat and the building up of a large reserve of over 500,000 tons and the inauguration of a system of monopoly procurement and rationing of food-grains in all the towns and cities of India. So far as the acute situation in Bengal was concerned, immediate relief could be provided only through the agency of the army authorities. Imports of wheat during the last one year have been well maintained, though authentic figures are not available. In all the Provinces, the machinery for procurement has been slowly improved. The Railways have functioned with better recognition of the priority of food supplies. And more and more towns are being brought under the scope of the rationing system.

But the country as a whole is hardly out of the wood, so far as the food problem is concerned. The authorities are inclined to pat themselves on their backs for what they have done. While it is true that procurement has gone ahead and rationing ensures even distribution of available stocks, the quality of the supplies is extremely unsatisfactory. Imports have not been sufficient to build up the Reserve recommended by the Food Policy Committee. And it is now recognised that, the grow-more-food campaign has to be buttressed with other measures. On the one hand, it had to lead to an agricultural plan for which the outlines have been drawn up by Sir Phiroze Khareghat, on the other, it has called for statutory restriction of the acreage under cash crops which in the present state are more profitable than food crops. Altogether, our experience of the food problem is illustrative of the restricted scope of war time measures and of the way they pave the transition from wartime controls to post-war planning.

As compared to food control, cotton cloth control can claim a greater degree of success. Though there are still complaints of uneven distribution, which must be attributed to defects of the local administration, the control has succeeded in bringing down prices by more than 40 per cent, since the middle of 1943, in ensuring supplies of yarn for handloom weavers and in making essential goods available at tex-mark prices all over the country. Production as a whole has increased to 5,800 million yards; and though the country can certainly do with more, the position must be considered satisfactory, particularly in view of the coal shortage, which is the principal handicap of industry at the present time.

The coal shortage affects not only the production of cotton cloth in the mills but the whole gamut of Indian industry. Considering the wide orbit of its repercussions, it is strange that the Government did not ward off the danger but was driven to secure relief by such dubious methods as lifting the ban on female labour. But the coal shortage is not the sole handicap of Indian industry. While all the world over, industry was substantially adding to its equipment, quantitatively and qualitatively, Indian industry had to be content with doing jobs of a minor character and that, too, under surveillance. Changes in the fortunes of the allies would seem to have made no great difference. While during the dark days of the war, imports of essential raw materials were denied to Indian industry on the ground of shortage of shipping, improvement in the shipping position led only to increased imports of the finished products. Instances of these are found in many lines. But complaints of this kind are most common in the chemical industry; and it is no without significance that its development in the post-war period is forestalled by the drawing up of plans for a centralised chemical industry to be run under foreign direction. The ostensible ground for increased imports of consumer goods, however, is the need to fight the effects of inflation.

The effect of these imports of consumer's goods is seen in the figures of foreign trade. Imports went up Rs. 53·76 crores in the first half of 1943 to over Rs. 80 crores in the corresponding period of this year while the rise in exports is only from Rs. 92·72 crores to Rs. 106·74 crores. Leaving these figures aside, which are only a small part of the much bigger picture of the exchange of goods and services between India and the rest of the world, India's foreign trade is characterised by shifts in the direction of trade, of which the closer relations between India and the Middle East may prove lasting, though it had its origin in the closing up of the Mediterranean till the surrender of Italy. The Indian cotton mills, which had long been content with the home market ever since the loss of the Chinese market for yarn, have again been able to secure an export market in adjacent lands. Though this is no unmixed advantage in the present period of scarcity, the progress made is not to be despised. At any rate, it is a matter for satisfaction that the scarcity of cotton cloth has been reduced in spite of our having to earmark a portion for this export trade of recent origin.

The improvement in the position of food and cotton cloth would not however warrant a complacent view either of anti-inflationary measures as a whole or of the claims commonly made for control in the war period. Now, more than at any time statistics are unreliable; they are almost treacherous. In regard to prices and cost of living, while the price of food-grains and sugar and cloth have certainly been brought down, there are other necessaries of life like milk and vegetables where the rise in prices more than offsets the decline in the former. This is only to be expected since the basic conditions which make for the rise in prices continue unchanged. The problem of inflation in India was never tackled as such. The Government of India took an unconscionably long time to recognise that there was any inflation. And when it could no longer be burked, they accepted the obligation to fight the effects of inflation rather than inflation itself. To fight inflation, it was necessary to insist that foreign Governments should pay every rupee worth of goods and services in Indian, and not foreign, currency. And that was beyond the powers of the Government of India. The Government, therefore, have endeavoured to check inflation to the extent possible and fight the effects of inflation as well as they can. The former course was taken later; and it is even now far from complete. Generally speaking, additions to currency have been made almost without a break during the whole of the war period; and the following table shows the position during last year:

	Notes in circulation	Sterling securities	
		Issue Dept.	Banking Dept.
7-1-44	845·69	738·84	123·70
31-3-44	882·49	779·84	166·23
7-7-44	931·93	828·33	174·46
29-9-44	941·25	834·33	304·85
8-11-44	989·82	886·33	340·03

The note issue has risen more than five times its pre-war figure. And this in spite of the fact that gold and silver belonging to the Allied nations have been sold in India. The twin problems that this gives rise to are inflation at home and accumulation of sterling balances in London. So far as prices are concerned, as has been mentioned already, the success of control of certain commodities is no index of the control of prices as a whole. The following table shows that, though wholesale prices at one stage showed a fall, the rising trend has reasserted itself.

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WHOLESALE PRICE

	Agricultural commodities	Raw material	Manufactured articles	General index	Cost of living Bombay
1940-41	108·6	121·4	120·0	114·8	114
1943-44	270·6	184·9	251·7	237·2	237
Sept. 1943	272·0	181·4	251·3	236·4	245
Jan. 1944	264·4	193·3	251·3	237·8	238
Mar. ,,	257·8	196·7	252·3	236·3	226
June ,,	265·9	204·3	251·3	244·1	236
Oct. ,,	262·0	205·5	255·7	242·0	239

The fight against anti-inflationary measures in preference to inflation is definitely a losing battle—the odds are against the authorities. It is a case of letting go the reins and tugging the tail of a fiery steed. The Government are glad that from a political and social point of view they are keeping the situation well in hand. They are able to claim that there is not a rupee of their own war expenditure which is not covered by taxation and borrowing. They are able to claim, too, that they have drawn off a large part of the redundant money by their campaign for small savings and that more than all this, they have fought inflation itself to the extent that they have been able to sell gold and silver in India on account of the allied nations. But it is high time that more was done. There must be a definite ceiling set to the rupee circulation and measures taken to see that the note issue is kept within that limit.

The other problem, *viz.*, that of sterling balances, has unlike the problem of inflation been taken out of its wartime setting. Intrinsically and by reason of its discussion at the Bretton Woods Conference, sterling balances is recognised as a post-war problem. Even before the Conference the controversy in regard to our sterling assets had developed marked acrimony, thanks to the British Press which has more than once shown itself lacking in regard for Britain's good name. As in the political, so on this front, too, India has lost much ground during 1944. The refusal of the Bretton Woods Conference to include the repayment of our sterling balances within the scope of the International Monetary Fund was felt keenly first as an insult and secondly as injury to our national interests. It is possible that the majority of the delegates did not mean it as either; since there is a great deal to be said for not saddling a new and untried institution with so heavy a responsibility. Somewhat similar is the case of the International Bank where India has not been accorded a permanent seat in the Executive on a formal basis, but has been ensured a seat in all conditions. But considering that the work of the Conference as a whole requires ratification of which we cannot be too sure, a different milieu of conditions calling for a revision of the scheme is not unthinkable.

After all, 1944 was only one year in a world war that might conceivably see its seventh year. All the events are related to what went before; and their significance depends on what may follow thereafter. So far as India is concerned, it is certain that the most strenuous times are yet ahead. The past never seems too sombre in retrospect. Suffice it for us that the war period leaves us with tinted glasses with which we can see a rosy future, beyond the psychic present. In the mixed bag that war presents to peoples planning is a kind of meccano set, which they can either toy with in infantile playfulness or utilise to build up truly constructive qualities. About the ultimate fate of economic planning, it is unwise to be dogmatic. But it is only fair to those concerned to recognise that some progress has been made in what may be called planning the plan. The Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Council has issued two of its progress reports where ideas are clearly gaining in concreteness. It has been definitely stated that nearly Rs. 1,500 crores will be available for investment in the first five years of the Plan. Detailed plans have also been evolved for agriculture, railway development and education. The Bhore Committee is busy drawing up its plan for public health. Industrialists are being asked to clarify their ideas and book orders for machinery for the post-war period. The country, too, is visibly plan-minded. Provinces and States are making plans of their own and are eager to have them correlated into an all-India Plan. It is unduly pessimistic to believe that all these efforts will run to waste. And it is likewise dangerous for the public to forget that, if vigilance is the price of liberty, it is even more necessary to ensure that the surrender of ordinary freedom in the name of planning yields commensurate results in the increase of general well-being.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

BY SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

Our people in India are no doubt taking a keen interest in the problems of Indians in East Africa but something more is necessary. It is high time that everyone in India should study the question of Indians abroad. To India the East African decision will serve as a test for her own position under the British Empire. It is to be remembered that East Africa was colonized by Indians long before the time when Englishmen knew of this tract of land. According to Premier Churchill's *My African Journey*, "It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African territories and the Indian trader who developed the early beginning of trade and opened up the first slender means of communications. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark on a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith ?"

I know it is useless to quote Mr. Winston Churchill to-day against the East African administration, for much water has flown under the bridges since then. After prosperity had been built up by Indian labour and Indian blood, the White settlers began to look at the presence of our people in East Africa as an obstacle to their future well-being. Often vigorous attempts were made by the White settlers, who practically dominate over the affairs of the territories, to secure the gradual elimination of Indians from there, but they could not achieve their goal owing to the intervention of the Government and the people of India.

Now under the cover of war exigencies and under one false pretext or anotrer, the Whites are once again at their old game of prohibiting Indian immigration in East Africa. They have so engineered the situation as to secure the enactment of the Emergency Defence Regulations under which the non-native immigration into Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika have been

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tremely restricted, and even those who came out of that country to India at the instance of East African Governments are prevented from returning to their land of adoption, where they were engaged in different trades and occupations.

The White settlers, it is obvious from the recent events, want to squeeze out as many Indians as possible, and the Emergency Defence Regulation is only a cloak under which the real intention of the White settlers, which is to keep the East African territories exclusively reserved for the European whether he is a Jew or a German, a friend or an enemy of England, is cleverly screened.

The British settlers have been conspiring since a long time past to prevent the immigration of Indians, and they have now virtually succeeded in their object. One recalls in this connection the Convention of the European Association, of which the late Lord Delamere was the head-figure, started clamouring for the elimination of our people from East Africa in the early twenties. The Government then appointed an Economic Commission consisting of some officials and some of the leading lights of the Convention and although the ostensible purpose of it was to enquire into and report upon the economic condition of the country, they arrived at the astounding conclusion that the presence of Indians in the colony was responsible for all its misfortunes and miseries, hence their future immigration must be prohibited and the Government should aim at the gradual reduction of those Indians who were already domiciled in East Africa.

A strenuous agitation was started by the Convention, but ultimately the proposal was turned down by the Colonial Office in London due to the unanimous and vehement opposition of the people and the Government of India. At the time of that upheaval, the White settlers threatened an armed revolution if their demands were not granted, and the armed rebellion was very near to being carried into effect. Our esteemed friend the late Sadhu C. F. Andrews was assaulted by those White hooligans during his visit to South Africa at that time.

The white settlers have never hesitated to use extra-legal means of getting their own way. But now under the cover of war they want to achieve what they failed to have at that time and have, therefore, by enacting an Emergency Defence Regulation put a ban on the Indian immigration. It is reported that a large number of Indians, numbering about ten thousand, had returned to India in response to the appeal made by the East African Governments. Under the new Regulation those Indians will not be permitted to return to East Africa. They are thus stranded in India, away from their business venue. This is the British way of doing things, it must be admitted.

I am glad that a delegation of Indian settlers of East Africa under the leadership of Shri Shamsud-Deen, M.L.C. has recently visited India in order to draw the attention of the Government and the people of India to the tragic situation created by the Emergency Defence Regulation in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. They told plainly their tale of woe and distress to the Viceroy Lord Wavell and Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare, the Member of Commonwealth Relations Department.

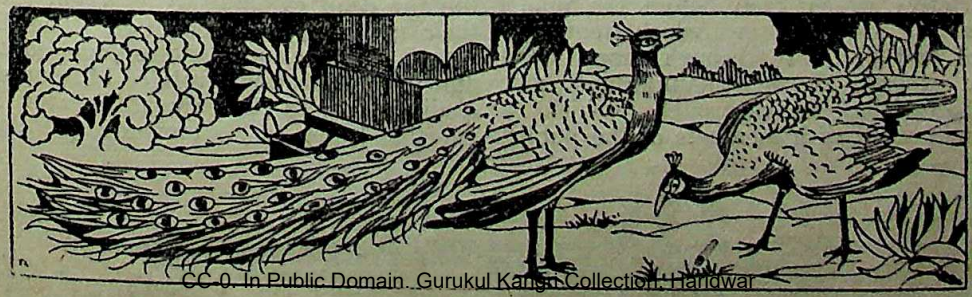
I understand the decision, prohibiting the immigration of outsiders in that territory was taken by the East African administration with the full knowledge and, perhaps also the approval of the Government of India. It is an irony of fate that the approval of the Government of India to its enactment was acquired under some false pretences. It passes beyond our comprehension how the India Government with their bitter experience of the past, took the word of the East African authorities at its face value and did not care to find out the Indian opinion on the proposed emergency legislation.

In practice the Regulation has been used only against the Indian immigration because the Whites are permitted to enter the territories on the pretext of employment in essential war work. The situation in East Africa raises an issue of grave importance to India. What is involved is not merely the rights and privileges of our people already settled there but the much bigger issue whether India will allow the door of East Africa to be closed against her people for future immigration.

Some time back I reminded my countrymen that the Premier of South Africa, Field-Marshal Jan Christian Smuts, a new Messiah of White Race Supremacy Religion and a foremost exponent of racial discrimination, was bent upon creating the UNITED STATES OF AFRICA or a FEDERATION OF AERICA, and it is reported that he has recently been very active gathering forces to achieve his object. The Smuts' Government of South Africa has been putting extreme political pressure on the Imperial Government for the amalgamation of all these African territories with the Union. If it succeeds the lot of Indians as well as of natives will be positively worsened. Are we going to adopt the policy of 'wait and see' till the hammer-blow falls on our people in Africa?

The White hegemony which is sought to be established in East Africa is a great danger to India's present and future interests and unless the Government of India insists on immediate withdrawal of the restriction with regard to immigration it would in fact barter away India's rights. It is certain that without Swaraj the grievances of Indians abroad can never be removed and India cannot give an effective retort to this unabashed racial arrogance of the Whites, yet even the present Government of India can do a great deal to give the Indians the much needed protection, if only they seriously take up the matter which in all fairness they should. The India Government is in a position to bring the East African authorities to their knees owing to the monopoly of piecegoods trade which India holds just now in those territories. Should the Government of India leave our people in the lurch or come to their rescue to protect their just rights which are being assailed in such a ruthless manner?

India's door is kept open to every foreigner and thousands of foreign refugees and evacuees are being fed and housed in spite of the general scarcity of food and famine and deaths of millions of her people. Can it be tolerated that the people of India should not be free to emigrate to East Africa which they have helped to develop with their sweat and blood!



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MUSEUMS IN INDIA
Their Educational Functions

By "KAUNDINYA"

The enormous growth of the science of Museology in Europe and in America during the last fifty years, has developed the role that Museums should play in supplementing the educational curriculum of schools and colleges. It has long been recognised that the services that a Museum can render to any community may be conveniently grouped under three heads: (a) Collection and Preservation, (b) Interpretation and Study, (c) Educational Services, (d) Publicity. Since the Markham Report was published on the positions of Museums in India (1936) which severely criticized the starved and stunted conditions of the majority of them, due to the apathy of Government and the poor financial assistance provided in official budgets, Indian Museums have recently come in for its share of criticisms from our oversea visitors, who are accustomed to the benefits, in their own countries, bestowed by efficient Museum Administration, liberally supported by official and private munificence,—particularly in the United States. In India, the growth of Museum Collections depend on (i) Acquisitions under Ancient Monuments and Treasure Trove Acts or Excavations, (ii) Purchases, and (iii) Gifts. Owing to poor finances and 'public apathy, development and growth under the last two headings are almost nil in marked contrasts with the munificent sums allotted by Government, private donations and gifts which are showered on the Museums of U.S.A. Most museums in India have no definite educational plans, and are unrelated to the programmes of studies current in schools and colleges, and the facilities for private studies are very meagre and the public are severely discouraged by official red-tapeism and indifference. The general public and the cultured members of the community are not taken into confidence and are not encouraged to take any interest in the growth of Museums or to make any gifts or endowments. Voluntary gifts of objects and monetary endowments are one of the chief sources of the development of the Museums of U.S.A. To cite some examples at random, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, received by way of gifts and loans notable masterpieces of Art, numbering altogether 233 items, during the year 1928- and as money gifts two several sums of 7328 dollars (Rs. 29,312) and 5,000 dollars (Rs. 20,000), earmarked for the purchase of objects of art, during the same year.

The incentive for private gifts and donations is stimulated by regular programmes of Educational Services (Gallery Talks, Lectures for the General Public, Special Lectures for Schools, Colleges and for Teachers, and incessant Exhibitions throughout the year), and by active publicity work, of which the most important is the issue of *Bulletins* (monthly, bi-monthly, or quarterly) which keep before the public eye the activity of the Museums, and which frequently publish notices of and describe (through short illustrated articles by experts) the most important new additions and accessions, and through which a constant link is maintained with members of the public, and with those interested in Art and in the Museums' educational programmes. The *Bulletins* are the most important features of American Museums and help to radiate an up-to-date knowledge of the latest acquisitions of examples of Art of diverse schools and countries and are of invaluable assistance, not only, to scholars and research workers but also to the general public interested in Art and Art-History. As a rule, these *Bulletins* are very inexpensive, costing one to two dollars a year for 4 to 12 issues, according to the importance and status of the Museum.

The Markham Report has passed severe strictures on the general absence of Periodical Bulletins for Indian Museums: "Out of a total number of 105 Museums in India, only sixteen museums publish Annual Reports and for the most part these are thin publications of a few pages, merely serving as a brief catalogue of recent acquisitions. They give the minimum of information and are stereo-typed in character, differing from year to year in little save statistics. But even these are preferable to the obstinate silence preserved by the majority of the museums."

To this dismally black cloud a silver lining has been added recently by Dr. Goetz, the enterprizing Curator of the Baroda State Museum and Gallery, with a bright little *Bulletin* of 62 stimulating pages, replete with interesting and educative articles and notices of numerous important items in the Museum (Pictures, Illuminated Mss, Miniatures, Coins etc.), profusely illustrated by excellent plates. In addition to the Half Yearly Report of the working of the Museum, the Bulletin contains a sheaf of original articles describing and discussing several un-published and very little known works of art of unique interest, *e.g.*, 'Nalanda Seals in the Baroda Museum' (A. S. Gadre), 'Twenty-two Buddhist Miniatures from Bengal' (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya), 'The Art Exhibition of the 15th Guzerati Literary Conference' (V. L. Devakar), 'A unique Deccani Miniature' and 'Modern Art in the World Crisis' (H. Goetz). As pointed out in the Introductory Note, "The Baroda Museum through the personal interest of the late Maharaja, has grown to an all-round collection almost unique in India which may offer opportunities for the broadest public education in natural science, ethnology, history and art, as in few other museums in this country. It is the fervent wish of the State to make the utmost of these possibilities. And the present Bulletin forms merely an aspect of a general and comprehensive modernization scheme. Its purpose is not only to publish the scientific treasures collected in it during the last half century, but also to make a wider educated public conversant with them, to resuscitate into life the dead exhibits, to let them reveal their secrets, their meaning, their beauties." The Baroda State has indeed made a new and unique contribution to the growth of educational role of Museums and the greatest credit is due to its eminent Curator who has set a valuable lesson to his brethren to follow.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

BEGINNINGS OF MODERN EDUCATION IN BENGAL : WOMEN'S EDUCATION : *By Jogesh C. Bagal. Pp. 82 + iv. four illustrations. Ranjan Publishing House, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The minute and patient study among old old books, MS. records and newspapers by which Mr. Bagal has been building up a true and documented history of the Renaissance in Bengal in the first half of the 19th century has yielded this valuable and interesting history of our women's first steps in the modern world. The highest credit is given, and quite deservedly, o the Christian missionaries and committees of sympathising lay European ladies, who were pioneers in this untrodden and at first very unpromising field and who looked for their reward only beyond the grave. But we are glad to note that an orthodox Hindu like Rajah Radhakanta Deb became a public champion of our women's education at a time when Hindoo society frowned upon the very idea of it. Two valuable documents enrich the Appendix. We also get much new light on Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's services as the early founder of girls' schools (on behalf of the Government). This history stops a little before the end of the East India Company's rule; but the story of the early pioneers ought to hearten modern social reformers in similar fields where strenuous effort has to be made against orthodox opposition and the apathy of a sleeping society. Our great countrymen of that age were justified in their distant vision of an educated modern and yet domestic Hindoo womanhood.

Jadunath Sarkar

PESHWA BAJI RAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION: *By V. G. Dighe, Ph.D., with Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Pp. 236 + x. One portrait and two maps. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. Price Rs. 6.*

This book marks, in the English language, the greatest contribution made to the history of the Peshwas since Grant Duff wrote his history 125 years ago, as Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times* does to our knowledge of that founder of the Maratha Nation. Undoubtedly Baji Rao I in his meteoric career of twenty years—which was cut short before he was 40,—was the most brilliant and successful of the long line of Peshwas, and he has hitherto waited for a worthy biography. In the meantime original materials of primary importance for a study of his times have accumulated, in English, Portuguese, Marathi and Persian, and been mostly published. In the Peshwas' Daftar selections series alone as many as 2,500 documents on the subject have been printed. It is a most promising prospect for Indian history that a comparatively young son of Maharashtra has mastered this mass of materials and presented a compact study as the fruit of his labours in synthetizing all the diverse sources, and "touched up the salient features with a commendable economy of words." The chapters on the Janjira Campaign and the Capture of Bassein (based on newly published Portuguese state papers) are the most detailed and documented accounts of these two heroic achievements of the Maratha race to be found in any language. Sir Jadunath commends the book in the words, "This volume will form a very valuable addition to the growing literature on Maratha History, and will long continue as a standard authority in its own field."

New light is thrown on every branch of Baji Rao's manifold activity, which enables us to understand the Nizam ul mulk Asaf Jah's cry of admiration, *Is mulk men ek Baji aur sab paji.* The chapters on the Maratha progress in Malwa and Bundelkhand and on the early and decisive tussle with the Nizam take note of the latest research and correct many long-prevalent historical errors. The two final chapters treat of this Prime Minister's realtions with his royal Master (which show Chhatrapati Shahu in a very pleasing light) and Baji Rao's character and achievements, in a sober judicious spirit and are not vitiated by chauvinism or bombast.

Indeed, we hope for more first-rate work from this writer.

B. N. B.

GAURI MATA : *Published by Durga Puri Devi, Saradeswari Ashram, 26 Maharani Hemanta Kumari Street, Calcutta. August, 1944. Pp. 117. Price Re. 1-8.*

Gauri Mata, "a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Deva," embraced the monastic life at a very early age, and her great work stands for the good of posterity. Her special field lay among women, and it was educational in scope. To her said the Master: "Mould thou the clay," and the words prompted the strenuous endeavour —not mere asceticism but living in God through living for humanity.

The story of her life is here told in brief but with skill and with proper emphasis on points that require it. The glossary at the end will be helpful. The book tells us of remarkable achievement and it deserves to be read with appreciation. The institution which is her legacy should be an asset to society for years to come.

P. R. Sen

PREMCHAND : *By Madan Gopal. Published by The Bookabode, 119, Circular Road, Lahore. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Premchand is one of those great Indian writers, who can safely claim a place of his own in the august galaxy of world *literati.* He was a prolific writer nd weilded a vigorous pen for over 35 years and thus gave a status and standing to Hindi letters. But, it is regrettable that neither there is any good biographical book on him nor there are reliable renderings of his works in English and other principal Indian languages. Under the circumstances, this journalistically written treatise on Premchand, though of a rudimentary nature, will be very welcome as a good introduction to the life and works of Premchand. Even in a brief memoir like this, Mr. Madan Gopal has successfully tried to be faithful, critical and sympathetic towards Premchand's works nd has also probed into the depths of the fountain of Prem-

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chand's inspiration. We commend this book to lovers of Hindi literature. M. S. SENGAR

THE STARVING MILLIONS: *By Santosh Kumar Chatterjee, M.A. Ashoka Library, 15, Shyama Charan Dey Street, Calcutta. Pages 94. Price Rs. 1-8.*

This is a timely book on Famines in India with special reference to the Bengal Famine of the last year. India had 14 recorded famines during the seven centuries (11th to 17th century) before the advent of the British, some of which were local only. Since the establishment of the British rule in India, we had four famines during the last thirty years of the 18th century. During the first half of the 19th century we had nine famines and the second half of the century saw another sixteen. The Bengal famine of 1943 is unfortunate from many points of view. Loss of Burma and other sources of rice supply, local crop failure in some districts on account of natural calamities, denial policy of the Government, lack of communication due to destruction of boats etc., profiteering and hoarding by seekers of gain, maladministration of the provincial Government and inefficiency of the Central Government, export of foodgrains from India even during scarcity, inflation and last but not the least Bureaucratic stubbornness in not yielding to the popular demands and cries in taking suitable measures promptly when the country was actually in the grip of famine, are some of the causes which the history shall have to record of this most unfortunate visitation.

The writer has, in a small compass, given facts and figures but has not given reference from which they have been taken. He has succeeded in showing that there was not only confusion of thought but of action also so far as the authorities were concerned (both Provincial and Central), and as a result some three millions had to parish. A book of this nature deserves to be widely read. A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SANKARACHARYA'S SELECT WORKS: *Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1-4.*

This contains the Sanskrit text, along with an English rendering made by Mr. S. Venkataramanan, of some of the small popular philosophical treatises of Sankara as well as a number of hymns, including extracts from a few, attributed to him. It serves as a useful introduction to the more abstruse writings of the Great Master. That the book is passing through a third edition testifies to its popularity.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGLA SAHITYER KHASRA [A Sketch of Bengali Literature]: *By Sri Priya Ranjan Sen. The Book Emporium Ltd., 22/3, Cornwallis St., Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

To all serious students of Bengali literature Prof. P. R. Sen is too well-known to need an introduction. Here he presents a short history of Bengali literature, barring out as far as possible, dry statistics and knotty controversies. Works by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and Dr. Sukumar Sen are immensely valuable for their wealth of details, but they are not meant for the average reader. For him too we needed a book and here it is. The preliminary chapters on the Meaning of Literature and the relation of Bengali to Sanskrit are not out of place. They serve as a good introduction. The last chapter brings the story down to the time of Rabindranath and it includes comments on Sarat Chandra, Prabhat Kumar and Pramatha Chaudhuri.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

BANGIYA NATYASHALA: *By Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Visva-Bharati, 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta. Price eight annas.*

This book is included in the Visva-Bidya Sangraha series of the Visva-Bharati. Lebedeff, a Russian adventurer, gave start to the Bengali theatre so early as 1795. Within eighty years from that date the Bengali stage took a regular shape on Western model. Professional theatres came to be opened in Calcutta and the moffusil by 1872. The reader will find in the volume the story of this development, told in a fascinating manner. In the narrative the author has mainly depended on materials, hitherto unused. From this point of view also the book has been unique. The stage has played a very important role in our national life, which, too, the author has not failed to refer to. The publishers deserve congratulation for bringing out such a neat volume on the Bengali stage.

CHHELEDER JEHANGIR: *By Srimati Bani Gupta, M.A., B.T., with a Preface by Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Published by Lalitmohan Gupta, 72/1, College Street, Calcutta. Illustrated. Price Rs. 2.*

Among the Moghul Emperors, Jehangir's was a most romantic life, and it aroused the curiosity of the people of different ages. The authoress has presented this romantic career in a way suitable for our juvenile readers. The style is easy and lucid. Apart from its valuable contents, the illustrations of the book are a great attraction for the reader. The frontispiece is of four colours, and the inside pictures are printed in one but distinct colours. And all of these are reproductions of first class Mughal paintings. We should congratulate both the authoress and the publisher for producing the book in such a beautiful and neat way.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

DARSHAN AUR JIVAN: *By Sampurnanand. Published by Paripurnanand Varma, Cawnpore. Pp. 190.*

Philosophy is not a subject outside the range of practical life; on the contrary, it is of the greatest practical use possible. It is the philosophical outlook of a community which determines its social, political and economic organization. Starting with this idea of the supreme usefulness of philosophy, the author analyses the concepts of the true, the good and the beautiful—*satyam, sivam, sundaram*, roughly corresponding to *jnana, karma, bhakti*, to metaphysics, ethics and aesthetics.

The author, who put down his observations and comments into this book from a central prison, did not aim to give out his conclusions or the result of other people's investigations so much as to awaken the questioning spirit in his readers. He has been successful in that. The language is very simple. P. R. SEN

TELUGU

NETI NATUDU VAGAIRA: *By Kopparapu Subba Rao. Printed at Laxmi Power Press, Tenali. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1 only.*

The book contains three short plays. In the first, the author tries to show the difference between good acting and bad acting. The second is a satire on religious fanatics and the third is an opera satirizing present-day civilization.

Necessary directions are given by the author so that amateurs can easily enact the plays. K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

KALI DARSHAN: *By Muljibhai P. Shah. Published by the Jivan Sahitya Mandir, Baroda. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 26. Price four annas.*

This very small book was published at the time when the Sahitya Parishad met at Baroda in the Christmas of 1943. The writer has devoted to each of the fifteen well-known poets including one female poet —Miranbai,—old and new, one poem and published in a popular form the services they have rendered by their work to the development and growth of the Province. It is a good work.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Claim of the Upanishads

The verses of the Upanishads vibrate with contagious life and light. *Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially :

The seers can speak out their conviction even before celestial beings who spy into the recesses of people's hearts :

Hear Ye all the sons of Immortality, Ye who dwell in celestial regions! (*Shv.*, II. 3).

I know that great Being whose appearance is like the effulgence of the sun and who is beyond darkness. By knowing Him alone can one get beyond death : There is no other way of approach (*ibid.*, III. 8)

The reader's attention is often quickened by remarks of astonishing insight, his comprehension is assisted by illuminating phrases, and his spirit elevated by passages of noble eloquence.

We now turn to the literary beauties of the Upanishads. But before we proceed further, we must make one thing clear—the Upanishads are not philosophical treatises, nor are they anthologies of disconnected poems, epigrams, or catechisms. They are written both in prose and poetry ; but the poetry is not laboured versification, nor is the prose mere philosophical disquisition bereft of all art. The poetry deliberately avoids philosophical stiffness and methodology, but aims more at inspiring the will and the emotion to reach a state beyond speech and thought through beautiful similes, imageries, figures of speech, rhythm, and change of perspectives, etc. And the prose through its simplicity, directness, and sincerity breathes poetry at every turn. The prose is resonant with poesy, and the poetry sparkles with direct touch and simple grandeur.

Let us look at the Upanishads more closely.

We are, to start with, struck with awe at the grandeur of conception and the wide sweep of imagination expressed in the simplest of language :

Fire is His head; the sun and moon His eyes; the quarters His ears; the Vedas His voice; the wind His breath; the universe His heart; and the earth His feet. Verily He is the indwelling Self of all (*Mu.*, II. i. 5).

For fear of Him the fire burns, for fear shines the Sun, for fear proceed Indra, Vayu, and Death the fifth (*Kat.*, II. iii. 4).

One example of simple and direct prose, throbbing with life and comparable to the highest poetry will suffice :

From evil lead me to good. From darkness lead me to light. From death lead me to immortality (*Br.*, I. iii. 28).

Mark how the feeling rises in cadence in the following paragraph from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*.

It is not for the sake of the husband, my dear, that he is loved, but for one's own sake that he is loved. It is not for the sake of the wife, my dear, that she is loved, but for one's own sake that she is loved. It is not for the sake of the sons, my dear, that they are loved, but for one's own sake that they are loved. . . . It is not for the sake of the worlds, my dear, that they are loved, but for one's own sake that they are loved. It is not for the sake of all, my dear, that all is loved, but for one's own sake that all is loved. The Self, my dear Maitreyi, should be realized—should be heard of, reflected on, and meditated upon (II. iv. 5).

The following quotation—this time from the *Kenopanishad*, which is in verse—can hardly fail to rivet the attention on the prime dynamic factor in life mental and physical :

That which cannot be revealed by speech, but which reveals speech, know that to be Brahman and not this which is objectively worshipped.

That which the eyes cannot see, but that by which the eyes see, know that to be Brahman and not this which is worshipped objectively.

That which cannot be vitalized by life, but that by which life is enlivened, know that to be Brahman and not this which is worshipped objectively.

Can Indian Philosophy be Made Progressive ?

G. R. Malkani writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The ideal behind Indian Philosophy is the knowledge of That knowing which all else is known. It is knowledge that will cut at the root of all evil and all suffering. The Truth which we should seek in Philosophy is timeless and eternal, and our knowledge of it absolutely certain. There is no room for "may be," but only for "is." The certainty of truth is part of its very nature. There can be no higher truth than that. Has Indian Philosophy found this truth and shown a way to it ? If it has, all further philosophical progress is barred. There is no scope for it. We may give an exposition of it in language, adopting the conventions and the spiritual genius of that language,—but that will not be reorientation or re-interpretation. It will simply be speaking to everyone in the language he can understand. After all, this truth cannot be racial or communal. It is for all humanity. We must therefore communicate it in the language in which different sections of humanity can imbibe it and make it their own. In this sense alone can we say that Indian Philosophy can be written. Has it not a message for all mankind and must it not enter the cultural tempo of the lives of all? But this is not philosophical progress. It is progress in the forms of its communication or expression, or, more generally, progress in its presentation, not in its content.

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Kalhana, the Poet-Historian of Kashmir

Rajatarangini, the famous saga of the Kings of Kashmir, was written 800 years ago by the poet-historian, Kalhana. Prof. S. N. Dhar writes in *The Indian Review*:

Little is known about the life of Kalhana beyond his own confessions in his history, which he wrote between the years 1148-49 A.D. He came from a celebrated family of Brahmans. His father, Campaka, was a minister. Untoward political circumstances determined an author's career for Kalhana. He cultivated a thorough-going acquaintance with all the past chronicles of Kashmir and knew at first hand the political and social developments of his time.

Kalhana's erudition is estimated from the fact that the story of Rajatarangini or "The River of Kings" covers thousands of years from earliest times down to his own day.

Kalhana is pre-eminently a Kavi, a seer poet. He looked upon himself as a poet first and chronicler afterwards.

His standpoint as the historian is that of an independent and dispassionate observer. Non-Kashmiris like Bengalis who did great things in Kashmir were warmly applauded by him. He extended the same tolerance to idol-breakers, iconoclasts and vandals that he meted out to temple and city-builders and great patrons of art and learning. He wrote history with the professed aim that it might help people to live and to understand life. He is no sycophantic court-poet who pays extravagant tribute to kings. He describes royal love-affairs. court intrigues and military campaigns with the same veracity with which he gives accounts of famines, floods and fires. He ascribes no dates to the kings of the pre-historic period of Kashmir. He gives dates after 813 A.D. when he is sure about their authenticity.

Kalhana ranks among the first-rank Indian Sanskrit historians of the Middle Ages.

He boldly expressed his sympathy with the downtrodden Kashmiri masses who lived the pitiable lives of serfs. He gives interesting descriptions of their hunger-strikes which formed the only political weapon that they could use against their feudal and autocratic oppressors.

Kalhana's saga portrays the ancient times of Kashmir, the clash and the consequent inttermixture of various cultures. Kalhana acquaints us with many ancient superstitions, customs and traditions, some of which have persisted to the present day. He gives brilliant pen-portraits of great men like Surya the engineer, King Meghavahana the philosopher, Lalitaditya the conqueror.

As a man, Kalhana presents the curious combination of poet and historian on the one hand and Brahman and rationalist on the other. He was Brahman but he had Buddhist leanings though he li in a time when Buddhism had been completely placed by Hinduism. Perhaps his interest in Buddh accounts for his determinism and didacticism. The of Saivism, then prevalent in Kishmir, influenced strongly, so that each one of the eight cantos of poem begins with a Saivistic quotation that emphas the transitoriness of life and the triumph of Death it. Thus the dominant "rasa" (sentiment) of chronicle is "santarasa," the sentiment of resignat Kalhana's numerous references to ancient Indian cl cal mythology reveal his broad learning. He was informed in history, geography, literature, econo and prosody.

Disruptionism as a Determining Factor in the Indian Situation

K. M. Munshi writes in the Fourth Ann Number of *The Social Welfare*:

Right till the Partition of Bengal, the educ Hindus and Muslims were agreed in secularizing group sentiment and pursuing the path of national related to India as the Motherland. But the Bri presented separate electorates to the Muslims; community was segregated; religious passion was m the measure of politics; and broadminded nation Muslims were suddenly made unrepresentative of own community.

When the Congress broke with the British in 1 Disruption which was no more than a bare idea exploited by the British to create an obstacle, wh now has assumed a sinister shape.

Mr. Jinnah has recently in his letters to Gand given us an idea of what its latest phase means.

First, the Muslims of India are a separate Nati and the Nation has an inherent right of self-de mination.

Secondly, Sind, Baluchistan, N. W. F., Pun and Bengal and Assam as they are now, are Mus homelands, subject to minor territorial adjustme without any regard to the crores of Hindus who residents of these provinces and irrespective of the whether as in Assam they are majority. This attit logically implies that a dozen Musalmans in any co of India are part of a Nation which sprawls across whole continent; that these dozen, even if they be Cape Comorin, have a right to determining what should do with any part of the country even if it predominantly Hindu; and that in determin whether any part of this country should be un Muslim control, the non-Muslim, inhabiting their te tory, has no right even to be consulted.

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claims that the Muslims of this country.

Thirdly, it makes a sweeping claims historically, ethnically or culturally have nothing in common with the Hindus of this country.

The fact that these claims are entirely fictitious makes no difference; that every territory occupied by Hindus is as much their homeland as the Muslims inhabiting equally has no appeal; that the doctrine of religious nationalism employed with the two-nation theory is anachronistic and unrealisable does not matter.

Disruptionism is for the moment the most serious impediment to the country's progress. It asks the Congress to give up its demand for independence; to forswear the demand for a federal centre and for a democratic constituent assembly; and to withdraw the August Resolution, "which is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India." (Jinnah's letter, 23rd September, 1944.)

The self-restraint which the Gandhian policy has imposed on the Congress Hindus, who form the majority of politically-minded Hindus in the country, is taken as weakness.

Germany's Synthetic Oil

Science and Culture writes :

Unlike the United Nations, Germany is quite adversely situated with regard to her supply of natural oils and has to depend largely on synthetic oils for the successful prosecution of the war. Speculation is rife as to the extent of the output of synthetic oil in Germany, and various figures have been quoted from time to time from more than one source. An article in a leading Swiss paper according to a report in *The Chemical Age*, recently discussed the synthetic oil situation in Germany and estimated her total output of synthetic oil at 10,000,000 tons per annum.

Oil is produced largely from lignite in which Germany abounds. Most of the larger lignite mining companies have established their own plants for the hydrogenation of coal on the right bank of the Rhine under the leadership of the Gelsenkirchner Mining Company. It is stated that about 30,000,000 tons of lignite mined in the neighbouring Geisel valley are being utilized for the production of synthetic oil. On an average, about five tons of lignite yields one ton of motor fuel. At the Saale Water Works near Leuna, about 800,000 cu.m of water are being daily used for the production of hydrogen required for the hydrogenation of coal. Leuna and the Gleiwitz Works in Upper Silesia are reported to be the most important centres for production of synthetic oil, each having an annual output of over a million tons.

Most of the plants are worked underground for reasons of safety against air raids and are further provided with smoke screen arrangements. The Blechhammer plants are completely underground and are reported to have survived several air attacks. With her growing difficulties of obtaining supplies of natural oil from Rumania, Poland, Hungary and Estonia, Germany will have to depend entirely on her synthetic oils, and her ability to continue the war will be derived from her ability to maintain the tempo of synthetic oil production on an upward curve despite the gloomy prospect of increased Allied air attacks.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Pearl Buck and Other Prominent Americans Join India League

Sept. 5, 1944

Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize winner, and a group of other prominent Americans have joined the India League of America to take action paralleling the effort now being made in India by Mahatma Gandhi and others to break the political deadlock, it was announced yesterday by Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the League.

Pearl S. Buck became an honorary president of the League along with Dr. Lin Yutang, Chinese philosopher. An English and an Indian honorary president will be announced shortly.

Other Americans whose support of the India League was announced yesterday are : Richard J. Walsh, editor of *Asia*, who was elected chairman of the executive committee of the League; Louis Fischer, author and correspondent, who was elected a vice-president.

Among new members of the League's national advisory board are the following : John L. Childs, Chairman, Liberal Party; Professor Albert Einstein; Henry R. Luce, publisher; Philip Murray, President, C.I.O.; James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union; Walter White, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Pearl S. Buck, in accepting election as honorary president, made the following statement :

"I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction, finally, after long, close and continuing experience with people and events in Asia, that India has become an immediate test case for world democracy, in the eyes of all the darker peoples, everywhere.

"Had it been possible for India to be regarded only as a single country, large, it is true, and with three times the population of the United States, but separate and out of the world—merely a colony in short—I would not be working for the Indian Freedom now. The people of India in that case, might have worked out their own relationship with the people of England.

"Or had there been another country which could have proved, in the eyes of the darker peoples, our determination for democracy, it might have been possible to by-pass India again. But the Philippines are not accessible to us, nor are the Netherlands East Indies, nor French Indo-China. At this present moment Freedom can be declared only in India. And the moment is urgent.

"Millions of eyes in China, in South America, in North America, in the isles of the oceans, in Africa and even in Europe, are watching to see if democracy means what it says and if the Four Freedoms are true or false. By what we do about India, democracy will stand or fall. Today the watchers, in silence, in apparent immobility, are deciding the future for us all and for our children, and this decision waits upon our action, not our words, in India.

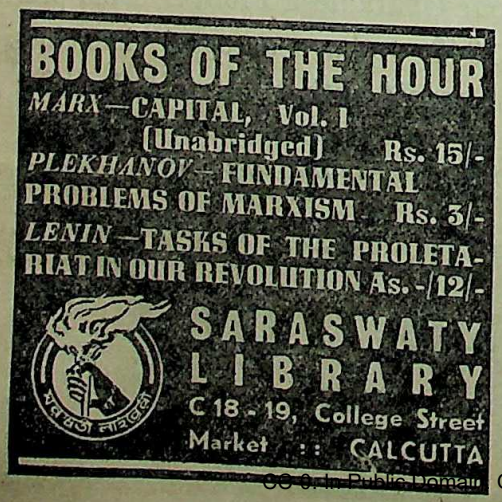
"Knowing this now, beyond a doubt, and because I am an American, I will work for freedom and democracy in India."

Mr. Singh, in making public Mrs. Buck's statement added :

"The India League has been made up chiefly of Indians, with only a few noted Americans, but the League has now been transformed into a predominantly American body."

"It will continue to work for the independence of India, but not primarily from the point of view of Indian nationalism. Its purpose, rather, is to press India as 'the test case of Allied war aims', and further the winning of the war in Europe as well as in Asia, by proving through the liberation of India, that the war is being fought for democracy and freedom for all peoples."

"We stress the urgency of this issue particularly in sustaining the morale of the Chinese armies and people and also in securing wholehearted support of the war effort, not only from the people of India but also, as it



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war progresses, from the people of Korea, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indo-China, the Netherland East Indies, the Philippines and other Pacific Island groups."

"We stress also the stimulating effect which Indian freedom would have upon the peoples of the Balkan and other European areas, upon the American Negroes, and upon suppressed minorities everywhere."—*India League of America.*

Democracy in China and India

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has promised that within a year after the end of the war China will have a fully democratic regime based on the draft constitution proclaimed by the central government in 1936. In this connection, H. G. Quaritch Wales writes in *The Catholic World* in the article, entitled "Democracy in the Making in China":

A good reason for us to consider China's proposed constitution sympathetically, however unfamiliar some of its provisions may seem, is that attempts to transplant our Western democratic institutions to Eastern soil have in most cases not proved very successful. They failed generally in India, even where the Indians were ready to co-operate in working "provincial autonomy" which they did not through any conviction of the suitability of the system, but simply because it seemed to be a step toward freedom. Similar attempts failed none the less in independent Thailand, as I saw when residing in that country during the short-lived democratic regime. On the other hand, significantly enough, the popular self-rule adopted by the progressive Indian state of Mysore, and having much in common with the Chinese extended village system, has prospered.

The rock on which Western parliamentary methods have almost always foundered in the East is the fixed party system, foreign as it is to the Oriental belief in the reconcilability of interests. In Burma, notwithstanding that the people are racially and culturally remarkably homogeneous, government was reduced to a farce with the splitting of the Assembly into twenty or more irresponsible parties all primarily interested in attaining selfish ends. In India, thanks to the British mistake of establishing electorates on a communal basis, the rift between Moslems and Hindus was deepened, at least among the politically conscious of the cities. And the stress on "provincial autonomy" has tended to promote regional interests at the expense of the growth of a much to be desired Indian national outlook.

In India today not more than fifteen per cent of the entire native population has any interest in national politics since it appears so remote from the people's lives. Hence in many provinces a trend toward oligarchy or dictatorship is not surprising. What can really be expected of an elaborate machinery designed to produce results the people do not want and which are not in accord with their tradition? Something far simpler and less mechanical will be needed if popular imagination is to be captured and a national ministry established with support of a strong and active public opinion.

The Indian leaders have insisted on their right to choose their own form of government in a free India. From the admiration which Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed for the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives it seems likely that he would be no less interested in China's village democracy. The basis for village democracy exists also in India, as it does in Burma, Thailand and other parts of Southeast Asia even if the persistence of feudalism did not favour its development to the same extent as in China. In India the *panchayats*, or elected village councils survive, cutting right across caste and creed. To regain their former importance they only need to have their prestige strengthened by heightened responsibility. And since now-a-days the radio and the spread of communications are rapidly increasing the peasant's awareness of the outer world, there should be little difficulty in extending the spirit of the village councils upward and outward to a fully elective national assembly.

Such a growth of democracy from below upward, rather than the attempt to impose an alien system, would appear to offer the best hope for the emergence of a united India. For the divisions that mar the harmony of the politically conscious in the cities have fortunately not yet reached India's vast rural population. Of them the distinguished Indian author K. M. Panikkar recently wrote: "The relations between Hindus and Moslems everywhere are exceptionally good. They live together as friendly neighbours." And Dr. J. Henry Carpenter on his recent visit to India was amazed to find, after all he had heard, Sikh, Moslem, and Hindu co-operatives contentedly working together.

This may suffice to give some idea of the wider horizons that a consideration of China's draft constitution opens up, and the tremendous bearing that it may have on future world peace. Ultimately it is probable that democracy in Asia will represent more of a synthesis of Western and Eastern elements than now appears practicable. The recognition of that probability, which China's readiness to consult us would appear to indicate, no less than her own bold experimentation, will qualify her for leadership in peace as certainly as her gallant struggle has made her an inspiration in time of war.

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Anti-U. S. Feeling in Argentina

Anti-U.S. feeling is strong enough among almost all Argentines to cause some gratification when the colonels' clique confiscates our business firms' holdings or professes to see in the American war attitude nothing of importance for the future of the world. It is a tragedy that, just when we officially stiffen up our relations with the Argentine government, we fail to enunciate impressive peace aims, fall into the old game of dividing Europe to satisfy rival ambitions, and give slight moral leadership to the Argentine anti-totalitarian forces. One strongly idealistic, firm, and hopeful stand for specific peace aims would confound the pro-Nazi groups, just as Churchill's laudation of Dictator Franco in Spain did more to harm democracy in Latin America than a hundred Axis propagandists.

A dangerous arms race is in the making. Up to now, virtually all the armament available for Latin American governments has been supplied by the United States, and we have sent one military mission after another to train these countries to the southward in their use. Now the Argentine government, after long and intense effort, has turned out a lot of modern and reportedly excellent war equipment, all in Argentine factories, and is going ahead with a self-sufficient program that will eventually arm the country to its molars.. When the reactionary crowd now in power can do it, they will attempt to challenge Uncle Sam as the provider of "security" by armament, and will seek by selling arms to build up a great sphere of influence in South America.—*Worldover Press.*

Flax

In an article on "Flax Production in War and its Prospects in Peace," Earl De La Warr, Director, Home Flax Production, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

This is the raw material of linen. It is probably the oldest vegetable textile in the world. Its origin has been lost in antiquity, but we hear of it first being produced in Egypt. I have with me to-day samples of mummy cloth manufactured in that country over 6,000 years ago. Although the decorticating, spinning and weaving machinery were of the most primitive kind, a careful examination of this cloth shows that the yarn is spun to a degree of fineness that cannot be equalled by modern machinery. When I tell you that the finest yarns that Northern Ireland is capable of producing are only half the fineness of the yarns comprised in this mummy cloth, you will realise how adept the old Egyptians were in the art of linen manufacture.

Flax is also the only vegetable fibre referred to in the Bible. Wool and silk were, of course, known, but for general purposes linen was the staple material used for clothing the biblical ancients, particularly the upper classes. Even the priestly garments, the ephods, were manufactured from the finest linen.

The cultivation of flax in Europe was introduced from Egypt. Greeks and Romans used it extensively both for under and outer garments—and it is probable that their conquests were responsible for the gradual spread of cultivation in Europe. It was late in arrival in this country and it was not until after the lapse of many centuries that we find it growing here. But up to the beginning of the nineteenth century it was still so essential for the sails of the Navy that a certain proportionate acreage was sown compulsorily on every farm. The sails of the Victory were grown in this country and spun by a Scottish firm still in existence. In certain areas of Scotland the marriage portion and trousseau of the farmer's daughter partly was of linen that was produced on the family farm. In 1864, 315,000 acres, or about double the present acreage, was grown in the United Kingdom.

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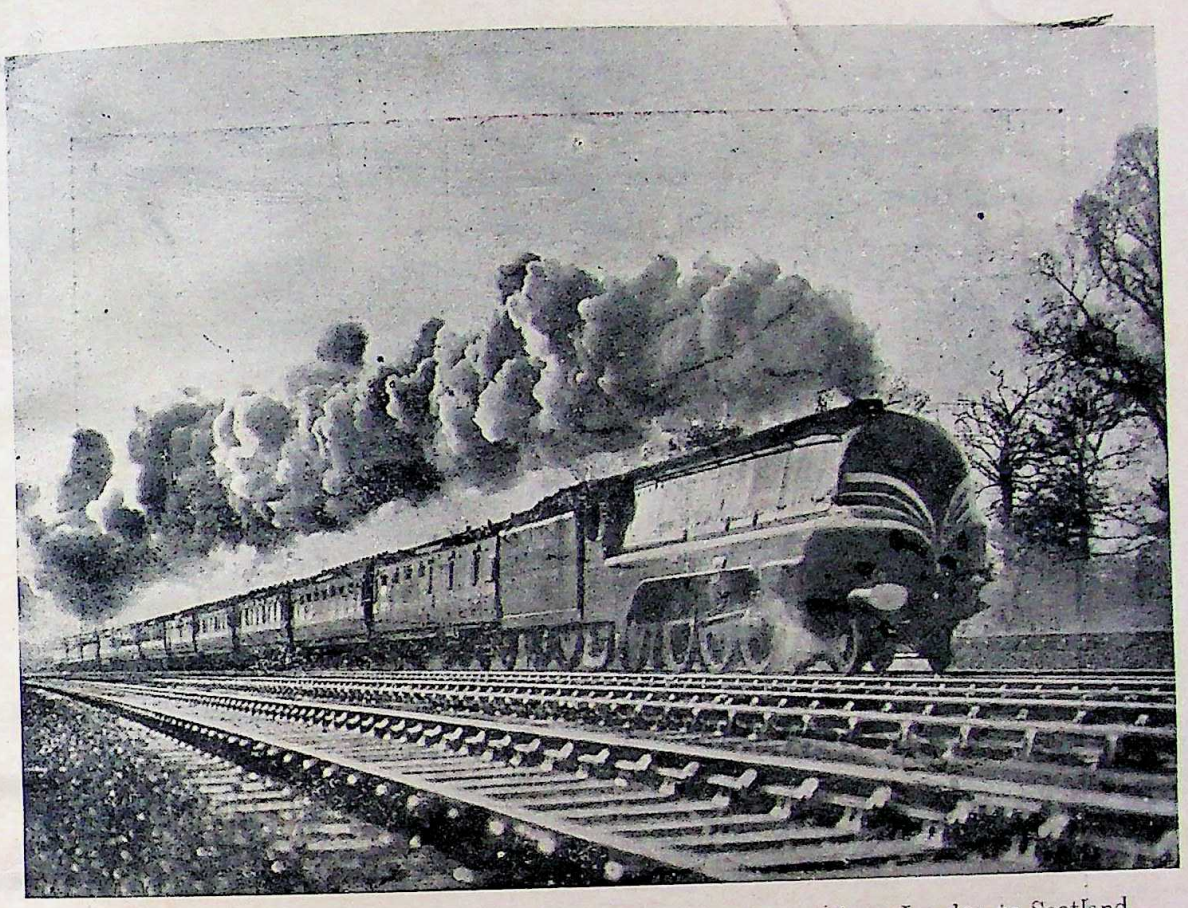
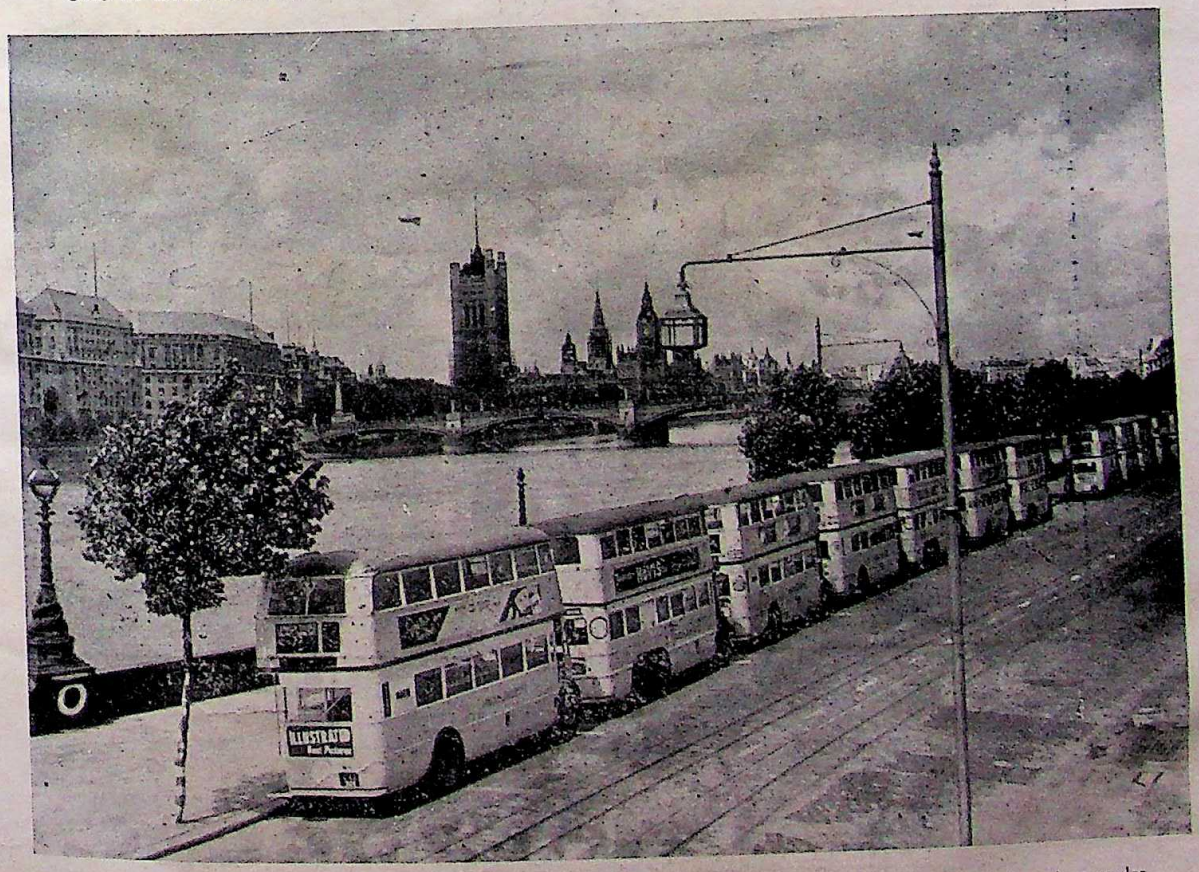


One of Britain's crack locomotives at full speed during its run from London to Scotland



Buses are parked on the Thames Embankment near the Houses of Parliament, ready to take factory workers home in the evening

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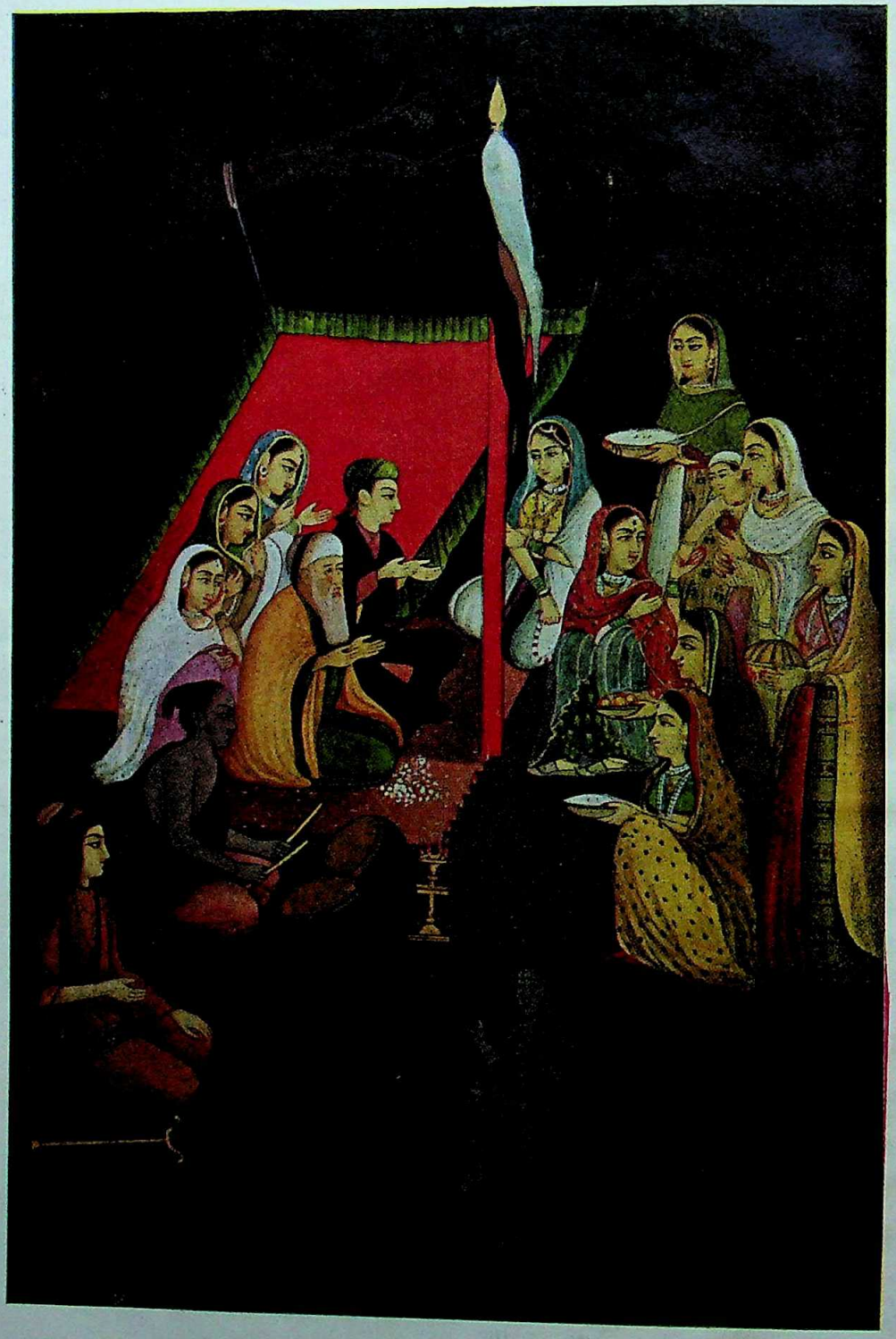

CHHARI-SHAH MADAR
By Mir Kalan Khan

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1945

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NOTES

A. I. N. E. C.

The fifth session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference has concluded its sitting in Calcutta. Welcoming the delegates, Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose, Chairman of the Reception Committee, expressed Bengal's gratitude for the sympathy and help which journalists from all parts of India had rendered to her people during the 1943 "man-made famine, which the Ministers were trying to combat with terminological inexactitudes." In his brilliant address, which showed great erudition and an encyclopaedic knowledge. Mr. Ghose said about the famine :

"When Bengal was suffering because of the autocratic action of a Governor, the inaction of a supine Viceroy and the unsympathetic attitude of a Secretary of State for India, journalists all over India were impelled—I may say inspired—by their sense of public duty to overcome all obstacles and expose the maladministration in Bengal which was decimating the people; and many of them raised considerable sums of money to 'fill full the mouth of famine.' It was an achievement of which journalism of any country can feel proud.

"The Bengal Government tried to fight the calamity with false assurances about food. Foreign newspaper correspondents were not permitted to cable abroad even the bare facts of deaths and hospital admissions due to starvation issued daily in Calcutta by the Director of Information, Bengal.

"I am sure the time will come when it will be possible to publish the orders, the instructions and the advices which the Press in Bengal received from the local Government."

Tracing the history of the Press in India and the vicissitudes through which it passed, Mr. Ghose said:

"The rapid advance in every department of the newspaper in India has been marvellous. Those of us who possess cuttings from the newspapers of the last quarter of the nineteenth century can easily testify to the improvement in get-up. And thereby hangs a tale. At that time there were in Calcutta three English dailies conducted by Englishmen—the *Englishman* of the Saunders, *The Statesman* of Robert Knight, and the *Daily News* run by Wilson. The production of all three were unsatisfactory compared with the production of present times. The types were often worn out, the proof-reading left much to be desired. In these shortcomings the *Daily News* came out third. On the occasion it was taunted for its shortcomings by the *Englishman*. Wilson quickly retorted by writing that there were three English newspapers in Calcutta—one (and he referred to the *Englishman*) caters for half-educated English planters, another (and he referred to *The Statesman*) is popular with educated Indians and the third (*i.e.*, the *Daily News*) is the organ of cultured Englishmen who are sufficiently conversant with their mother-tongue to overcome printer's typographical errors without effort.

"The achievements of Indian newspapers had been such as would be considered creditable in any country.

"Acts, ordinances and orders invested by bureaucrats had been powerless to crush the Press in India, which had to labour under peculiar difficulties and brave dangers unknown to the Press in self-governing countries. Independence and self-respect had been the qualities most prized by journalists.

"Journalists in India have left their mark on contemporary politics and traditions have been created by sacrifice and suffering. We have fought for our rights and have to fight against tremendous odds."

Pointing out "the need for a free and unfettered Press" (Mr. Ghose appealed "to follow light and do the right." "If we have achieved much—much more still remains to be achieved."

Mr. Brelvi's Address at the A.I.N.E.C.

In his presidential address, Mr. S. A. Brelvi expressed the hope that the Conference which had become a power during the four years of its existence would not only continue to exist after the war, but have a useful role to play in the future in helping the Press in India to become one of the potent forces contributing to the extension of human freedom, knowledge, progress and happiness.

Few countries, he said, had suffered in the past and still continued to do so more than India from systematic and purposeful choking of news channels. A news charter for countries like India, even if embodied in peace treaties, would not be worth the paper on which it was written unless they ushered in dissolution of Imperialism as well as destruction of Nazism and Fascism.

The Press in India had thus to work both for its own freedom and that of the country and also for the emancipation of the radio and all other channels of information from monopolistic control either of Government or private agencies. He suggested whole-hearted co-operation with the Committee of the American

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Newspaper Editors, now touring in different countries, regarding the American-sponsored programme for free exchange of information.

Referring to the "Delhi Agreement," the President complained that Government had on many occasions used the D.I. Rules not strictly and exclusively to secure the unhampered prosecution of the war but to serve their own political ends. He pleaded for immediate modification of the D.I. Rules and Press instructions, and a revision of the "Bombay Agreement" in view of the altered aspect of the war and political situation. He suggested appointment of a committee to indicate the lines of such revision and modification. He also urged the need for the repeal of the Press Emergency and Princes Protection Acts.

Mr. Brelvi pleaded for a fair deal to working journalists and for the enforcement of minimum standards of payment and conditions of service, especially in view of the present prosperous time when the newspaper industry was financially in a much stronger position than ever before.

The session was primarily looked upon as a conference of the members of the profession. But in our opinion the A.I.N.E.C. has a much larger scope in its ultimate purpose. During five years of its existence, this organisation of the Fourth Estate has not been able to inspire much sense of duty in the heart of the Government. Press Advisory Bodies have no doubt been set up in almost all the provinces, but their working has been of little use to the Press. Governments have made very little alteration in their policy of harassment and persecution of papers that dare offer strong criticism of bureaucracy. Mr. Brelvi himself had to admit that the D.I. Rules were used on many occasions not strictly and exclusively to secure the unhampered prosecution of the war but to serve their own political ends. It is now common knowledge that on several occasions prosecutions were ordered without even consulting the Press Advisory Committees. The A.I.N.E.C. has not succeeded up till now in securing the removal of the ban on the *National Herald*.

The cause of the weakness of this organisation is inherent in itself. It had in effect bowed its head before the repressive measures adopted by the Government against the Press. Protests there were, but they were feeble in extreme. It has somehow come to play a second fiddle to the Government.

Need for an Economic Service

Indian Finance, discussing the subject of the human factor in economic planning, observes that the first requisite of sound and successful planning is a political constitution properly geared to an efficient administrative system. Explaining the administrative system required for successful economic planning, it writes :

"Here the experiences of the war period are even more illuminative than the example of Soviet Russia and her five-year plans, because the former draws attention to the defects of the pre-war administrative system when it is called upon to tackle new tasks in the economic sphere. All the countries on the allied side, excepting, of course, Soviet Russia, have felt the need to strengthen the normal administrative framework with men of experience of large-scale business and of high academic attainments in economics. The change is less marked in the U.S.A. where the administration had even before the outbreak of the war undergone many changes in this direction as a result of the New Deal. Since production programmes during a war are t common concern of Government and industry alike, t two are nautrally and inevitably drawn together; a the difference between businessmen who are forma drafted to Government service and those who simp co-operate with them is from a practical point of vie inconsiderable. In any case, it is clear that the norm administrative system is by no means equal to the ta which it will have to tackle during a regime of econo planning and that in the war period the need is not much for additions in numbers as for the command new kinds of administrative ability. This need also e tends to men with more and better knowledge academic economics. The part played by economists li Lord Keynes and Prof. Lionel Robbins in the evolut of the present system of war finance is well-known. T assistance of less eminent economists has, doubtless, be availed of for lesser tasks."

Unless a national government, fully responsible the people and able to guard the interests of t masses, is established, no amount of recruitment economists in the services will be of any use. Li Keynes and Robbins, we also find many able economi jointing the Government of India but with no res Recruitment in the nation-building services is a ve important subject which has not merited the attenti it really deserves. There have been ridiculous appoi ments like the posting of a thoroughly inefficient I.C as the head of the agricultural department of a provi to which he does not belong and the import of expert from another province where there is hard any agriculture. Such appointments are possible o under a system over which the people have no contro

The Coal Position

The coal position continues to be serious and menace both to the industries and to the railways. T consumers of domestic coke continue to suffer. The co position has been steadily deteriorating for a long ti now. Although schemes are under way to augment t coal raisings, no appreciable success has yet been reg tered. The Supply Member, Sir Ramaswamy Mudali is now in charge of coal, and the country would fe grateful to him for one thing he has done—namely, t sending away of Mr. Young, the coal expert who w imported last year from England. Though called you he is an old man in years, and he is also lame-foot Like him, the coal control was also a limping one. gave rise to bitter debates in the Central Legislatu as also to resentment outside, especially among ind trialists, some of whom have been forced to close do their factories, either partially or completely. It is al an illuminating commentary on the outlook of M Young that he could carry on smoothly with none the three Members under whom he had served—S Edward Benthall, Dr. Ambedkar and Sir Ramaswa Mudaliar.

Recently a coal fund has been created. Two ex charges have been levied on coal, one of four annas p ton to be spent for the improvement of the colli labour, the other of Re. 1-4 per ton to be utilised f the betterment of the collieries themselves. It has be calculated that the latter will yield about Rs. 3 cro annually. It is understood that this amount will b spent for the purchase of machinery to facilitate co raisings in big mines. These up-to-date machinery a such that they may be utilised only in big mines, mo of which are British, *i.e.*, the benefit of this coal fo will accrue to the British coal kings at the cost of t

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public. We also understand that no arrangements for ascertaining the views of the consumers or the Indian coal mines have been made nor any need is paid to public criticism. Application of public money for the benefit of a sectional foreign interest is one of the most reprehensible policy in the civilised world, but the people believe it to be quite possible in this country under the present system of Government.

Railway Rates Policy

The setting up of a Central Rate Fixing Authority was suggested by Mr. G. E. Cuffe, General Manager, Bengal and Assam Railway, and critically examined by Sir Edward Benthall at the annual session of the Indian Railway Conference Association at New Delhi. Mr. Cuffe said :

"The greatest problem to be faced in connection with rates in the post-war period, was not so much what the rates would be as how and by whom they would be fixed. At present, each administration has full discretion, within certain limits, to adjust its own rates. This has worked well in the past. The 20 years between the two world wars have seen the great and rapid expansion of the steel industry in India, and the creation and growth of, amongst others, the cement and sugar industries. This would have been impossible, had the present rate-fixing system not afforded a reasonable degree of flexibility. The good sense and mutual co-operation of the commercial heads of railways has ensured the quotation of special rates sufficiently low to foster the growth of these indigenous industries, but not so low as to result in uneconomic working. The growth of new industries and the expansion of existing ones in India after the war will be very much more rapid than it has been in the past and it is doubtful whether the present system will assure that each new industry as it gets into production will have railway rates arranged for it which will give the industry a reasonable chance of obtaining a market in reasonable wide area. Further there will be major questions such as what in the best interest of India as a whole should be the relationship between rates for indigenous products or rates for imported goods or between rates for goods moving to ports for export and rates for the same goods moving to markets in India."

The Government of India's views, as expressed by Sir Edward Benthall, were quite in keeping with its past traditions. British vested rights have always dominated our railway policy either independently through the Railway Board or through the Government of India, and the rates have always been fixed to suit their own interests, often to the great disadvantage and loss of indigenous industries. Mr. Cuffe's speech gives enough material to understand this aspect of the rate-fixing policy and it is not necessary to dilate on it here. At the expression of such a view from a General Manager of a big railway, the War Transport Member of the Government of India in charge of Railways has immediately reacted. Sir Edward Benthall said that Mr. Cuffe's views on the machinery of rate-fixing would stimulate controversy. Sir Edward said :

"What appears to be a suggestion that the Railway Board and the railways should be divorced from the control of their revenue-earning machinery is a case in point. It is true that in recent years and particularly in wartime there has been a tendency for Government independently to fix maximum and minimum prices for various commodities, but that is the usual limit of Government intervention and such a state of control already exists on the railways. To place on another department of Government the responsibility for rate-fixing would cut away one of the first responsibilities of the Railway Board and the general managers, namely, that of securing by efficient and economic general control an adequate return on the capital invested in the railways.

"Nor is the prospect of the centralization of rate-fixing altogether alluring. There is indeed the danger that touch would be lost with the business communities and with provincial Governments. In spite of modern communications there is still substance in the Mughal proverb 'Delhi Dur Ast.' There would be a danger of the growth of an inflexible, unwieldy central machine which would tend by its very complexity to be a dead hand on development and particularly when the local co-ordination of road, steamer and rail rates is concerned. With the recent acquisition of company-managed railways, we have unquestionably reached the cross roads where we are for the first time free to choose which road we shall take in the rating policy. With all the principal railways State-managed, there should be a cessation of rate cutting and manipulation as between company and State railways and consequently an entirely new outlook.

"There might also be a permanent rates committee of the major railways consisting of rates experts from the different administrations which should meet regularly to co-ordinate the fixing of thorough rates and to study the effect of the rating structure upon industries as they develop, leaving local rates mainly to the individual administration. Whether or not a rates advisory committee would be advisable is a matter of opinion. It must not be forogtten that the Government of India Act, 1935, makes provision for an *ad hoc* railway rates committee and a statutory railway tribunal, but until we know what form the new constitution is to take, and in particular what the railway administration of the future is to be, it is not possible to reach any final conclusion on this subject of rates machinery if indeed there is any such thing as finality in such matters."

Mr. Cuffe's suggestion to set up a Central Authority for fixing rates is sound. The Railways are being worked as a central subject and on a centralised principle. It should continue to do so. It is extremely desirable that the rates fixing power should be with a central body so formed as to reflect popular opinion. Not only in the case of Railways, we would advocate creation of similar central authorities for the fixation of motor and steamer rates as well.

Sir Sultan Ahmed Opposes Pakistan

The *United Press* reports :

"It is understood that Sir Sultan Ahmed's new treatise *A Treaty Between India and the United Kingdom* prepared for the Institute of International Affairs has been circulated among the members of the Sapru Committee. It is learnt that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru obtained copies of the book for the benefit of the members of his Committee who are engaged in evolving the principles for a solution of the Indian communal and constitutional problem.

"Sir Sultan Ahmed in this publication opposes Pakistan and suggests a communal settlement on the following basis : Representation in the Federal Assembly of Muslims 40 per cent, Hindus 40 per cent, Depressed Classes 10 per cent, the Rest (Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Sikhs, Parsis, Tribes, etc.) 10 per cent. The Cabinet would also reflect this percentage according to Sir Sultan's formula.

"Sir Tej Bahadur, it is understood, has already communicated his appreciation of the book to Sir Sultan Ahmed."

Sir Sultan's denunciation of Pakistan coming in close succession of Lord Wavell's pronounced views on

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the subject expressed in his Calcutta speech, may indicate some stiffening of the official attitude towards the Pakistan cry.

Anti-Indian Propaganda Strengthened

Insaf has made startling disclosures, in the pages of the *Leader*, of the Puckle-Joyce combine and the promoters of "United Publications" of running a propaganda racket under pseudo-names to poison the minds of the people in America, the Middle East and other foreign lands on Indian affairs. Insaf writes :

"Three weeks ago a letter was received by several newspapers from Mr. R. W. Pearce, acting business manager of the *Times of India*, Bombay, asking them to review the first issue of the English-Roman-Urdu edition of a new illustrated monthly magazine entitled *Duniya*. This request made on behalf of 'United Publications' set one thinking. Who could this new powerful publishing house be? Its address as 'Post Box No. 166, Delhi' made the situation intriguing. Ultimately it was discovered that the 'United Publications' is the name assumed by the 'Publication Division' of the External Publicity branch of the Information and Broadcasting department, run by Col. Wheeler. The pseudo-name is probably meant to give the impression to readers in India and in many countries abroad towards which propaganda is primarily projected that the publishers of the numerous magazines, posters and news-letters on India are not the Government of India but some private undertaking: More about this propaganda racket later."

Doping Americans About the Indian Problem

The British propaganda officials felt some embarrassment to checkmate the activities of the India League in the U.S.A. The first move in this direction was the appointment of a careerist Indian as Agent-General in America with a British publicity officer under him. But unfortunately for the British Government, Mr. Hennessy, the publicity officer, over-did his job and the experiment failed to achieve the desired result. Sir Frederic Puckle, Information Secretary to the Government of India and Mr. Joyce, Publicity Officer of the India Office, were sent to U.S.A. on a joint mission to suggest the best ways and means of doping Americans about the Indian problem. Insaf writes :

"The two officers reported that Americans are by nature inquisitive people and that two things were discernible about their attitude towards India, first, their ignorance about India, and, second, their interest in India. The reasons they gave for American interest in India were to the following effect. Americans hold the idealistic view that each country should be free to govern itself; Americans' sons are fighting in the eastern theatre with India as the base; Americans regard Japan as enemy No. 1 and are of the opinion that to win the war against Japan freedom of India is essential because India is not contributing as much towards the war as she would have had she been free; and Americans are interested in India on account of their interest in China, because all supplies to China go through India.

"The Puckle-Joyce report further stated that the isolationists in America look upon India as a complete example of imperialism and they hate the British rule in India not because they hate the British people but because they do not like imperialism and the imperialistic ways of life. They, therefore, feel that if America goes in for imperialism she will find herself in the same muddle in which Britons find themselves in India.

"But this analysis of the situation did not dep Sir Prederick Puckle and Mr. Joyce. They stated Americans were in a mood to receive any informa about India from any quarter and that it was to discredit of the Government of India that informat available to the Americans had been received fr quarters unsympathetic to British rule. They ad that although anti-British propaganda had in no affected that British power in India it had someti put the British Government into a very awkward critical position in the United States."

The Puckle-Joyce Report concluded with the commendation that since Americans were in a recep mood efforts should be made to present to them English view of the Indian political scene. They gest that information services to America should operated by the British Ministry of Information the Government of India in a co-ordinated way. A of their plan was publication of magazines and pam lets and the establishment of an India Library America. It was thus decided to counteract the In League magazine *India Today* by bringing out a ma zine *India Tomorrow*. Mr. G. L. Mehta has now closed that post-war schemes which have not even b officially adopted in India are being advertised in U.S.A. as if they were being immediately carried It was also decided to start another magazine, *Kohinoor* for distribution in America and to Ameri troops in India. The operation of the censorship deprived the India League magazine from obtain real facts about India thus putting it at a great ha cap.

The finishing touch to the propaganda plans America was given by Mr. Bozman's tour to the U.S A scheme was evolved for inviting to India Ameri and British journalists. The plan envisaged the open of a tourist bureau for the purpose and taking foreign journalists round India in a conducted tour let them see things for themselves.'

Publicity in the Dominions

India's foreign relations are controlled by British Government through their Governor-General India. This position will, of course, remain unaltered the publicity angle has necessitated the creation o facade to deceive India's neighbours and the world large. It is proposed to create High Commissionersh or Agencies in various Dominions and Colonies, point to them Indian 'yes men' and place under th 'Information' officers to supply 'straight' or 'objecti material on India. Already a High Commissioner been appointed in Australia and an Agent to the ex Burma Government in Simla. The task of these d nitaries is to promote goodwill for the present Gove ment and to counteract any anti-British propagand

Publicity Offensive in the Middle East

Insaf continues : The trial has already been bla by our 'Goebbels.' The 'United Publications' is prod ing an attractive magazine *Al-Arab* written in Ar for the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf. Th places are inhabited by tribes which must be k friendly to the British power. The world-famous glamorous name of *Taj Mahal* is given to a magaz meant for Afghanistan and Iran, which countries Brit has to cultivate as her sphere of influence and coun the dominance of Russian influence. Lest it thought that the British are not fighting a war

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democracy another publication named *Jahan-i-Azad* (the free world) is published in both Persian and Arabic. Special attention is being paid to the Arab countries, through a magazine projected towards them exclusively. It is named *Ahang*. The tribes on India's border are not starved of entertaining literature. For them a magazine named *Nahun Parun* was brought out in Pushto. It had, unfortunately, to be closed because it failed to achieve its purpose. (It must be said to the credit of our 'Goebbels' that he does not hesitate to learn by trial and error). He brought out *Jahan-i-Emruz* in Persian and closed it when he found it did not make an appeal to his public. Another magazine named *Bugle* is issued in separate editions in French, Persian and Arabic, representing an over-all publicity offensive in the Middle East.

To cap it all, the author of the scheme has decided to bring out *Duniya* in several languages. The *Times of India's* business manager's letter recommending on behalf of 'United Publications' this new illustrated weekly for review mentioned it as an English-Roman-Urdu publication. Either he was being modest or he was not concerned with the editions for which the printing order had not been placed with the *Times of India*. This bilingul weekly is being published in English-Roman-Urdu, Urdu-Pushto, English-Russian, English-Persian and English-Arabic.

Propaganda Among Frontier Tribes

Insaf gives some idea of how tendentious propaganda among the children and the tribesmen is being carried out.

"'United Publications' are bringing out a children's magazine *Naui Nihal*. This is meant to introduce the younger generation to the outside world, in particular to British might and invention in the various spheres of human endeavour. There is also another magazine, *Ajkal* (Today and Tomorrow). It is an Urdu fortnightly intended to influence the Frontier tribes, but in order to make it look like an Indian journal it has been modelled on the Urdu press with a special appeal to the tribesmen and the Muslims of India."

Propaganda Material for the Foreigners But Banned to Indians

The most subtle and the most sinister aspect of the propaganda is the preparation and distribution of materials to the foreigners which have been carefully withheld from the Indian public. Since there are politically-minded people in all countries and there is thirst for topical news a *Mizan* news-letter is regularly prepared, printed, and distributed in the various countries to which India is being 'projected.' *No copies of this letter are made available to the Indian public* but it is probably supplied to foreigners in India. Its 'objective' presentation of Indian news is done so subtly that the reader is left with the impression that India is making a great deal of economic progress under British rule and that her relative backwardness is due to her own social deficiencies and political and communal quarrels. The Information Bureau, too, is utilized, though not extensively. Its *Indian News* prepared by it is sent to foreign countries. The use of this bulletin also seems to be banned in India.

All the expenditure incurred for these purposes is classified as a legitimate charge on the Indian revenues and the starving Indian masses are bled for meeting them!

Future of Transport in India

The President of the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association, in a Press statement, says that the Association has forwarded to the Government of India its views on the future of road transport and rail-road relations with particular reference to the proposals placed before the post-war subjects committee on transport by an official sub-committee of that body. He said :

"The Association, while agreeing with a majority of the proposals of this sub-committee, voices its disagreement with two of the suggestions. One of these is that the bulk of long-distance transport of goods by road should be prohibited to prevent competition with railways and the other that the railways should aim ultimately at acquiring a commanding interest in passenger road transport.

"The Association fears that the acceptance of these proposals will lead, sooner or later, to the railways having an effective monopoly of transport by road and rail which, it considers, is likely in the long run to be harmful to the interests of the country.

"The Association believes in the need for fostering healthy competition which alone can create that incentive for constant improvements in transport services on which the future prosperity of the country so largely depends. There must be no monopoly if transport services in the post-war era are to be efficient."

Transport policies in England and U.S.A. have always been based on the principle that the transport user must have unfettered freedom to employ the means of transport he finds most suitable and convenient for his purposes and the British Parliament or the American Congress would not for a moment think of interfering with such a choice. It is a fixed policy with both these governments to preserve competition both between and within the different means of transport.

In India things are entirely different. Here the railways earn about a hundred crores of rupees in normal years, and yet their accounts do not show any profit except in very few occasions and in very small quantities. Although its capital has been provided by the public, our railways are run by a foreign government in the interest of the British merchants. The railway rates and the traffic are adjusted to suit vested interests abroad. The most objectionable additional feature of our railway administration has been its continued and persistent attempt to kill road competition with government help and legislation. Unless the whole structure of Government in this country changes, it will not be unjustifiable to believe that transport will continue to remain a difficult job for the people of the land.

The Over-Population Bogey

For some years past, since a guarded reference was made in the Census Report for 1931 to the increasing pressure of agricultural population on land, a hue and cry has been raised about over-population being the cause of poverty and general backwardness of the country. Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow have all made over-population their scape-goat to hide their own failures. The worst feature of this sinister propaganda is that Indian economists and industrialists have taken up this cry. Amidst this persistent and powerful official propaganda to hift the responsibility for the glaring defects of Indian

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administration from Imperialist shoulders to the poor Indian for producing too many children, it is reassuring to find a high official of the Government of India coming forward to lay the bogey of over-population. The *Indian Social Reformer* reports the following statement of Sir P. M. Kharegat, Additional Secretary, Education, Health and Lands Department of the Government of India, made while speaking at Rotary function at Allahabad :

"There is no need whatsoever to restrict population in India. Provided we devote our attention to the adequate increase of agricultural production. We may be able to increase our production by 50 per cent in a very few years, in five to ten years quite easily, and it can even be increased by one hundred per cent, provided the necessary facilities for increased production are made available and remunerative prices ensured. In view of that I see no reason why we should take a pessimistic view about our population and try to restrict it, at least at the present stage."

The main problems of Indian agriculture have been administrative. Since 1930, the beginning of the Great Depression, the Indian peasant had never obtained a remunerative price for his crop. Since then he never got cheap credit and cheap manure, his sales were never regulated so as to save him from the clutches of middlemen and the Government never came forward to provide for these basic needs of an agricultural population. To add to this, the break-down of the small industries has continued to throw more and more people on the soil thus increasing the pressure on land. U. S. A., Canada, Australia and other countries with their own government have taken stringent and effective measures to save their agricultural population from ruin as a result of the depression, while in India, the branch of the British Government at New Delhi has gone along merrily well disregarding the future fears that faced 75 per cent of the people. Thus at last when the people have come down to a level of a perpetual famine, steeped in debt and dying of disease and malnutrition as a result of the Government's failure to protect them from forces beyond their control, the "Trustees" of these 400 millions of human beings have come forward to make over-population responsible for the poverty of the Indian masses !

Indians De-Humanised

Inaugurating the Andhra Women's National Educational Conference at Madras, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said :

"Today we are not Indians. We are just human beings, dehumanised by a long process of alienation from our own culture. By culture I mean we are the inheritors of a tradition of womanhood which we have violated century after century because we have been untrue to the responsibility of women. I want your children should have no feeling that they are inferior to any other section. They should be proud and should be able to say: I shall give the world the message of peace, a contribution of a culture which has a universal application and not merely a sectarian or communal limitations."

Mrs. Naidu warned the ladies not to be mere suffragists and reminded them of their higher and nobler duties. Our womenfolk today need reminding that our culture, our tradition and our civilisation demands of women a rightful place in the building of our civilisation.

A Retrenchment Commission Needed

The *Bharat Jyoti* reports that from Lord Wavell down to the economists who attended the Consultative Assembly of Economists, hints are being thrown about the continuation of war time taxation after the war for development purposes. Not unreasonably it is feared that many of the war time controls will be continued after the war. The present grip on Indian trade and industry may have to be continued for two purposes during the post-war period, *viz.*, to provide ready market for British goods after Britain had completely rehabilitated her industries, and secondly to dissipate the accumulated sterling balance by means of an one-way trade. For this purpose, the "experts" imported in this country from Britain at a great cost will have to be retained. The *Bharat Jyoti* says :

"A particular case in point is Mr. Kirby, British Rationing Expert. He has been devising ways and means to continue in his post after the war and a Directorate of Rationing is being set up. His deputy, who is believed to be an R.A.F. mechanic, has been already appointed. Jobs thus multiply under the stress and strain of war, and experts and British personnel are being added in the Secretariat notwithstanding the fact that there are so many Indian Members in the Viceroy's Council."

Proposed Indo-American Trade and Navigation Treaties

Sir Chunilal Mehta, Leader of the Indian delegation to the International Business Conference at Rye, New York, said at a press conference that he had taken up the subject of a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between India and the United States at the conference as well as outside it. In the absence of such a Treaty, the Indian trades and businessmen in the United States were at a great disadvantage as compared with other nationals. Such a treaty would entitle Indians to the privilege of going to the United States, staying there and establishing business. He declared at Rye that the expansion of world trade, which the conference envisaged, could not be achieved without granting equal rights to Indians to come and stay and establish business in the U.S.A. just as the American nationals have that privilege in India. A Bill qualifying Indians to become American citizens is pending before the American Congress but its consideration is being postponed from time to time. There is an apprehension that the postponement might go on perhaps longer than the war and thus the Bill might finally be killed.

It is necessary that there should be a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the two countries which would place Indian businessmen on a par in America with other nationals. Sir Chunilal made a disclosure that a draft treaty had already been sent to the Government of India in 1939 and that after a period of about seven months, a reply had been received from the Government of India to the effect *that the subject could not be proceeded with for the duration of the war*. It seemed that such a reply of the Government of India had surprised the American authorities and Sir Chunilal felt that the United States authorities were willing and also prepared to conclude such a treaty with India.

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Nizam's Agent on the Absurdity of Two-Nation Theory

The two-nation theory was pronounced as "absurd" by Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur, Nizam's Agent at Nagpur, in the course of his inaugural address at the social gathering of the National College at Nagpur. Nawab Mirza Yar Jung began by asking the students to read little and think more. He asked them to apply independent judgment by thinking for themselves on various problems about which they may have read. By way of illustration he took up the Two-Nation Theory and expounded the result to which he had arrived by thinking for himself.

"Whether Hindus and Muslims are two nations or not depends on your definition of a nation," said the speaker. What constitutes a nation? Can the people belonging to one religion constitute a nation? The speaker thought it absurd to mix up religion and nationality. If religion is made the criterion of nationality, with the change of faith a person will have changed his nationality and will be kicked like a football from one nation to another.

The speaker asserted that the Muslims in India did not want the country to be invaded by any other power whether it be Afghanistan, Iran or Turkey. He concluded his speech by suggesting that education should aim at creating unity between Hindus and Muslims.

Mr. Siddiqi on Hindu-Muslim Differences

In a speech at a meeting of the One World Citizen League at New York, Mr. A. R. Siddiqi, known here for his very pronounced communalist views, asserted that the differences between the Hindus and Muslims of India have been given importance out of all proportion. He said: "So far as the freedom of the country is concerned, there is no section among the population which does not want it. The Muslims want it more than others, for they come into clash with Imperialist and colonial powers and every corner of the earth." This statement might have some truth outside India, but so far as Mr. Siddiqi's own motherland is concerned, it has not much relation with truth. Mr. Siddiqi's own party, the Muslim League, has never come into clash with Imperialism but has always served it against actual and prospective political payment. It has missed no opportunity to frustrate and retard the country's way to freedom. In Mr. Siddiqi's province of activity and leadership, it serves today as the most degrading agent of Imperialism costing the people heavily in life, property, health and education, the worst sufferers being members of Mr. Siddiqui's own community.

No Illiterate Muslims in Russia

Mufti Abdur Rahaman Zainullah Rassuli, the Russian Muslim leader, has been reported to have said, "There is no longer any illiterate among Russian Muslims." In India under the benign rule of our British "Trustees", run in in the centre some of the provinces with the help of the Muslim leaders, the percentage of Muslim literacy is still barely an one-digit affair. In Bengal, under a Muslim Ministry, arrangement for a permanent curtailment of education is being made with the active support of the white champions of democracy and progress.

Pakistan versus *Loaves and Fishes*

The Lucknow correspondent of the *Leader* has given a graphic account of the internal conditions of the Muslim League in the United Provinces, the stronghold of League politics. The report shows that the much vaunted goal of Pakistan has faded away as soon as there were any prospects of the distribution of loaves and fishes. The correspondent writes:

"The U.P. Muslim League was throughout the year torn by factional strife. Early in the year a new faction known as the Rizwanullah group came to the fore and challenged the leadership of the League comprising two of the biggest barons of Oudh and such stalwarts as Nawab Ismail Khan and Chowdhary Khaliquzzaman. At one meeting of the Council of the League it launched a blitzkrieg. It was able to get elected a Parliamentary Board consisting of the partisans of the Rizwanullah group and Mr. Rizwanullah himself got elected president of the U. P. League in the leave vacancy of Nawab Ismail Khan. In the first shock of surprise the leadership resigned *en bloc*. But later they rallied to wrest power from the rebels. Nawab Ismail Khan changed his mind and refused to go on leave. At the next meeting of the U. P. League Council the Mahmudabad group mustered its supporters for a fight. Finding itself weak the Rizwanullah group temporized and agreed to a compromise. Mr. Rizwanullah conceded Nawab Ismail Khan's right to change his mind about going on leave and vacated the chair for him. The Parliamentary Board formed for contesting the municipal elections was so formed as to consist of equal members of both the factions. But the compromise meant no mingling of hearts and the old bitterness continued to rankle in Leaguers' hearts.

"The decision to contest the municipal elections was forced through the Council of the U. P. Muslim League by the Rizwanullah group in the teeth of the opposition of stalwarts such as Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan who foresaw that as soon as there were any loaves to be distributed Leaguers would fly at each other's throats."

League Wrangles

The correspondent continues:

"That is what happened. The Rizwanullah group accidentally finding itself in a majority at a meeting of the League Parliamentary Board at Aligarh gave the majority of League tickets to its own men and gave the signal for the flare-up of dormant factional strife in the province. The strife was waged with great ugliness on both sides and much dirty linen was washed in public. League discipline cracked up. Whole city and district League committees revolted against the Parliamentary Board and rejected League candidates fought against the Parliamentary Board's chosen ones in the elections. The bigger leaders of the Mahmudabad group secretly sabotaged the Parliamentary Board's campaign. But the Parliamentary Board had hit upon the soundest strategy in conducting the elections. It gave its tickets to a very large number of sitting members who would have been elected in any case. This strategy brought them a measure of success.

"After the elections the Mahmudabad group which happens to be in majority in the provincial executive of the League again turned the tables on the Rizwanullah group and appointed a Control Board entirely packed with its own partisans to control the League parties in the municipal boards. The Control Board, however, does not seem to command any influence on the League municipal parties which did as they liked

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in the subsequent elections for chairmanships of these boards.

"Thus power has gone back and forth between the two factions during the year in retrospect. At the end of the year, Mr. Rizwanullah's was the 'have-not' faction and was preparing for another bid for power. At the beginning of the year the group raised some hopes that it would crystallize into a more progressive wing of the League. It had some politically conscious lower middle class elements. Some ex-Congressmen had joined it while Communist infiltration was greatest in this wing. But during the year it produced no progressive programme or policy and allowed itself to remain the instrument of ambition of disgruntled men."

It is becoming increasingly clear that the top leadership of the League is much more concerned with their own interests even at the cost of the Muslim masses. In Bengal the Muslim jute-growers have been the worst sufferers in the hands of what is called a Muslim League Ministry. In Bengal, the politically conscious lower middle class Muslim youths exerted themselves during the last League elections, although due to some mysterious reasons the old guards finally had their way. In the U. P. as well it seems that a similar politically conscious group is growing strong within the League.

Jamiat-ul-Ulema Demands Independence

A strong plea for the complete independence of India was made by Maulana Qazi Hafiz Mahammad Tayeb who presided over the Bombay Provincial Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference. Continuing his speech he said that the conquest of a nation always led to the ruin of the economic life, education, prestige and good neighbourly relations between the communities comprising the conquered people. British dominion was responsible for the economic and educational backwardness of India and it had also had a demoralising effect on Muslim social and economic life and organisation. He quoted Hunter to prove that the British were responsible for the loss of Muslim power and prestige within 50 years of the establishment of their rule. The Moulana stressed that complete independence alone would remedy this state of affairs, and bring the different communities in the country together.

One of the resolutions also stressed the need for the Indian Muslims to exert for the complete independence of India.

Laski on Strategic Imperialism of Churchill

"Churchill has killed the Atlantic Charter with his own hands. He has made up his mind that no reorganisation of Europe shall be carried out which will endanger the kind of democracy to which he has been accustomed."—This severe indictment of Mr. Churchill's European policy was made by Harold Laski when the following question was put to him: "What is progressive Britain's attitude to Churchill's European policy? Is there any tendency to ascribe this policy to the fear of United States of America's predatory economic power?"

Laski added:

"If one adds to this, the Greek tragedy, Mr. Churchill's indignation when the Badoglio Government in Italy was forced to give way to that of Signor Bonomi; if one remembers that he was driven by events into support of Marshal Tito for whom he had little sympathy until the eleventh hour and if to those activities is added the fact that the basis of Mr. Pierlot's Government in Belgium is not the public opinion of the Belgium people, but the authority of Gen. Erskin and that there is no support of Belgian Leftwing, it becomes hard not to think that at the back of Mr. Churchill's mind is the determination at all costs to maintain 'traditional' Europe and to set the four freedoms in that context."

Saying that men and women of every shade of progressive opinion in England were deeply disturbed by Mr. Churchill's European policy, Laski emphatically said: "More serious is the belief that the essential principle of his policy is a form of strategic imperialism which it is difficult to reconcile with the building of a peaceful world."

Impoverished Britain Wants to Be a Great Nation

The American magazine, *Life,* commenting on Anglo-American relations writes:

"The British are exhausted and impoverished. Once the lords of creation, they want to continue as a Great Nation after the war but hints have been given by Marshal Smuts and Churchill that they have not the inherent potentials of Russia and the United States.

"Britain's foreign investments are short, her sources of raw material uncertain, her factories old-fashioned, her houses have been destroyed, her merchant fleet has been hard hit and her people need roofs, beds, knives, forks and clothing and automobiles. They have to fight hard just to eat, yet they also want a Beveridge Plan and a forty-hour week."

Stressing the basic unity of Britain and the U.S.A. both of whom are citadels of the capitalist economic system, *Life* continues:

"It is in America's interests that Britain should remain strong and Britain can remain strong only in a system of an expanding and of a comparatively free world trade and the only country that can revise and maintain such system is the United States. American Liberals may revile at Britain's India policy until they are blue in their faces but that policy can be criticised only when Britain is assured of access to equivalent trade elsewhere such as American markets."

The United States' silent support of Britain's India policy may be understood only in this context.

U. S. Negroes Want Full Freedom

A New York message, published in the *Free Press,* states that the American Negroes too have been deeply stirred by continued outside contacts in the midst of this war for freedom. They want just like Indians full political equality"—the same right to vote as Whitemen, the right to run for elective offices and to be eligible for appointive offices. They want full civil equality—equal access to protection of law and an end to Jim Crow in transportation, hotels, restaurants, recreation and entertainments and all public facilities. They want an end to restrictive house covenants—and they do not want any so-called "equal but separate" accommodations; separate accommodations are by that very fact unequal. They want full equality of educational opportunities—access to same schools and equal pay for Negro teachers at all level. They want full equality of employment opportunity—"the all too familiar spectacles of Negro College graduate working as messenger boy or dish washer must go."

This is the condition of millions of human beings in U.S.A., the arsenal of democracy, for the only fault that the colour of their skin happens to be dark.

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Right to Resist Pulling Down of the National Flag

A full bench of the Nagpur High Court has set aside the convictions and sentences on 38 accused in the Yavali case—where these people had been prosecuted on charges of assault on public servants. Delivering judgment Mr. Justice Niyogi observed :

"It must be held on facts proved that the people assembled in the Chowk had the right to resist an attempt to pull down the flag. The flag was not proscribed and its hoisting in the Chowk was not illegal. If an attempt to remove the flag is illegal, however expedient it might have been thought, public officers cannot claim it to have been done in discharge of duty. Law does not authorise public officers to commit illegalities in discharge of duties and public officers who commit illegal acts which justify resistance are not entitled to seek shelter under Section 333 I.P.C."

"The removal of the flag without the consent and against the will of the villagers by one who was accompanied by an armed force of more than five persons was an offence much graver than robbery."

The case arose out of the last August disturbances in the village of Yavali in the Amraoti district when it was alleged that the District Magistrate and party were attacked by a mob while trying to pull down the Congress flag. Prosecution was started against 48 persons, some absconding, of whom five were acquitted and others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment ranging from two to seven years.

Punjab Plan for the Uplift of Villages

The *United Press* understands that one of the youngest departments of the Punjab Government, the Directorate of Panchayets, has put up a five-year plan for the uplift of the 35,000 villages of the Punjab to come into operation after the war. The cost of the plan will be about Rs. 1 crore and 35 lakhs.

The scheme, it is learnt, is divided into three parts. In the first stage it aims at training up 3,000 village workers, known as village guides, who will be responsible for social welfare and economic uplift of villages, such as water supply, education, sanitation and road construction.

Secondly, it is proposed to set up a cultural centre in villages, each in charge of a village guide. Each of these centres to be named Panchayetgarh will be provided with a common discussion room, a library, a play ground, first aid equipments and a radio set. In order to feed these village libraries central libraries will be opened in each tehsil headquarters where adequate supplies of books will be maintained from the village improvement fund created out of the taxes imposed by the Panchayats for the purpose. In addition some direct Government grants will also be given.

Finally it is learnt that under this scheme Panchayets will be responsible for formulation and execution of plans of upliftment subject to approval of the central body on the model of the Soviet system.

The Coming Clash Between Capitalism and Communism

Geoffrey Crowther, Editor of the London *Economist*, in an article, has examined the possibility of communism or capitalism committing aggression on each other. He writes :

"In the early enthusiasm of the Soviet State there was a great deal of talk of world revolution. The communist International breathed fire and thunder against the bourgeoisie of the world. But even in those days communist aggression was quite singularly ineffective. With one dubious exception in Hungary (very easily suppressed), and a few minor successes in the deserts that divide Siberia from China, the world revolution was everywhere a complete failure. And now even that policy has been given up and the Comintern dissolved.

"If we are to judge by present intentions there never was such an unaggressive, unexpanding political doctrine as communism.

"With capitalism the story is rather different. From its origin in England 200 years ago industrial capitalism has now spread over a large part of the earth's surface. The expansion has not always been peaceful. On the contrary, it has often been fiercely resisted, and the guns both of Great Britain and of the United States have been used to force it on those who did not want it. But the character of capitalism is changing. The reason is partly to be found in the growth of new political concepts of national equality, of colonial trusteeship. It is partly to be found in the growing tendency of capitalist economy to find its expansion at home rather than in spreading over the face of the earth. It is perhaps partly the reflection of a slowing tempo of capitalist expansion connected with the slowing growth of the population in western countries. Whatever the reason, capitalism today is not nearly the aggressive force that it was."

If capitalism could be induced to refrain from attacking communism, he finds no reason why the two systems of economic government should come into serious conflict. If neither is deliberately seeking out the other to destroy it—if there is no attempt to foment a capitalist revolt in Russia or a communist revolution in America or Britain—then the possibilities of conflict are limited to the area where the two systems come into contact—that is in international trade. Mr. Cowther asserts that there had never been any serious difficulty in trading with Soviet Russia who have bought and sold on business-like lines, and have been prompt and scrupulous in meeting their trading obligations.

Mr. Cowther seems to have made a great mistake in assuming communism to be "unaggressive and unexpanding." The Comintern might have been dissolved, the revolts which formed part of a world revolution might have been crushed, but the doctrine has travelled to the heart of hearts of millions of exploited people on all continents of the world. International trade with Soviet Russia alone does not solve the capitalist problem. With the formation of peoples' governments in the East, and with the closing down of a free market on this side of the Suez, capitalism will face extinction, even in spite of a friendly alliance with the Soviet. Peoples of Asia have now quite realised the fundamental doctrines of Communism or Socialism, they are fully conscious of the fact that a people's government with complete control over arms will be the greatest bulwark against capitalist exploitation. Sheer force of capitalist arms and intrigues cannot prevent the coming into power of sovereign government of the peoples for any indefinite length of time.

Language Policy of the Indian Radio

The agitation against the language policy of the All-India Radio has made the Information and Broadcasting Department think of revising its policy. The *Leader* reports that an Advisory Committee is being set

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up to deal with this question consisting of the following—Sir Sultan Ahmed, a Deputy Secretary of the Broadcasting Department, and two deputy directors-general of the Radio, will constitute the official team, the Central Legislature will be represented by Mr. Hossain Imam, Mr. Shri Narayan Mehta, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Mr. Habibur Rahaman, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai and Mr. C. P. Lawson. Three representatives each of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu will represent the spokesmen of Hindi and Urdu respectively.

The main question on which the committee's advice will be sought is whether the news and features and talks which are broadcast in a common language called Hindustani should be split up into separate Hindi and Urdu broadcasts and whether a common language is to be used, and if so how its vocabulary should be chosen. The difficulty has been created by the Government's policy of recruiting both the programme staff and the artistes from prodominantly Urdu-knowing people, *i.e.*, from the Muslim community. The result was a definite drive towards a complete Urduisation of the Radio in the name of supporting a common Hindustani language. In the formation of the Advisory Committee also, the same policy of the Government has been reflected, out of the six members taken from the Central Legislature, three are Muslims and two Hindus.

Appeal to U. S. A. to Send Medical Supplies to India

"Hotsprings, Jan. 10.—The Indian delegate, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, appealed at tonight's (Wednesday's) meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations for sending urgent medical supplies to India. Referring to the United States Congress decision to include India as war-devastated territory in the U.N.R.R.A. Bill although there was no fighting on some of its territory, Dr. Lokanathan argued that the need of the hunger and poverty-stricken areas was so great and imperative that the Conference should recognize the necessity of sending relief from the United States as soon as possible. Dr. Lokanathan said that although India had not been overrun by invading forces, the fact that much of its food supplies were sent to the Allies had precipitated a famine in many regions and thus made India a war victim."

The U.N.R.R.A. failed to include India in the list of countries to receive aid from that organisation on the ostensible plea that she had not applied for any such aid. Dr. Lokanathan's appeal may go by default as it did not emanate from the Government of India. The real apathy of the U.N.R.R.A. to extend her aid to this country is not based on any technical grounds of the former nature but on a more deep seated policy—the policy of racial discrimination. Only the other day a news item was published that special type of medical aid was flown to Greece from America for the treatment of a Greek boy. India had cried for only general types of medicines available in plenty in the U.S.A. to save millions of human beings from death due to ordinary preventible diseases.

Working of Assam Railways by the Americans

Mr. Cuffe referred to the experiment of putting the operation of a large section of the Assam lines of communication under the control of the United States operating battalions and said the results had b 'most successful.' He proceeded: "While it would be expedient to give figures, the tonnage handled on lines of communication has risen to a rate which I believe, been very gratifying to all concerned. T special problems and unexpected demands that ar last April were all successfully dealt with, and Indian staff worked most praiseworthily, when sections of our line were threatened by the Japan not only on the length where they had United St assistance, but also on another section, which was haps the most seriously menaced. I believe that we sh obtain some permanent gain from this experim which will last after the United States forces leave They have set us a new standard of keenness, det mination and cheerfulness, which I am glad to say proving infectious. Certain also of the United St methods, such as their system of hand signalling wi out flags. I am copying and propose to standardise the B. and A. Railway."

The American administration of certain lengths railways in Assam have been and are being carried under the Railway Board on which the Americans h no representation, that they have nothing to do w the determination of railway policies in this coun is quite clear from the statement of Mr. Cuffe.

Romain Rolland

Romain Rolland has passed away in chains in Nazi concentration camp. After Tagore, the loss Rolland is the most serious, for, in him India possess an interpreter on the other side of the Suez. A rare so who had integrated the East and West within himse he was the first to interpret Gandhiji to the weste world, and like him he lived for truth. When the Sov Union was being pilloried, Rolland was one of earliest friends. His voice rang out in defence of dem cratic Spain when democracy in that country w forsaken by the champions of democracy in the wor His passion for justice, his love for truth unfolded a message of love, peace and virtue for the suffering humanity. He was above race and colour.

Romain Rolland paid the price of his idealism spending the last years of his life in a Nazi concentr tion camp. Rolland the man is no more, but brotherhood of peoples that he lived for is an id beyond change and time. France, his motherland, w freed before his death; India, his beloved, is still chains. India will remember Rolland. She has lost hi at a moment when she needed him most.

The Frontispiece

The frontispiece is "Chhari-Shah-Madar." The tit of the picture literally means "The Bamboo Banner Saint Shah Madar." Dam-i-Madar is still a curre mystic ritual very popular among agricultural and low classes in Upper India. The ritual originally consis of holding a bamboo banner (*chhari*) in hand, jump into fire and treading it out with the exclamatio "Dam-i-Madar" (by the breath of Madar)—a rit which is supposed to give immunity against the vene of snakes. Shah Madar, born at Aleppo (and represent in the picture as seated under a canopy receiving th presents of his devotees and blessing them), came t India in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharki. He die in 1433 A.D. at Makunpur, near Cawnpur, where a hand some tomb was raised over his grave by Sulta Ibrahim.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

Russia again occupies the front-centre of the stage in the European theatre of the war. Starting on the 12th of January this gigantic winter-offensive gradually developed into the greatest battle of World War II. At the time of writing (29. 1. 45) this battle has lasted 17 days and has daily increased in fury and intensity and has spread over an area of about 50,000 sq. miles stretching from the Carpathians to the Baltic States. Giant mechanized spearheads of the Soviets are striking deep inside the German home-land, aiming at the very vitals of the Reich. Vast masses of armour and mobile artillery backed by an infantry force estimated at between 1,800,000 and 2,500,000, are on the move, after tearing wide gaps in the German defence-lines that had remained stabilized since last winter. The offensive is beginning to show a distinct pattern during the last three days, though as yet the climax of the battle has not been reached. Deep thrusts have been made in East Prussia and Upper Silesia, while the drive in the Baltic States has resulted in the clearing out of the Germans from Lithuania. In East Prussia Koenigsburg is now under fire and in Silesia fighting is going on in Poznan, while another spearhead has by-passed this city further south and is thrusting forward towards the Reich border. The attempt is at the total destruction of the German defending armies between the Carpathian foothills and the Gulf of Riga, and in its initial stage the Soviets have achieved a great deal of success, though as yet very large German forces are left intact in the deep pockets that lie between the salients formed by the different Russian thrust lines.

This Russian offensive, begun within just under a month from the opening of the German winter offensive in the West, is well-planned and extremely well-executed up till now. It is clear now that the Germans had more than a suspicion of the imminence of this colossal assault, and that the attack launched by Rundstedt on Dec. 16, was a masterly stroke made by the Wehrmacht in an attempt at foiling a synchronised assault by vastly superior forces on both fronts. Rundstedt seems to have achieved some degree of success inasmuch as his offensive has upset the time schedule for the Allied campaign in Western Europe. Despite forewarning however, and despite forestalling in the West, the Germanic forces in the East proved inadequate to withstand the weight and momentum of the Soviets' assault *en masse* and great breaches were made in Poland and in East Prussia through which great masses of infantry and armour were flung in with great force and fast moving spear-heads were formed which struck hard with high speed, tearing deep gashes in the German defence zones. German defending forces well left guessing for almost a fortnight, as to the weight and direction of travel of the spearheads, and it is only now that there are some signs of the defence crystallizing. But in weight of armour and in the collective mass of armament and men, the defence is yet far outnumbered, and the Soviets' Supreme Command is still flinging in vast reinforcements. The Wehrmacht is now undergoing its supreme test under very adverse circumstances.

Winter conditions in Eastern Europe impose great handicaps on all fighting forces. But although winter is not the ideal campaigning season for the Russian as some people seem to think, still of all European nations he is able to overcome its handicaps the most, being inured to it naturally from his infancy through the comparative low standards of his living and the lack of amenities of life to which Western Europeans are accustomed. Further the snow and ice of the intense winter of Eastern Europe considerably hamper the fast transit of arms, supplies and troops over the great chains of railroads and autobahns of Eastern Germany, whereby things are somewhat balanced in the matter of rapid troop-movements. The Luftwaffe which has some slight degree of superiority in the East also has handicaps imposed on it through low visibility and difficult flying conditions. In all the Soviets would possess a great deal of initial advantage in thus starting a vast scale offensive in winter, and they certainly have immense superiority in armament and numerical strength to balance the losses likely to occur in an assault of this determined nature under the handicaps of winter.

The eyes of the world are focussed on what might be the last scenes of the most terrible drama that Europe has as yet seen during all time in the past. The outcome seems to be certain and the finale not very far off by all the accounts given of the immense superiority of the Allied powers in the West and the East, in the matter of numbers and in the weight of armament. But as yet the fog of war is still covering the view and one has to wait till the final signs of the beginning of the end appears. Those portents are, firstly, the progressively rapid liquidition of the defending forces; secondly, the disruption of the communications and supply organisations; thirdly, the destruction—or capture—of the central armament and refitting centres; fourthly, the disintegration of organised resistance at its head and lastly, the end of the Will-to-resist, that is the collapse of the morale of the nation as a whole. The battle as it is progressing has still some way to go before the first three signs can be looked for and as regards the last two, the Wehrmacht is skilled and tough and so the fight will be grim to the end, there can be no doubt about that. So all that can be said at present is that the Soviets are maintaining their initial advantages and that the battle is still progressing in their favour, though the enemy resistance has stiffened to some extent. The nature of the Russian advance has vitally affected the whole structure of German defence in the East, but the crisis is as yet to come, though it cannot be far off, and until that has arrived the final result cannot be determined.

On the Western front the fight has again assumed its old fluctuating form. General Eisenhower is maintaining the maximum pressure that can be brought to bear on Rundstedt's army under the circumstances. The German offensive had shot its bolt earlier in the month, but it had done sufficient damage to the Allied forces and plans during the period it lasted, to relieve the German Supreme Command of a great deal of the uncertainty about the synchronized offensive in the West, as planned at Teheran and Moscow. The German gains have been whittled down by about half and the counter-offensive is on its way, but the all-out offensive has been thrown out of gear for the present. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Allies have been able to prevent the transfer—in part at least—of the strategic reserves from the West to the Eastern front. The fact that

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Rundstedt can yet initiate small-scale offensives in Alsace rather go to show that his hands are not pinned down to the defence to the extent of immobilising all his forces behind the static defence-lines of the Western front.

In Italy the battle has died down to a sporadic ding-dong struggle for positions. On that front also the Wehrmacht has been able to fight the Allies to a halt just prior to the Russian offensive. There does not seem to be any prospect of a large-scale Allied offensive in that quarter in the immediate future, as might have been possible if General Alexander's armies had been able to throw the Germans out of the defence-lines on the approaches to the plains beyond the Po. As things stand there does not seem to be any chance for the moment of a large-scale Allied drive in this region either. Here, too, the Wehrmacht does not face any necessity for the throwing in of large reserves to stem the Allied advance.

Summed up, the picture at present shows that the German Supreme Command is now facing its greatest trial of the War. But it also shows that it was on the alert long ago and has been able to stabilize for the moment the Western and the Italian fronts and that therefore, it is now in a position to devote most of its available reserves to meet the Russian offensive. So that the war in Europe now is in the main a trial of strength and skill between the Soviets and the Nazi forces. Russia is fast converting the battle into an all-out show-down, and there is now no doubt that the Soviets' Supreme Command has now determined to obtain a decision at all costs and that it will use all its strength to the very last ounce in this present struggle for the total destruction of the German defence structure. Russia possesses substantial advantages of her own in the matters of numerical superiority and weight of guns and armour, while her allies are at least in undisputed supremacy in the air. It remains to be seen how the Wehrmacht meets this supreme exigency. There can be no doubt that they have not given it up as yet, and from all available accounts the fighting is continuously mounting to new peaks of fury, and there does not seem to be any signs of the flagging of the German determination to fight to the end.

In the Pacific zone it is three weeks now since General MacArthur's forces landed in the Lingayen bay area on Luzon islands. The progress is slow as was expected and the Japanese do not seem to have made any attempt to face a decision as yet. Both sides have immense handicaps in the matters of supplies and reinforcements and therefore both have to move warily in order that wastages be kept at a commensurate level. American air-superiority has placed substantial advantages in the hands of General MacArthur, but we are warned that the Japanese challenge in the air is mounting and that there are no signs of letting-up on their part, indeed on the contrary. The battle for the Philippines will lead to a major decision either way in the Asiatic theatre of War and there are ample signs that Japan is straining every nerve for the preparations for the final show-down in this region. The Japanese High Command has made no bones about warning its peoples that the position is serious and for the first time in this war there has been open criticism in Japan about the Ministry of production of armaments, especially of that of aeroplanes. Japan's defeats in the Pacific and in the Burmese fronts have been primarily due to her inferior position in the air and although the challenge is growing, we are told, as yet they have found no answer to the Allied air-offensive. It has been amply demonstrated, however, in this war, that air supremacy alone cannot obtain a decision, though it can be one of the most decisive factors. The struggle in the Philippines therefore has a good way to go as yet, and indeed it has not as yet started in its full intensity. As yet MacArthur's forces are manoeuvring for space to employ armour on a large scale and Japanese static defences are being hammered out of existence to clear the way. Until till now the first part of the offensive, namely, the securing and extension of the beach-heads, was being concluded while probing spearheads were doing exploratory work in testing the strength and the lie of the Japanese defence organisation. No major clash has occurred as yet beyond the stiff opposition at the beach-heads, which is still persisting, though there can be no doubt that it cannot now be very far off. Japanese defence strategy at Luzon has not revealed itself yet clearly, though we are warned by the American spokesmen that a bitter struggle, on a far larger scale than hitherto encountered, lies ahead in the immediate future.

In China there are signs that the Japanese are again on the move in their attempt to seal off the coast line of South China and to clear the last links of the Canton-Hankow railway of Chinese opposition. In the Battle for China the most reassuring development has been the re-opening at long last of the Burma road. The first convoys have passed through, we are told, and this is the first piece of heartening news about China that has come in the last three years and more.

On the Burmese fronts, on the Irrawaddy and in the Arakan coastal areas, minor fighting is in progress. The Japanese plan for the defence of Burma still remains obscure. What indications we have had up to the present, do not indicate any major opposition in the immediate future. Here, as in the Pacific, Japan seems to be playing for time. Only in China she seems to be in a hurry and that for obvious reasons.

There are some speculations regarding the future intentions of Japan regarding Burma. To us it seems now that the Japanese want to conserve their forces till the clearing of the Canton-Hankow Railway and the establishment of a free-running land communication system is complete. With the mounting of the U.S. offensive in the Philippines and the possibility of a landing in force on the coast of South China, Japan's maritime transport organisation has its hands full and if they have any surplus of tonnage they would certainly need all they have to keep in reserve against emergencies. In Burma, therefore, the Japanese who are in occupation would fight only when and where they have advantageous positions. That suicide defence is not a matter of course with the Japanese army is shown by the silent evacuation of Akyab. There are reasons to believe therefore that the Japanese in Burma are merely fighting delaying actions, and that only in such places as suit them. It may be remarked in this connection that the pattern of Japanese fighting in the Philippines has also changed recently. What this change in the tactical methods indicate it is difficult to say. It certainly does not indicate that Japan is at the end of her tether for we have the statements of the U.S. authorities to prove that Japan has made considerable advances in the technical improvement of her army's equipment. As in the matter of man-power reserves, Japan is certainly nowhere near the end of her resources.

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THE LAKHERI CAMPAIGN OF DE BOIGNE : A NEW STUDY

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E., D.Litt.

Newly Discovered Despatches of Sindhia's Officers

Shortly after the publication of my account of the battle of Lakheri in the February 1944 Number of *The Modern Review,* I was put in possession of hitherto unknown sources of information on the subject. These are the letters of Sindhia's officers and MS news-sheets written from Mahadji Sindhia's Court in Poona and his generals' camps in North India, besides reports from many places in his dominions. They were sent to Lalaji Ballal Gulgule, a Saraswat Brahman of the Ratnagiri District, whose father Balaji Yashwant had been posted at Kotah about 1740 as Sindhia's representative and financial agent in Rajputana. Kotah was the central point of Sindhia's dealings with the Rajput States and a very convenient half-way station between Delhi (which the Sindhias controlled) and Poona (where they resided from 1792 to 1801). Lalaji Ballal being Sindhia's banker, the Maratha generals in the North had constantly to write to him for money and provisions, and they gave him full details of how their master's arms and diplomacy were progressing.

Lalaji became a hereditary noble of the Kotah State, holding the Sarola jagir. His present descendant, Pandit Chandra Kant Gulgule, very courteously allowed his family records to be copied, and Maharaj-Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh (Major, Indian Observer Corps) of Sitamau has generously borne the expense of transcribing them. I thank them both.

These original and absolutely contemporary papers put an altogether different complexion on the event in question from the popular traditions on which my first account was based. Briefly put, they reveal that Mahadji Sindhia's policy was not so pacific or straightforward as hitherto believed. In the Gulgule archives we get minute details, altogether new and almost day to day, of the efforts of the peace-party in each camp. The secret instructions of Mahadji Sindhia are reported by the generals who received them. We see here the daily marches and counter-marches of the rival armies before the actual clash, as clearly as on a chess-board. The battle itself was the result of an unexpected encounter and developed piecemeal instead of following any previously formed plan. And, lastly, we find that the fighting took place in the pass north-east of the city of Lakheri and not, as I had held in my first account, six miles northwards in the Indargarh gap. The date of the earlier battle was 29th May (and not the 27th as I wrote) and its site was *Panchulas.* The corrections thus made necessary are embodied in the following revised account of the campaign.

Holkar Renews Hostile Preparations

The first armed clash between the troops of Sindhia and Holkar took place at Suraoli, on the south bank of the Banas river, 5 miles south of Isarda (B. B. & C. I. Railway Station). Here on 8th October 1792, Mahadji Sindhia's generals, after a rapid march of 20 miles from Nawai (in Jaipur State), surprised and beat up Tukoji Holkar's camp after a running skirmish for an hour or two, and captured nine pieces of artillery, 400 mares, 200 loaded camels, Holkar's royal band, kettledrums and flag &c. Tukoji retreated from the field all night and day and reached Lakheri (35 miles southwards) on the 9th, and without making any halt there sought greater safety by going next day to Kesorai Patan (30 miles further south). The victorious generals, Gopal Bhau and Jiva Dada, followed him up to Rampura (better known as Aligarh-Rampura, now in the Tonk State), 10 miles south of Suraoli, while a light detachment under Jagu Bapu was pushed further south in pursuit of the Holkar army.

Holkar's power for mischief having been thus neutralised for the time being, a working compromise was effected between the two parties, and the Sindhian generals went back northwards to their own work in the Jaipur and Alwar territories. But in the April of next year (1793), the hatching of a second anti-Sindhia coalition by Tukoji Holkar and alarming reports of his armed preparations made the Sindhian generals again hurry to the south of the Banas river. During the six months that had passed since the brush at Suraoli, Ahalya Bai had been raising new levies and sending them in successive detachments to Tukoji. This chief was now encamped at Jhapait ghat, a ferry at a sharp northward re-entrant angle of the Chambal river, 12 miles south of Lakheri city. About 14th April he was reported to be collecting forces, "Gosain, Bairagi, Rangre, Rajput, Mina, Gujar, and Pathans from Bhupal, Kurwai and Sironj as *sebandi* (militia or irregulars). The Deccani horse raised in Maheshwar (the seat of Ahalya Bai) was reaching him" in a continuous stream. His lieutenants were also being called in: Kashi Rao (his eldest son) and Bapu Holkar (the guardian of Kashi) had

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already reached his camp, while Malhar Holkar (a younger son) was coming up from Maheshwar *via* Kanad, Agar, Bhansoda, and Mehidpur.

Gopal Bhau and Jiva Dada took immediate action. Moving south through the Jaipur kingdom, by way of Chatsu and Nawai, and being joined by De Boigne's choice brigade from Koil during the march, they arrived at Tonk on 24th April, and next day advanced to Kakor, 12 miles to the south-east, seeking the enemy out.

Meantime, from his base at Jhapait ghat Tukoji Holkar had pushed one division under Kashi and Bapu Holkar, with Parashar Dadaji as diwan, to Babi, 10 miles north of Lakheri. From this place they were planning to advance 12 miles further north to Aligarh-Rampura and their vanguard under Bapu Holkar took post at Choru, five miles east of Aligarh, while Kashi Holkar lay some miles in the rear. Choru is only 11 miles south-east of Kakor. The astrologers pointed out the 27th and 29th of April as days when the stars would favour Sindhia's arms. And the decisive battle seemed imminent. But again the peace-makers intervened and tried to avert a civil war between these Maratha chiefs.

Peace-makers Try to Prevent a Rupture, in Vain

The Peshwa's ministers Nana Fadnis and Hari Pant Phadke had long been trying to make up the quarrel between Sindhia and Holkar. They had made Mahadji, who was then in Poona, write to his generals in the North not to give any provocation to Holkar for the next two months and a half during which interval the two ministers were hopeful of effecting an amicable settlement between the two chiefs. Mahadji restrained his hand for four months, but no peace could be made as Tukoji persisted in replying "I will fight one battle at least to wipe off the disgrace of the defeat at Suraoli." So the Peshwa's agent gave up the attempt in despair.

On learning of the failure of the peace mission and Tukoji's open declaration in favour of war, Mahadji Sindhia at last wrote to his generals in the beginning of April to accept the challenge, and they accordingly pushed on to Tonk in search of the enemy. But on the eve of the day chosen for the battle (27th April), a letter was received from Vital Lakshman, the Holkar envoy then in Ambaji Ingle's camp, saying that he was coming to Gopal Bhau under orders of Tukoji to start fresh negotiations, and so the fight was put off. The Sindhian generals assured the envoy that they would refer the dispute to the Peshwa and were quite ready to accept his award, and the envoy left them on the 30th, for Tukoji's camp after taking from them a promise not to advance from their halting place near Kakod, pending his return.

The envoy met Tukoji but failed to make him agree to accept the Peshwa's decision. Holkar's demand was that the Sindhians should restore to him all the parganahs in North India that they had seized since 1791, and that the tribute of every State in Rajputana should be shared between them in the old proportion observed in Peshwa Balaji Rao's time (1756). He declined the proposal to send one of his ministers to Poona to settle these questions directly with Mahadji. In this warlike mood Tukoji wrote to his field force under Bapu to seek battle.

That Holkarian general advanced to Khatauli, on the 4th of May. The Sindhians marched out to meet him, but after a little skirmish between the patrols, Holkar's men escaped at night from Choru towards Sop (six miles north of Babi) on the 5th. The Sindhian army halted at Oniara, 5 miles south-west of Aligarh-Rampura.

While the rival hosts thus separated again, a last attempt at peace was made. On 12th May Parashar Dadaji, Tukoji's chief man-of-business, rode into Gopal Bhau's camp at Oniara to renew negotiations for a reconciliation. He conducted the Sindhian envoys to Kashi Holkar and Bapu Holkar, who after discussion and adjustment of points agreed to their proposal that Parashar should next visit Tukoji and secure from that chief a ratification of the settlement made by Bapu and Kashi, and see that no term in addition to what had been mutually settled there was introduced. After this assent had been gained, Parashar was to return and conduct the Sindhian generals to Tukoji Holkar and in his presence formally confirm the understanding.

So, Parashar left Bapu's camp and went to his master at Jhapait ghat, promising to return to the Sindhian generals after four days. Peace being in the air, the two armies by mutual consent moved far away from each other, lest any friction on "incident" should arise between their foraging parties: Bapu moved back from Sop to Babi and Gopal Bhau from Oniara to Bandria, two miles south-west of Aligarh-Rampura.

Parashar Dadaji reached Tukoji's base about the 17th of May, told him of the settlement made in Bapu Holkar's presence, and asked him to name a day for confirming this agreement in the presence of Sindhia's generals.

But the fully ripened fruit of peace was destined to rot. For, by this time Malhar Holkar the younger had reached his father's camp. Fired with boundless pride and ambition, he

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rebuked the aged Tukoji, crying out, "We have been maintaining an army for the last eight months at the cost of lakhs of rupees in order to recover our lost prestige in Hindustan. You have now discarded the policy of fighting and thereby saving our honour, and made peace with Sindhia. This has destroyed even the little prestige that was left to us. You remain here with your peace. I will listen to none, but deliver one battle." So saying he next day marched away to the front. Then Tukoji turned a somersault, repudiated the agreement made by Parashar and censured him. The baffled minister sulked in his tent in humiliation and grief.

Parashar Dadaji's promise of returning to the Sindhian camp on the fifth day lapsed, and no letter even came from him. On the contrary, reports arrived that Malhar had joined Bapu and Kashi, and their foraging parties once or twice looted Sindhia's camels when out at grass.

De Boigne's Advance : First Battle at Panchulas

"So, they mean war," thus rightly concluded Gopal Bhau, as he wrote to Lalaji. The Holkars having torn up a treaty of their own making and appealed to the sword, Sindhia's general lost no time in taking up the challenge; leaving Bandria (2 miles south-west of Aligarh-Rampura) they went to Sawai Madhopur on 23rd May, halted there for two or three days to place their camp in safety and lighten their force, and then returned westwards to seek the enemy out (26th). Meantime, Malhar Holkar who had usurped the supreme command of Holkar's fighting forces, advanced from Babi to Panchulas village* and took post with a *nala* before him. His army, some 15 to 20 thousand horse, besides foot, was drawn up in three cavalry divisions under Bapu Holkar, Parashar Dadaji, and himself, with the irregular infantry of Nagas and Bairagis in front and the camp behind.

The Sindhian army advanced from the north-east, marching in De Boigne's favourite column formation; his trained infantry battalions and artillery protected the front and the two flanks, the Deccani horse sheltered in the centre of the column, and a small force of musketeers and some light guns guarded the rear. Before such a compact formation, the Holkar cavalry with their Cossak tactics merely hovered round beyond the range of its fire, unable to stop its advance.

Early on the 29th May, De Boigne on sighting the enemy's position, deployed his infantry in line of battle and turning a quarter circle struck Holkar's front and opened artillery fire on their stationary masses. Bapu Holkar and Parashar Dadaji well knew the futility of Malhar's boasted charging tactics and left him alone to try them, while they kept their own divisions safe by not moving up to the attack. Malhar Holkar at the head of his own troops (the left wing) made a detour round Sindhia's army and attacked its rear. Here, instead of finding a confused crowd of servants, transport animals and baggage, he was met by a steady line of disciplined musketeers with light guns and *chevaux de frise* before them. Malhar's cavalry found it impossible to hurl itself upon its opponents in the one impetuous charge so long dreamt of by him. While the attack was thus halted by these obstacles to a cavalry sweep, De Boigne's rearguard ploughed their enemy's ranks with grape shot and bullet. Soon after Lakhwa Dada arrived with the Household Cavalry (the *huzurat*) to aid the defence. Malhar's bolt was shot, he fled away with the broken remnant of his troops.

Meanwhile in the front line, De Boigne's light guns had been working havoc among the stationary Holkarians, whose only missile weapons were erratic rockets and some rusty old firelocks. While Holkar's army was thus engaged in its front and left, Sindhia's Pindharis made a detour by their own left and encircled and plundered Kashi Rao Holkar's camp in the rear with hardly any opposition. These enveloping tactics can succeed only against primitive armies.

At the sight of Malhar's wing returning thinned and disordered from their advance, the entire army of Holkar broke and fled away, abandoning their baggage. The spoils taken by the victors included 175 horses, 50 camels, 3 *palkis*, 4 camels loaded with treasure, besides

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* *Panchulas*, 4 miles S.-W. of the Rawanjna Dungar Rly. Station on the Muttra-Nagda line (next to Sawai Madhopur junction, southwards). It is in the Jaipur State and close to the S.-E. corner of the Tonk territory. In the Gulgule despatches the name of the place is spelt in Modi as *Pacholia* and *Panchol*. I do not identify it with another village *Pachala*, 3 m. east of Choru and 5 m. e. of Aligarh-Rampura, and 7 m. n.-w. of Panchulas, as it lies due westwards and is therefore off the route from Sawai Madhopur to Lakheri which runs south. We learn from Sindhian despatches that the Holkarian army had advanced from Babi to the first battle and after their defeat fell back four kos from the field to *Kurwadia* "a small fort on the spur of a hill, in a situation which it was impossible for artillery to reach." The only place on the map like it is *Karwaria*, at the end of a detached ridge, 4 miles (in a straight line) rom Panchulas and 3 m. e. of Babi. This Karwaria is fully ten miles (in a straight line) south of the other village Pachala.

All doubts as to the locality can be best removed by searching in the neighbourhood of both the above villages for old hammered grape shots buried in the soil. On the battle field of Assaye the young cowherds gave us for a little reward many grape shots of Sindhia's army (1803) which they had picked up while grazing their cattle. Try that game at Panchulas and Lakheri, as the artillery was the same as at Assaye.

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quantities of rockets, swivel guns mounted on camels and other arms, and the entire baggage of Kashi Holkar. Bapu Holkar's diwan, Raghupat Rao, was slain, besides many humbler people on that side.

Rival Armies Reach Lakheri

The defeated army of Holkar fell hurriedly back and by continuous retreat reached its base camp near the town of Lakheri, about 18 miles to the south. Gopal Bhau spent the night after the victory on the enemy's abandoned camp near Panchulas and then followed them up to Babi (30th May) and Balwan (31st),—the last named place being six miles north-east of Lakheri. His problem was how to pin the enemy force down to its position and crush it there by a pitched battle, before it could slip away again by using its superior speed and lightness of equipment. It was the same problem that taxed the brain of the future Duke of Wellington before his victory at Assaye, ten years later.*

On the 1st of June, De Boigne started from the halting place of Balwan, after sending a message to his chief Gopal Bhau, saying, "The path leading to the pass of Lakheri is just wide enough for one cart, and the thick forest is unfavourable to cavalry movements. I am going alone with five battalions to cut down the jungle." They agreed to the plan of clearing a path through the forest that day, and advancing with the full force to fight a pitched battle the next day. Therefore, after detaching De Boigne with his pioneers, the Maratha army rested in its camping ground at Balwan.

Topography of the Theatre of War

This village of Balwan lies three miles south-east of the Indargarh Railway Station; Lakheri is situated six miles south-west of Balwan, under shelter of the long range of hills running north-eastwards from Kotah to Indargarh. As the modern traveller hurries by the Nagda-Muttra Railway line from Sawai Madhopur towards Kotah, a gap in the line of hills on his right four miles south of the Indargarh station gives him a glimpse of the city of Lakheri lying under a dark cloud of smoke from the many chimneys of its modern cement factory. A mile west of the factory area the old city of Lakheri nestles under the western hi range. In between the two cities old and ne but a little to the north of them lies the lak of Lakheri, in a fork of the hills whose lowe end has been dammed up with a wall. South these towns, the country is level down to th Chambal and this side has been utilised by th branch railway line of the cement factory Through the gap east of Lakheri runs th modern road from that city to Indargarh in th north.

This gap, about three furlongs in width i surrounded by a jungle tract, which begins som three miles from Balwan on the east an stretches up to the outskirts of Lakheri on th west. It is a broken ravine-scored area, covere with scrub jungle and thickets, composed mos ly of *babul, nim,* dwarf tamarind and *ber*. Th hill on the (north) right hand of the pass wa densely wooded up to its top.

After easily passing over three miles o open ground from Balwan, De Boigne place his five battalions on guard and set the pioneer to work. As they advanced making a road an arrived near the mouth of pass, they were sud denly assailed by a heavy fire of rockets an guns. The General climbed a tree to reconnoitre There lay before him the entire army of Holka spread out on the plain behind a marsh. Th mouth of the pass was entrenched and held b a crowd of irregular infantry consisting of wil Gosains and Bairagis, or married monks fighting for hire; on their left stood Chevalie Dudrenec's line of the four battalions of traine infantry he had raised for Tukoji Holkar. Th second line of the enemy was formed by th Deccani horse, in three large divisions (5,00 to 7,000 each) who were led by Bapu Holka (right, with Kashi Rao's contingent), Parash Dadaji (centre, with Tukoji's own contingent and Malhar Holkar (left). These were forme in the open ground some distance behind th pass. The rear was made up of Holkar's Pindhari horde (about eight to ten thousand strong who were mere looters mounted on small ponies Still further in the rear, close to the city lay th tents and baggage of this army.

The Battle of Lakheri How Fought

Immediately after completing his recon naisance with the help of a telescope, De Boign decided to deliver his attack without waiting for the next day. Sending urgent messages to th camp to call up the rest of his battalions an artillery and to inform Gopal Bhau of this un expected change of plan and to request the sup port of the Deccani cavalry, he formed his troops in line of battle. The country leading from Balwan to the Lakheri pass, after the fir three miles is intersected by ravines and d

* Gopal Bhau, exasperated by the evasive strategy of Holkar, thus unburdened his soul to Lalaji : "How can I describe the rascality and lying of the opposite side ? All people are urging us to crush and capture them, but they are roving round and fleeing away as a light force, while our artillery prevents us from marching more than 4 or 5 *kos* a day. If they only stood up to a fight, they would learn their fate in two hours." (5 May, 1793). On 30th Aug. 1803, Arthur Wellesley wrote to T. Munro, "I hope to be able to strike a blow against their myriads of horse in a few days."

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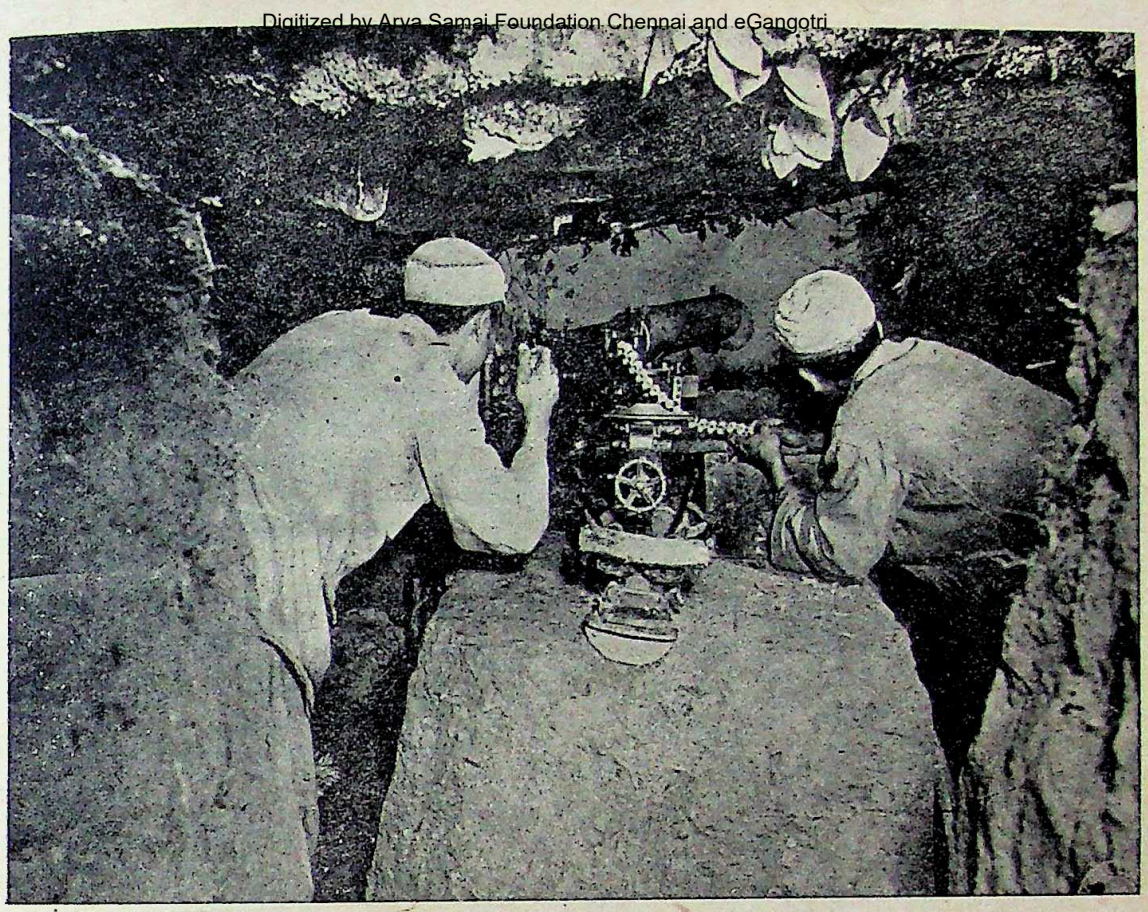
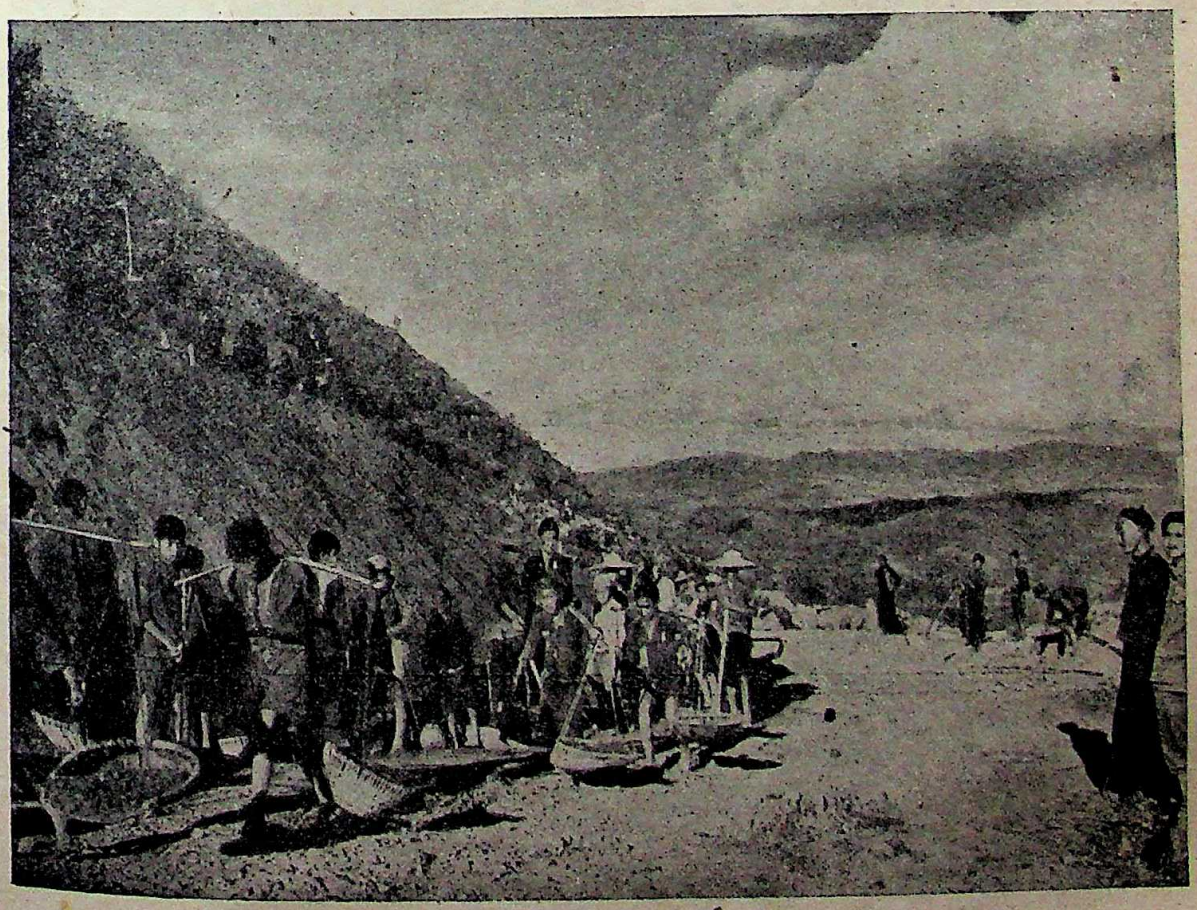


A Chinese machine-gun crew on the alert in their emplacement overlooking Japanese positions



Volunteer labourers from nearby villages work on Burma Road to enable supplies and equipment to get through to the front

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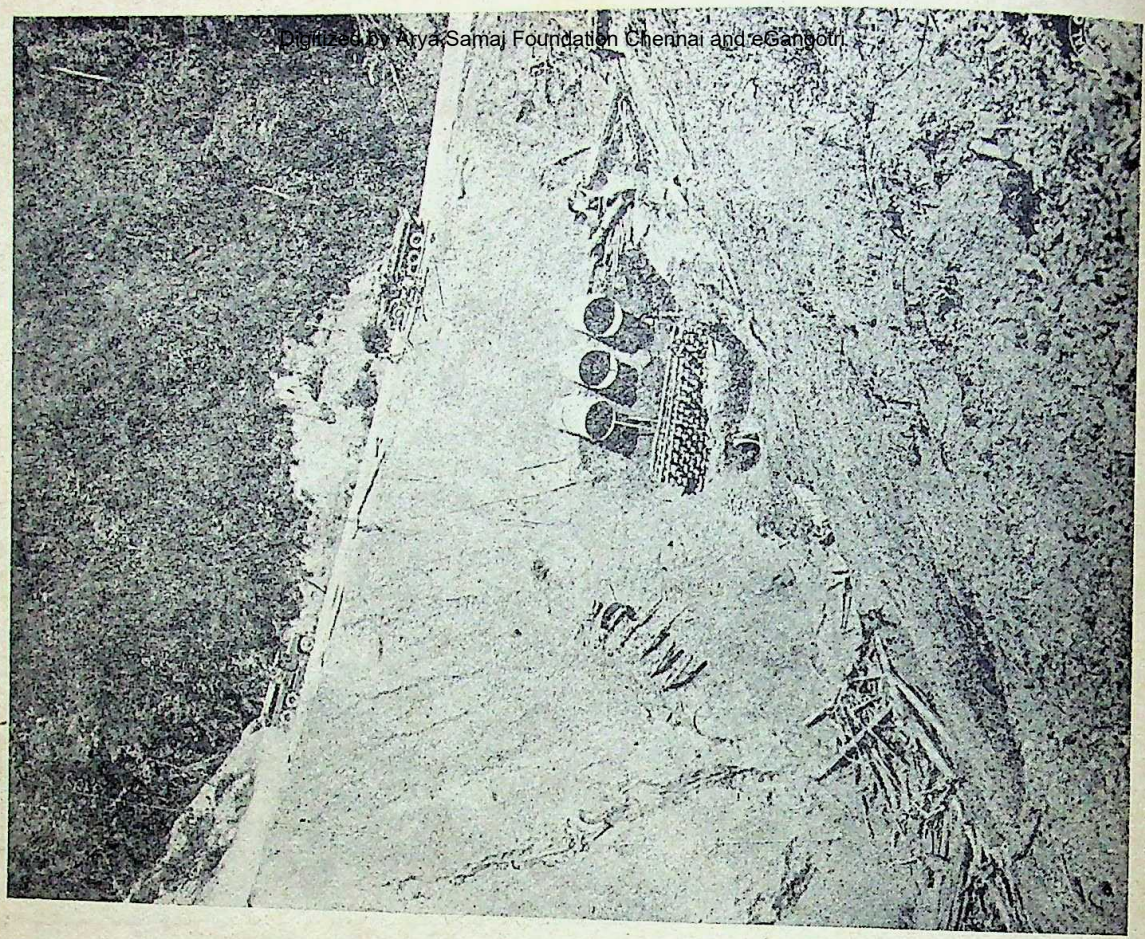
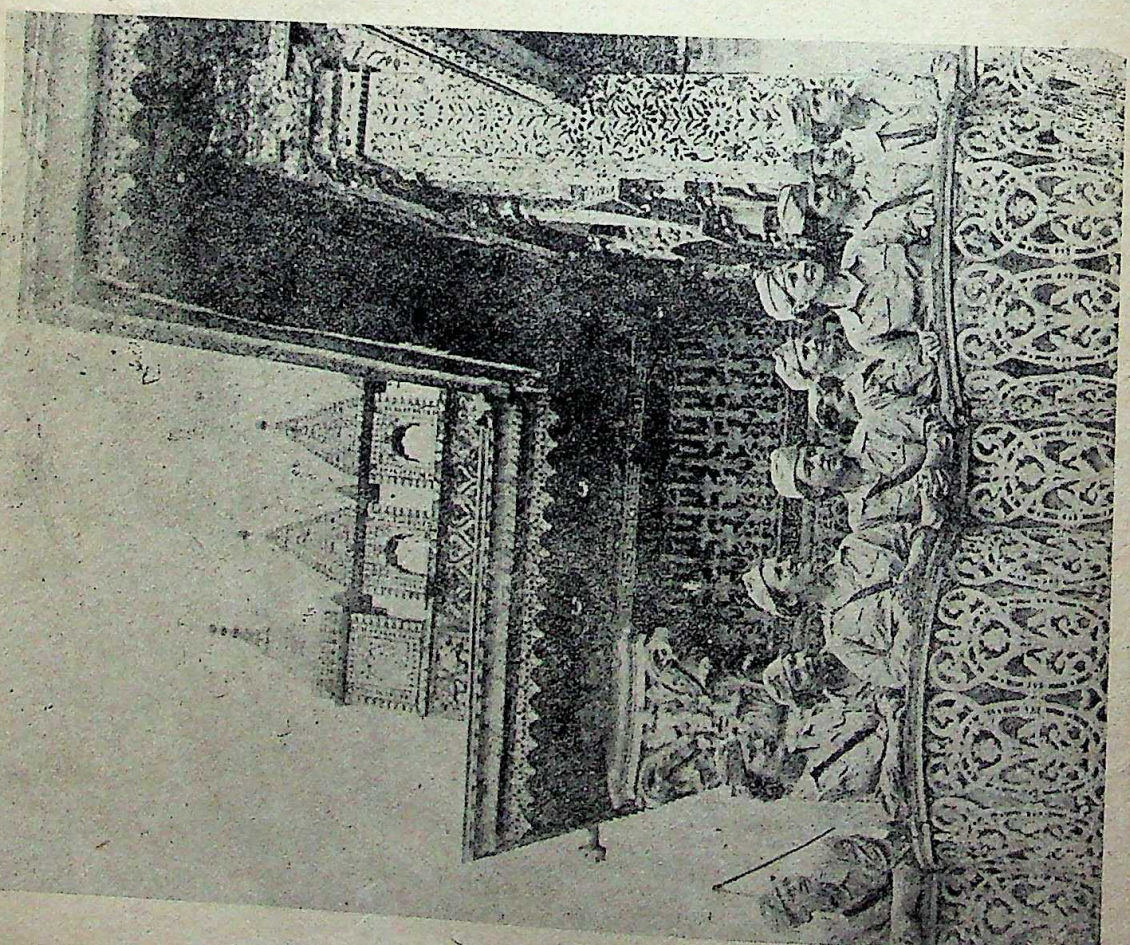


Engineering troops are kept busy maintaining the Ledo Road
USOWI



Girls of the U.S. Women's Army Corps pose on the balcony of a Jain temple

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brooks and encumbered with jungle. Therefore, Sindhia's battalions could not advance from its camp in battle order but marched in a long winding column one after another, the guns of each battalion toiling behind it in single file. De Boigne had thus to deploy his full strength gradually as his battalions and guns came up in succession.

He began the battle with the small force he had at first at hand, by sending forward three of his battalions and a body of Rohilla irregular infantry which was specially trained for storming hills, to carry the pass that led to the enemy's position. No adequate artillery support could be given to the attack for some time, and this small advance-guard was assailed by a storm of cannon-balls and rocket-fire from the defence trenches on the heights and thrown back with heavy loss. De Boigne then wisely led his men back to the shelter of the trees on the two sides, where the enemy's big "guns of position" could do them little harm. But Holkar's army by the prodigal and useless expenditure of its scanty supply of powder and shot at this initial stage, ran quite out of munitions when the real crisis of the battle came later and it could make no reply to De Boigne's massed artillery.

The enforced halt among the woods enabled the rest of De Boigne's infantry and guns to come up. He deployed his column and formed his line of battle, unlimbered his guns, and opened fire upon the enemy with a crushing superiority. Meantime the sound of the enemy's opening artillery had carried the news of the action to the Maratha generals in the camp before De Boigne's couriers, and Gopal Bhau had sent Lakhwa Dada up with Sindhia's Household cavalry (*Paga*) to reinforce the vanguard. The infantry battalions were thus heartened by the sight of strong cavalry support behind them on the left, which guarded them against any attack from the rear. As for the rest of the Maratha Cavalry, under Gopal Bhau and Jiva Dada, they had dispersed in the morning as usual to forage, expecting no battle that day, and it took the generals two hours to recall them and lead them to the scene of the action.

After being joined by the rest of his men and guns from the base, De Boigne renewed his assault upon the pass with a furious discharge of artillery, which soon silenced the enemy's fire. Then clearing the defile he debouched on the plain below (towards the town of Lakheri) and advanced on the enemy's main force standing there. This body he utterly defeated by reason of his immense superiority in musketry and gun fire, as has been described in my first study (February 1944 number, pages 103-104)*

Mahadji Sindhia's Policy

The story told in *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* (p. 65) that the peace-loving Mahadji Sindhia was so shocked on hearing of his generals' battle with Holkar that he burst into tears, crying out, "My lifelong brotherhood with Holkar has been thus nullified," and that he confined Gopal Bhau as a punishment for forcing a breach with the Holkars, is proved to be pure fiction. Patil Baba was a consummate actor, and these tears if shed by him at Poona were meant to save his face at the Peshwa's Court. His real orders to his generals are given in the Gulgule Daftar and breathe fire. On hearing of the first battle—that of Panchulas—he wrote on 13th June to Gopal Bhau thus: "You have done very well in asserting your own predominance and bringing glory to my Government. If the Holkars halt at Kurwada, encircle and plunder them. If they slip away, pursue them without taking rest. If they go to the *Old Man* [Tukoji], you should cross the Chambal and chase them, including the Old Man, till they reach Maheshwar. Don't slacken in doing this. With the Cavalry and trained Brigade keep the pursuit up to Indore. If they move away from Indore to Maheshwar, do you occupy Indore and seize their mahals in Malwa. Don't listen to any proposal of peace that they may make."

In another letter (written on 14th June), his minister (probably Aba Chitnis) informs Gopal Bhau, "Our master's heart has been very much gladdened by reading your despatch of victory in the Lakheri Pass. One year has passed in the pursuit of this policy and a kror of Rupees has been spent, and [at last] our Government has gained glory; this is a great thing . . . . Despatches are being sent to you from here, ordering you not to halt anywhere on the way, but keep up chasing him till you *make him see the Narmada*"!

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* Only one correction has to be made in that earlier account. When De Boigne's select cavalry (300 sabres) delivered their charge, they were followed from the left by Lakhwa Dada's Deccani cavalry (*huzrati*) only and not by the entire body of the Maratha horse, as the other two Cavalry leaders had not yet arrived with their contingents; these latter took part only in the final stage of the battle.

A letter in the Gulgule archives gives the spoils of Lakheri as 23 guns, 400 horses, 400 camels, 4 elephants, and 22 *palkis*, besides the entire camp of the enemy,—while the French memoir published from De Boigne's birth-place, Chambery, in 1828 mentions 38 guns, on the authority of L. F. Smith's letter in the Calcutta journal *The Telegraph* of 2 Jan., 1797.

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THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

The Two-nations Theory of Mr. Jinnah

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I

In this article I propose to examine the two-nations theory as enunciated by Mr. Jinnah during his negotiations with Gandhiji (and also afterwards), with special reference to the views of the latter thereon.

II

In his letter, dated 15th September, 1944, Gandhiji wrote to Mr. Jinnah, among other things :

"In the course of our discussions you have passionately pleaded that India contains two nations, *i.e.*, Hindus and Muslims, and that the latter have their homelands in India as the former have theirs.

"The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it were true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children." Gandhiji is perfectly right in maintaining this view. "A body of converts and their descendants." cannot legitimately claim "to be a nation apart from the parent stock," while living within the same geographic unity with the latter. A natural-born Britisher, for instance, who was a Christian before, does not cease to be a member of the British nation and lose his British nationality by mere conversion, say, to Islam, unless he also renounces his allegiance to the British State and transfers it to another State by the process of naturalisation. This principle also applies to his children[1] born in Great Britain. Thus we find in Hall[2], a great authority on International Law, "The persons as to whose nationality no room for difference of opinion exists are in the main those who have been born within a state territory of parents belonging to the (state) community[3], and whose connexion with their state has not been severed through any act done by it or by themselves."

Gandhiji is also right when he says[4] in effect that, if religion is accepted as "a new test of nationhood," it will lead to the assertion of "many more claims" in India, and that we shall have to "face an insoluble problem." Then there will be as many nations—and, therefore, as many sovereign, independent States—in India as there are religious communities[5] in the country. Logic, equity, and reason would require it. The question is one of principle and not of number. Thus an absurd situation will be created to the total disintegration of India. This will be the inevitable consequence of the acceptance of religion as the sole basis of nationhood in this country.

I cannot fully agree, however, with Gandhiji when he says[6] that "the only real, though awful, test of our nationhood arises out of our common political subjection." This may be one of the contributory factors, but there are other factors as well, such as common residence within a single geographic unity and consequential community of economic and political interests, community of ethnic bonds, requirements of political expediency and strategic necessity, etc. These are real and fundamental, while the common political subjection is only "incidental" or "circumstantial," due to some accidents of history.

III

By way of a reply to—or rather as a protest against—the views of Gandhiji on the question of two nations theory, Mr. Jinnah stated in his letter to the former, dated 17th September, 1944 :

"We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws (*sic*) and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation."

I feel almost tempted to quote here the words of Burke used in another connexion[7], and to say that "this sort of discourse does well enough with the lamp-post for its second : to men who *may* reason calmly, it is ridiculous." One of the difficulties with politicians is that they are generally very sweeping in their remarks and seldom care for the accuracy or the inaccuracy of their statements. They are so anxious to produce some effect upon the minds of others that they do not always think it necessary to be very cautious and scientific in their utterances. But mere *dixits* declared *ex cathedra* do not in themselves constitute any valid or convincing arguments. If Mr. Jinnah had simply asserted that the Hindus and the Muslims of India differed in many respects in regard to their religion and their religious rites and ceremonies, there could be no difference of opinion with him, although he would not have, as we shall see later on, proved much so far as the future form of Government of this country was concerned. And I am quite prepared to believe that some of the things contained in his sweeping statement as quoted above, may perhaps apply to Mr. Jinnah personally, but he alone is not the Muslim community of India. It is, however, a total misreading of Indian history to say that the Muslims and the Hindus of India who have lived together for so many centuries have not been profoundly influenced by each other in their ideas, thoughts, culture, traditions, customs, beliefs as well as in their ways of thinking, feeling, and acting

1 The case may be different with daughters marrying foreigners. See Hall, *A Treatise on International Law*, 8th Ed., p. 280.

2 See his *Treatise on International Law*, 8th Ed., pp. 275-276.

3 I. e., the people as a whole of the State in question.

4 See his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 15th September, 1944.

5 Such as Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh, Zoroastrian (Parsi), Muslim, Christian, Jew, Tribal, etc.

6 See letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 15th September, 1944.

7 See Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Payne, Oxford, p. 61.

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This is not psychologically possible, particularly when it is remembered that these two communities have not lived in absolutely water-tight compartments, and, therefore, in complete isolation from each other, and that most of the Muslims of India today are descendants of converts from Hinduism and, in some cases, such converts themselves. I may also remind Mr. Jinnah in this connexion of what he himself admitted, on behalf of the Muslim League, on 13th August, 1919, in the course of his evidence before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, in reply to Question 3813 put to him by Major Ormsby-Gore.[8] He said: "In India the Mohammedans have *very few things really* which you can call matters of *special interest* for them—I mean secular things."[9] If this was the position in 1919, how there could have arisen in 1944 so many fundamental differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of India in the secular sphere, as were emphasized by Mr. Jinnah in the extract from his letter quoted before? One is naturally tempted to ask him, which of his views is really correct—his view in 1919, or his view in 1944? Further, what has happened since 1919 that has made him change his view on historical matters so fundamentally? True, the Congress High Command, or some Congress Ministers, committed, as has been admitted by me before,[10] one or two errors of policy in the meanwhile. But that could not certainly have altered *the facts of history*. There should be some consistency, at least, in the views of our great leaders uttered from time to time.

Let me now go back to the extract from Mr. Jinnah's letter which has been given before. There are, to say the least, a number of misleading assertions in it. Considerations of space, however, do not permit me to deal with all of them here in detail, as their proper refutation would fill a large volume. I shall, therefore, confine mysef to an analysis of some of his remarks and to showing how far they are correct.

In the first place, Mr. Jinnah has appealed to the "canons of international law" in support of his view. I am afraid that he has rather overshot himself thereby. I have just now before me—the reader will kindly forgive me for being a little pedantic: I cannot help it—five standard works[11] on International Law, and I find that they have very little to say in regard to matters—even in their general context—, referred to by Mr. Jinnah in his statement, and that even when they do say anything in regard to them, they do it only incidentally. And this is natural. By its very definition, International Law means "the rules acknowledged by the general body of civilised independent states to be binding upon them in their mutual relations."[12] "States are its units. . . . States and states alone enjoy a *locus standi* in the law of nations: they are the only wearers of international personality."[13] And "primarily," says Hall,[14] "international law governs the relations of such of the communities called independent states as voluntarily subject themselves to it." Only to a limited extent, "it may also govern the relations of certain communities of analogous character,"[15] such as, for instance, a neutralised State, or a protectorate in some cases. Now the Muslims of India do not come under any of these categories: they only form a part of a subject people like the rest of the population of India. The question of the application of the canons of International Law to them cannot really arise. The things to which Mr. Jinnah has referred in his sweeping statement really come within the scope of the municipal law of a country, and not International Law. It may also be noted here that after the last Great War the Minority Treaties under the League of Nations *only provided* for international guarantees for the protection of certain essential rights of "racial, religious or linguistic minorities" in the newly created States of Central and Eastern Europe, in respect of their life, liberty, religion, language, etc.[16] These Treaties definitely discouraged "separatism." Their object was "to counteract it by making the life of the minority tolerable."[17] An authority[18] on the subject quotes in this connexion the Report on the Aaland Islands[19] to say, "To concede to minorities, either of language or religion, or to any fractions of a population the right of withdrawing from the community[20] to which they belong, because it is their wish or their good pleasure, would be to destroy order and stability within States and to inaugurate anarchy in international life; it would be to uphold a theory incompatible with the very idea of the State as a territorial and political unity." It may also be noted here that the Polish Minorities Treaty which formed the model for all the rest of the Minorities Treaties, and which otherwise provided for the protection of the essential rights of minorities in Poland, did not recognise "a separate Jewish nationality" in Poland, although the Jews constituted 14 per cent of its total population.[21] "The recognition of a separate Jewish nationality" (in Poland), writes Mair,[22] "which was suggested at the Peace Conference, was out of the question."

Secondly, according to Mr. Jinnah there are pure, exclusive, and unalloyed Muslim art and architecture in India which have not been influenced by any non-Muslim, indigenous ideas of art and architecture in this country. If Mr. Jinnah cares to consult some standard works[23] on Indian architecture, he will be disillusioned to find how much of what he considers to be purely Muslim or Saracenic art and architecture have been influenced and shaped by the Buddhist-Hindu ideas and ideals of art and architecture. Referring to the "marks of their dominating creative genius which Hindu

8 See *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill*, 1919, Vol. II. p. 225; also Ambedkar, *Thoughts on Pakistan*, 1941, p. 316.
Mr. Jinnah appeared before the Joint Select Committee as the representative of the All-India Muslim League.

9 The italics are mine.

10 See my first article in this series in *The Modern Review* of December, 1944.

11 By Hall, Oppenheim, Lawrence, Smith, and Stowell.

12 F. E. Smith, *International Law*, p. 1.

13 *Ibid*, p. 1 and p. 28.

14 *A Treatise on International Law*, p. 17.

15 *Ibid*, Part I, Chap. I; also Smith, *International Law*, Part I, Chap. II.

16 For details see Mair, *The Protection of Minorities*, particularly Chapters I-V and Appendix.

17 See *ibid.*, p. 40.

18 L. P. Mair (*The Protection of Minorities*, pp. 40-41).

19 For the Aaland Islands question, see the concluding part of my preceding article in *The Modern Review* of January, 1945.

20 The term means in the context in which it has been used the entire body of the population of a State.

21 See Mair, *The Protection of Minorities*, Chap. IV.

22 See *ibid.*, p. 43.

23 Say, for instance, E. B. Havell's (1) *Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure and History from the first Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day*, 2nd Edition, and (2) *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India: A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*.

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master-builders have left on the great monuments of the Indo-Muhammadan styles,"[24] Havell—and he is not a Hindu writer—has gone so far as to say[25]: 'It is Indian art, not Arab, Persian, or European, that we must study to find whence came the inspiration of the Taj Mahall and great monuments of Bijapur. They are more Indian than St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey are English. . . The Arabs, Tartars, Mongols, and Persians who came into India had much to learn from Hindu civilisation, and it was from what they learnt and not from what they taught that Muammadan art in India became great. The Taj Mahall belongs to India, not to Islam. . . . The Hindu builders of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan had taken the Persian court tradition and revitalised it by joining it with their own. . . . In architecture it (the Taj) is unique, but neither Arabs, Persians, nor Moguls can claim it as their own, for it is Indian in body and in soul."

Again,[26] "The armies of Islam brought few masons and other craftsmen with them, so the Delhi Sultans and their satraps in Bengal did as Mamud (of Ghazni) had done—they impressed the Hindu builders and craftsmen into their service. . . . The Muhammadans were thoroughly practical in their methods, and, though they hated the idolater, had no scruples against using the splendid materials provided by Hindu temples, and doubtless found a grim satisfaction in compelling thousands of Hindu craftsmen to wreck their own holy shrines and to rebuild them according to the ritual of Islam."

Further,[27] "Indian literature and science had been eagerly studied by the scholars of Baghdad for centuries before the Muhammadan conquest of Hindustan. The skill of Indian master-builders made Mahmud of Ghazni's capital one of the finest cities of the East. . . . The "Indo-Saracenic" style of Indian architecture was purely a creation of Fergusson. The Muhammadan invasions made no decisive break in the building traditions of India, except that they brought about a reversion to the ideals of Hinayana Buddhism. The Indian master-builder continued to build for his Muhammadan rulers according to the Indo-Aryan traditions, just as he had done for Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu. The Indian mosque was the Hindu temple adapted to Muhammadan ritual[28] . . . Muhammadan art in India from its very beginning was, and continued to be, wholly Indian in spirit and in craftsmanship. All the symbolism of its ornament was Indo-Aryan, except that texts from the Quran are used in places where the Hindu sculptor would have put symbolic figures or animals."

This, it is hoped, is quite sufficient to prove to what extent the so-called Muslim or Saracenic art and architecture have been influenced and shaped by the indigenous Indian (Buddhist-Hindu) ideas, traditions, and ideals of art and architecture. And, religion or religious rites or ceremonies apart, what is true of this so-called Muslim art and architecture in India is also very largely true of that compendious thing, namely, the Muslim civilization in India. And religion or religious rites and ceremonies, however, do not really constitute the whole of a man's life in society: it is only concerned with the question of his relationship with his creator. Man is much more than a religious being, and he cannot altogether escape from the influences of his environment.

Thirdly, Mr. Jinnah has referred to the question of "language and literature." Regard being had to the context in which the reference has been made, his implication is that the Muslims of India have a distinctive language and literature of their own. Even a schoolboy in India knows that this is not a fact. Often the Muslims living in a particular area in India speak the same language and have the same literature as the Hindus of that area. Of all the provinces of British India, or for the matter of that, of all the major administrative areas of India, Bengal has the largest number of Muslims, it being, according to the last census, about [illegible] millions. And everybody knows that, with the exception of a very few isolated families here and there in some urban areas, the mother-tongue of these Muslims, as of the Bengali Hindus, is Bengali, and that their language and literature are also Bengali. And this is not the case, for instance, with the Muslims of Bihar, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan, Bombay, or Madras.[29] Similarly the language and literature of the South-Indian Muslims are not the language and literature of the Muslims of Northern India. And it is no refutation of our position to say that the Muslim religious books are in the Arabic language. Very few of the Muslim masses, not only in Bengal, but also elsewhere in India—and even a large number among the educated Musalmans of India—know Arabic in the sense that they can easily read, write, and speak Arabic. More or less, this is also the case with the Hindus, so far as Sanskrit is concerned. And this is natural, as neither Arabic nor Sanskrit is, if at all, the mother-tongue of any considerable section of the indigenous population of India to-day. And it is the mother-tongue that really matters, it being "the medium through which the people maintain intercourse with one another and through which they can express their culture and ideals in a common literature."

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24 See Havell, *Indian Architecture*, etc., p. 18.

25 See *ibid.*, pp. 14-33.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

27 See Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India: A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, 1915, Chap. XVI.

28 And I also find in Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 111), another great authority on Indian art and architecture:

"The old Hindu and Jaina temples of Gujarat have been almost entirely destroyed by the Muhammadans, who nevertheless in their turn employed the Indian architects to construct the beautiful mosques of Ahmedabad, which are in a purely Hindu style, only adapted to the requirements of Musalman worshippers."

29 This reminds me of a funny incident which occurred here the other day. I was returning home one afternoon with three Muslim colleagues of mine. Two of these Muslim colleagues had come from the United Provinces, and one from the Punjab. Happening to meet his *Chaprasi* on the way, one of my Muslim colleagues from United Provinces wanted to say something to him. Now this Chaprasi was a Bengali Musalman, belonging to the district of Dacca. We found to our amusement that our colleague was trying his best to explain to his Chaprasi what he wanted to say to him, but the latter could not follow him at all. Then he turned round to me and requested me to explain to his Chaprasi in Bengali what he had been trying to say to him in Urdu. On hearing from him in English what he had been trying to say to the Chaprasi, I explained to the latter what the former wanted to say to him. After thus having played the role of an interpreter, I remarked by way of a joke: "I think this is one of the best refutations of Mr. Jinnah's contention that the Muslims of India have the same language." And they all laughed. This little incident does really refute Mr. Jinnah's contention successfully, since it is a typical illustration.

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Fourthly, Mr. Jinnah has referred in his statement to the question of Muslim culture in India as something distinct from the culture of the Hindus and of the rest of the non-Muslim population of India. The term culture is very comprehensive in its connotation. It has been defined by a distinguished sociologist[30] as "the total of acquired behaviour patterns transmitted by imitation or instruction." Now, apart from what we have said in connexion with the question of the so-called Muslim art and architecture in India, in so far as the culture of any people is itself a product of, and influenced by, its language, literature, and environment, the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal, for example, have much more affinity between them in the cultural sphere than the Muslims of Bengal and the Muslims of Travancore, of Malabar, of Bombay, of Sind, of the Punjab, or of the North-West Frontier Province have. The reason is obvious: The language, literature and the environment of the Hindus and of the Muslims of Bengal today are the same.

Moreover, culture in its true sense has a higher and nobler aspect: it has an all-inclusive and universal character. As Matthew Arnold has beautifully shown in his well-known work *Culture and Anarchy,* "Culture, which is the study of perfection, leads us . . . to conceive of true human perfection as a *harmonious* perfection, developing all sides of our humanity; and as a *general* perfection, developing all parts of our society. For if one member suffer, the other members must suffer with it; and the fewer there are that follow the true way of salvation the harder that way is to find."[31] He has also rightly pointed out that culture is opposed to blind partisanship and "fanaticism", to "fierceness," and to "addiction to an abstract system"; and that it "hates hatred." It enjoins "disinterestedness," carries us "towards sweetness and light," and makes "reason and the will of God prevail" in human affairs. It does not make a "fetish of separatism" or isolationism, but fosters "flexibility," tolerance, and increased sympathy and fellow-feeling between man and man, so that all may "live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light." Culture is particularly opposed to what he has called *Hebraism, i.e.,* the tendency in us "to sacrifice all other sides of our being to the religious side." "This tendency," he says,[32] "has its cause in the divine beauty and grandeur of religion, and bears affecting testimony to them; but . . . it has dangers for us" in that it "leads to a narrow and twisted growth of our religious side itself, and to a failure in perfection." The religious side in the zealot tends to predominance over his "other spiritual sides," and, as a result, "just what is not essential in religion he comes to mistake for essential, a thousand times the more readily because he has chosen it of himself; and religious activity he fancies to consist in battling for it. All this leaves him little leisure or inclination for culture."

I presume that what Mr. Jinnah has meant by Islamic culture in India is not—at least, should not be—incompatible with the noble conception of culture which Matthew Arnold has given to us, partilularly when Islam professedly stands for peace and goodwill amongst men.

(To be continued)

30 See Ross. *Principles of Sociology.* 3rd Edition, p. 103.

31 See Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy,* 1869. p. XVI.

32 *Ibid.,* pp. XXII-XXIV.

THE SUN GOD OF KONARKA UNEARTHED

By PRANAKRUSHNA SAMAL

In the year 1932 a headless stone image was unearthed from a tank[1] in the town of Cuttack. It was discovered some 10 feet below the ground level due to the sliding of a bank of the tank. The image was carried away and placed before the portico of the Ravenshaw College buildings where it now lies.

The image has been carved out of a slab of clorite in a sitting posture, its left leg being placed on the right, which on the other hand hangs down. There are two female figures on both sides of the image, seated on the same lotus throne. All these three figures have lost their hands either from the elbow or a little up. There are two lotus buds engraved on the slab on both sides of the main figure which the female figures held in their hands. There is the remnant of a lotus which the image was holding in its left hand. Perhaps the right hand was in Abhaya Mudra as the position of the hand indicates and no sufficient trace of a lotus on this side is to be found. Just above the female figure on the left there is the relief of a lion carved out on the slab. The corresponding portion on the right is not there as the upper part of the slab from the neck of the main image is broken. The lower portion, however, is almost intact. The lotus throne is practically undamaged.

Below the lotus throne on the same slab are engraved four worshipping figures—two female figures on the right side of the image and one male figure and after it a female figure on the left—just touching the right foot of the presiding figure. The female worshipper on the right, which is nearer the image, is offering a lotus bud to the deity. All other worshippers have lost their hands and the female figure on the extreme left its head also. Behind the leg that hangs down of the presiding image there is the relief of a Siva Lingam engraved on the pedestal. The lower portion of the slab is Panch Rathi in design.

The image with the group has been carved out of a single block of stone in the most elegant manner. Although broken from the neck, in my opinion, it is the best specimen of plastic art ever produced in Orissa.

The superb beauty of the image set me thinking as to how and wherefrom it came to be buried in earth here. Cuttack was never a centre of Orissan architecture. There might at one time have been standing in this town many mighty forts or civic buildings like the nine-storied building of Gajapati Mukunda Dev. But there is not a single temple here of any great architectural value, nor are there any remains of any such shrine.

On careful study and research I find that the image belongs to the Konarka school of architecture and differs greatly from those of Lalitagiri, Jajpur, Bhubaneswar and Puri. The stone used in it is the same bluish clorite as has been used in the case of all important figures,

1 Akhada Pokhari of Qazi Bazar.

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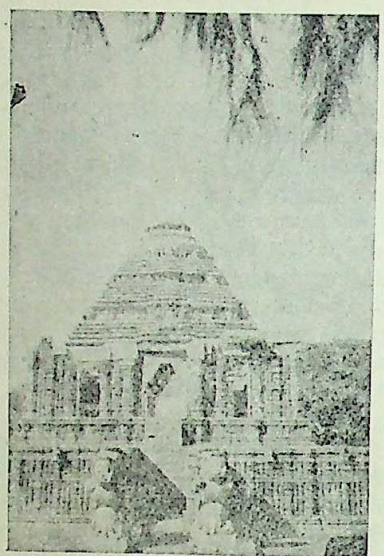
Nabagraha slab, the pillar of Aruna, the doors and the pedestal of the temple of Konarka. In the style of execution and in ornamental detail it has a strong resemblance with the sun images now in the niches of the main temple at Konarka.



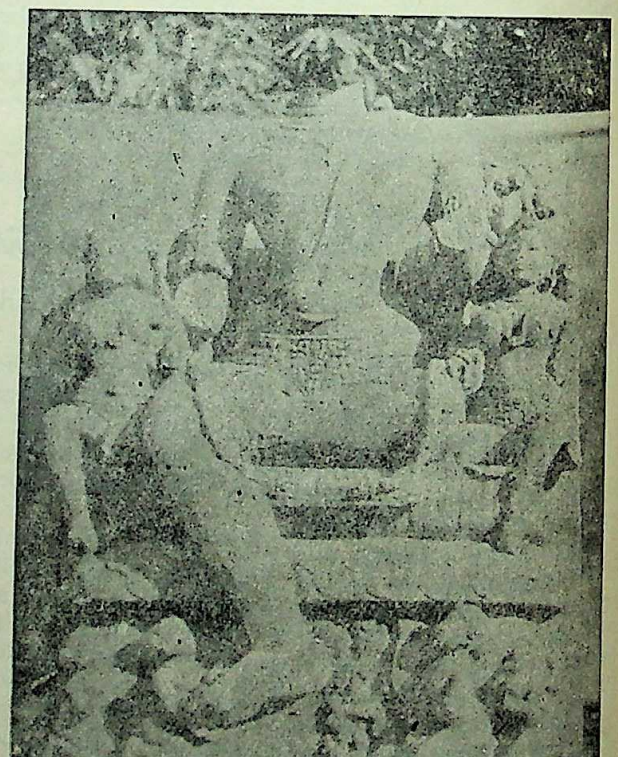
The view of the temple of Konarka from the lion's gate (with Nat-mandir)

Although the head portion of the image is not there, on critical examination it has been revealed that this also is an image of the Sun. Ordinarily such an image can be recognized to be an image either of Vishnu or of Surya. But according to convention an image of Vishnu has four hands instead of two, although Vishnu also holds a lotus in his left hand and has Lakshmi and Saraswati on his side. But a still stronger proof is that the female figure which is on the right side of the main figure has on its forehead a crescent moon with the conventional star over it. This is surely the sign of Sandhya (Evening) or Chhaya, the wife of the Sun God. The artist of Konarka was conscious enough to leave this mark lest it might be mistaken as an image of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu. So it can safely be concluded that the central figure is Surya, the female figure on the right Sandhya and the left one Sangya.

The way in which the image has been executed suggests that it can only be a presiding deity and not an image of the niches. The point is that there are no images in the niches to any of the temples of Orissa which have been carved out in a sitting posture. They are all standing. Although there is one figure in one of the niches at Konarka which is sitting, it is sitting only on horse-back. So it can well be considered to be standing as the horse is standing. Moreover, there are no niches to any temple of importance in the province which is without an image. The temple of Lingaraj has its Kartika, Ganesh and Parbati, the temple of Jagannath its Nrishimha, Baraha and Bamana and the Konarka temple its sun images in three different forms. I am inclined to think that this is the presiding deity of Konarka.

Why I think that it may be the presiding deity of Konarka is that there are no temples of any note in Orissa excepting the temples of Konarka and Raja Rani (at Bhubaneswar) which go without a presiding deity. The Raja Rani temple and its images belong to a different school of architecture and differ greatly from those of the Konarka school. As such the present image which is so similar to the images at Konarka bears no resemblance to any of the images at Raja Rani. The pedestal in the Raja Rani temple is also too small for this image.

The strongest point in the direction is that the stone slab on which the image has been carved out coincides with the Bedi (altar) on the Ratna Simhasana (pedestal) of the main temple at Konarka, as they both measure 3 ft. 5 inches in width. The lower portion of the slab from which the present image has been carved out is Panch Rath. The Bedi at Konarka is also Panch Rath. Both of these Panch Rath portions are plain having no ornamental work on them. Over and above, according to Sj. Bishan Swarup[2]—the Engineer in charge of restoration of Konarka—there was a stone block along the western side of the Bedi for the direct support of the presiding deity, which was also 3 ft. 5 inches in width. The block, though short of one layer of stone, measured 5 ft. in height. The image now discovered is headless. In spite of it the stone slab measures 4 ft. 4 inches in height. From this it can well be imagined that when the head portion of the image was there the slab must have measured more than 5 ft. This coincidence along with other points cannot be taken as accidental.



The image of the Sun God with the group

According to Sj. Bishan Swarup, Konarka was a Shivite temple. He writes[3], ". . . the sun is taken as one of the eight forms of Shiva. In everyday worship, while making offerings to Shiva in different directions, he is invoked in the south-east direction as the sun. It may

2 *Konarka*, by Bishan Swarup p. 27.
3 *Ibid*, p. 65.

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be mentioned . . . that Konarka is to the south-east of Bhubaneswar, the seat of Shaivism." The presence of a Shiva Lingam behind the right foot of the present image, while confirming Sj. Swarup's presumption, proves that it is the presiding deity of Konarka.

One more point is that the male worshipper on the right side of the image, who appears to be a king, has the mark of a crescent on his forehead. If we can take him to be Purandar Kesari, the builder of the temple of Konarka, then we can take this sign as an emblem of the Somavamsi Kesari kings. His moustaches are sharp and divided as that of a Kesari or lion.

From all these points mentioned above I conclude that this image of the god, which has been so superbly fashioned, and who sits so elegantly on a lotus throne with his two consorts beside him, is the Surya Narayan of Konarka and once illuminated the Ratna Simhasana as well as the Vimana of the great great Black Pagoda.

There are a number of books on Konarka, most of them being descriptive. As sufficient data were not forthcoming many of the writers have avoided going deep into the history of the temple, especially the whereabouts of the presiding deity. Fergusson and Rajendralal saw Konarka when it was but a heap of ruins. The only two authors who examined the subject from different aspects are Messrs Bishan Swarup and Krupasindhu Misra. The late Mr. Misra wrote his book in Oriya. These two authors have tried to prove certain images to be the presiding deity of Konarka, each in a different way. At the outset it may be mentioned that the present image was not discovered when they wrote their books.

Mr. Swarup tried to prove[4] that Konarka was originally a place of Buddhistic worship, which the Hindus adopted. So in his opinion, the presiding deity, although came to be known as the Sun God, was really an image of Buddha. He said that the image of Buddha which is now inside the temple of the Sun within the enclosures of the temple of Jagannath is the presiding deity of Konarka. The late Misra was of opinion that Konarka was a place of Hindu worship from time immemorial and he thought that the stone image of the Sun inside the temple mentioned above is the presiding deity. They thought like this because it is mentioned in the Madala Panji (palm leaf chronicle of the temple of Jagannath) that Narasimha Dev, a king of the Bhoi Dynasty, who visited Konarka in 1627, at the time of his return brought with him the images of the Sun and the Moon and placed them inside the temple of Indra at Puri (the temple which is at present called the temple of Surya).

On reference to the Madala Panji[5] I find no specific mention that Narasimha Dev brought the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri. Rather from the language of the Panji it can be inferred that he only brought any two images of the Sun and the Moon.

I infer on two grounds that Narasimha Dev did not bring the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri. The first ground as I have already dealt with, is that the real presiding deity has now been discovered and the second is that none of the images inside the temple of the Sun at Puri is suitable to be the presiding deity of Konarka.

It is also quite reasonable to think that Narasimha Dev did not bring the presiding deity to Puri. My point is that the presiding deity was not there when he visited Konarka. If it was still there why should Narasimha Dev remove it to Puri causing abandonment to the place? Some say that Konarka was already abandoned when he visited the temple. They say, because Konarka had been profaned by the Yavanas (Muhammedans) the worship of the Sun God was discontinued and hence the temple was abandoned. But Konarka is not the only temple which was profaned by the Muhammedans. It is a historical fact that the temple of Jagannath had been profaned by the Muhammedans times without number. When Jagannath temple could be sanctified again and Jagannath re-installed why was Konarka abandoned for good?

Konarka was also not abandoned because the temple was in a ruinous state. This is proved from the fact that the temple was standing intact up to the *Amalaka Sila* (Weight Stone) when Narasimha Dev visited Konarka in 1627. He is said to have measured the height of the temple. The fact that the upper portion of the tempie

The image in one of the niches of the temple of Konarka (main temple or Vimana)

was damaged even at the time of Narasimha Dev also corroborates the local tradition and the accounts of the Madala Panji that Kalapahara tried to destroy the temple of Konarka, but being unable to do so he took away the Dhwaja and Kalasa after damaging the temple. If Kalapahara ravaged Konarka it is only in 1568 and Narasimha Dev visited the place in 1627. The difference is only 60 years. When till 1837 (when Fergusson visited it) 120 ft. of a wall of the main temple could remain standing, the decay of the temple when Narasimha Dev visited it must have been not very great.

Abul Fazl says in his history that there were 28 other temples at Konarka besides the temple of the Sun. It is also mentioned in the Madala Panji[6] that when Narasimha Dev visited Konarka there were many smaller temples there which were in good condition. Why should then Narasimha Dev remove the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri? First of all, he should have repaired the temple of the Sun. If it was so dilapidated as not to be repaired he could have at least removed the deity to any of the smaller temples instead of taking

4 *Konarka*, by Bishan Swarup, chapter xi, p. 84.

5 *Prachina Gadya-padya-darsa*, p. 9. Prachi publication.

6 *Konarka* by Krupasindhu Misra, p. 397.

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it to Puri and causing total abandonment to a sacred place like Konarka. So there must have been some graver reasons which compelled Narasimha Dev to remove the images of the Sun and the Moon to Puri. The reason in my opinion is that there was no presiding deity at Konarka when he visited the temple. For that reason the place was almost abandoned and Narasimha Dev removed only the metallic images (Chalanti Pratimas) to Puri.

My argument is that Kalapahara took away the Surya Narayan of Konarka, as he took away the image of Jagannath from Puri. He had a strong and malicious fancy for these presiding deities. It is a historical fact that on coming to Puri when Kalapahara learned[7] that the image of Jagannath had been removed to the lake Chilka and hidden there, he personally went to the place and after plodding through water up to the waist took away the image. When he had been to Konarka it is quite probable that he took away the presiding deity of Konarka also, particularly when Konarka was at the time the pride of the Hindu world and Kalapahara was a renegade.

The pedestal inside the Viman with the altar (*vedi*) on which there was the presiding deity of the temple of Konarka

We have come to know the removal of Jagannath by Kalapahara because Jagannath was re-installed at Puri and there is a Madala Panji to write a sort of history of Jagannath. Even then, had it been normal times, Madala Panji would have also recorded the removal of the Sun God of Konarka: but from the history of Orissa we find that from 1568 to about 1588 Jagannath was not at Puri and the temple of Jagannath was in a state of abandonment. It is only when Ram Chandra Dev of Bhoi Dynasty became the king of Khurda that Jagannath was re-installed and His worship resumed.

Kalapahara is remembered to have damaged the images of almost all the big temples in Orissa. He took away the presiding deity of Puri. There is no image for the presiding deity of Bhubaneswar which would have been taken away by him. Besides these two temples, the other temples of note in Orissa are those of Konarka and the Raja Rani (at Bhubaneswar). In both these places there are no presiding deities. Though Bhubaneswar has never at any time been abandoned, nobody can now say as to where the presiding deity of the Raja Rani temple has gone. It would not be unreasonable to think that the presiding deities of both these temples were taken away by Kalapahara. It may be assumed to be very probable as after the death of Mukunda Dev and all other claimants to the throne of Orissa Kalapahara got a free hand to ransack the whole territory.

Abul Fazl in his famous *Ain-i-Akbari* praised[8] the temple of Konarka so much. I think he knew the state to which Konarka was reduced after the ruthless visit of Kalapahara. When he wrote that the walls of Konarka were 150 cubits high he perhaps meant that the walls of the temple without the *Amalaka Sila* were 150 cubits high. Because a Muhammedan had damaged such a beautiful temple as Konarka was, he cleverly avoided mentioning it.

He has given a description of the Nabagraha Sila in a very beautiful manner. He has also described the statue at the portals. The reason, perhaps, for his not giving any description of the presiding deity is that there was no presiding deity in the temple in his time. He wrote his history long before the visit of Narasimha Dev to Konarka in 1627 and certainly after the inroad of Kalapahara to Orissa.

The Muslim world of India at the time seems to have been well aware of the miserable state of Konarka and also the destruction of the presiding deity. It is evident from the fact that when Aurangzeb gave orders to destroy the image of Jagannath along with the temple and according to which order the image of Jagannath was sent to him at Bijapur, he did not give orders to destroy the image of the Sun and the temple at Konarka. Konarka was a fairly well-known place during Aurangzeb's rule.

Now I shall examine how the images inside the temple of Surya at Puri cannot be the presiding deities of Konarka.

In the temple of Surya at Puri there are at present four images. There are two metallic images of the Sun and the Moon who hold lotuses in their hands; there is an image of the Sun in stone with the conventional seven horses below, and the legless charioteer Aruna; there is a fourth image which is recognized by Sj. Bishan Swarup to be an image of Buddha, but the local priest knows it to be an image of Indra and worships it as such.

Besides the points that Narasimha Dev brought the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri and Konarka was a place of Buddhistic worship Sj. Swarup says that the size of the Buddha as mentioned above approximately coincides with the size of the Bedi on the pedestal at Konarka. So he presumed the image to be the presiding deity. His presumption is no longer correct when an image of the Sun which coincides *fully* with the Bedi has been discovered.

The late Krupasindhu Misra was of opinion that Konarka was never a place of Buddhist worship. Hence the image of Indra, which Mr. Swarup calls to be that

7 *Journal of the B. & O. Research Society*, vol. xiii, 1927, p. 23.

8 Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 272 & 280.

9 *History of Orissa* by R. D. Banerjee, Vol. II, p. 60.

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of Buddha, cannot be the presiding deity of Konarka. The late R. D. Banerjee agreed with him that the temple of Konarka was not dedicated to Buddha. Differing from Mr. Swarup the late Misra thought that the presiding deity of Konarka is the stone image of the Sun which is at present in the temple of Surya at Puri. As this image is of an inferior type from the point of sculpture, in comparison with the images at Konarka, he argued[10] that Narasimha Dev, who built the present temple of Konarka in 1278 did not prepare a new image for the Sun God to be worshipped in his temple. He said that there was already an image of the Sun which was being worshipped from time immemorial. He pointed out that long before Narasimha Dev, Purandar Kesari of Kesari Dynasty had also built a temple for the Sun God at Konarka. He thought that Narasimha Dev only installed the old deity in the new temple. The point that the present temple of Konarka was built by Narasimha Dev of Ganga Dynasty and not Purandar Kesari of Kesari Dynasty is yet debatable.

However, his argument held good as long as it was accepted that Narasimha Dev of Bhoi Dynasty brought the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri and so long as the present image of ours was not discovered. Any way to meet his point I say that there are no presiding deities in any of the temples in Orissa which is not in keeping with the standard—both from the point of architecture and the height—of the temple. Not to speak of other temples, even in the temples of Siva, a bigger temple contains a bigger Shiva Lingam and a smaller temple a smaller one. The image of the Sun God at Puri is too small in size and not even in keeping with the pedestal of the temple of Konarka, not to speak of the temple itself.

The image at Puri is in a standing posture and there are the seven conventional horses along with the image. From the style of the temple of Konarka, which was built like a chariot (Rath) and where there were seven horses at the gate as if drawing the Rath, this image cannot be considered to be a suitable presiding deity. The image in the temple of the Sun at Konarka should be in a sitting posture as in the case of the image now discovered and it can never stand. There should not be the seven horses below the image. As there was a pillar for Aruna outside the temple at Konarka he (Aruna) cannot be again below the image of the sun as in the case of the image at Puri.

To support my point that the Sun God at Konarka cannot stand I mentioned that there is a relief of the Sun God in a cave at Khandagiri. The Sun God is depicted as being driven by his horses in a car. There he *sits* on the pedestal of the car with his two wives[11] beside him. So also, the relief in the temple of Biraja at Jajpur[12] shows that the Sun God sits in his car and does not stand.

Above all, the stone block for the direct support of the presiding deity at Konarka was rectangular in shape and would coincide with the size of the image now discovered. It does not coincide with the image at Puri. Had this stone block been constructed for the support or even decoration of a presiding deity smaller in size as the image of Puri is, it would have been smaller in size or if bigger it must have been either semi-circular or of any other shape which would have added to the beauty of the deity as well as the pedestal.

Another and the most psychological point is that Narasimha Dev having constructed (if at all he built) such a magnificent temple as the Konarka temple is should not have been content with an image of the type now at Puri. If there was already Sun worship at Konarka before the present temple was built the builder must have at least carved out a new image quite befitting the temple and would have invited with all the ceremonies the Sun God from the old image to the new one. This practice of *abahana* of gods from old images to new ones is followed even up till now.

If the image at Puri is at all the presiding deity of Konarka then it may be the image of the older temple and which the priests were worshipping in the present temple after the removal of the real presiding deity by Kalapahara.

The image of Sangya on the left side of the main image

The image of Sandhya or Chhaya on the right side of the main image (mark the crescent on the forehead)

One more point is that in every other temple in Orissa the Sun God is worshipped. At Jajpur it is worshipped. At Bhubaneswar also the Sun God is worshipped[13] in a separate temple. So it is quite natural that the temple of Jagannath, which is an assembly of all gods, should have a sun god and a temple intended for it. This might have been especially so when the temple of Jagannath was built at a time when sun-worship was quite popular in Orissa. So I think that the Sun image which is at present in the temple of Surya at Puri is an image originally intended for the temple of Puri.

The other two images in the temple of Surya at Puri are the metallic images of the Sun and the Moon. In my opinion these two images only were brought by Narasimha Dev from Konarka to Puri. The point is, if Narasimha Dev brought the stone image of the Sun from Konarka, wherefrom these metallic images came? They were certainly not there: why should the metallic images be there if previous to that date there were no presiding deities of the Sun or the Moon in that temple? On the other hand, if Narasimha Dev brought the metallic images along with the presiding deities where is the presiding deity of the Moon which he brought with him? So I conclude that Narasimha Dev brought from Konarka only these two metallic images (Chalanti Pratimas) from Konarka because there were no presiding deities there and placed them in the temple at Puri which was dedicated to the Sun God.

10 *Konarka* by K. Misra, p. 272.
11 *Konarka Mandir* by Birendranath Ray, p. 3.
12 Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. 1, p. 285.
13 *History of Orissa* by R. D. Banerjee, Vol. II, p. 363.

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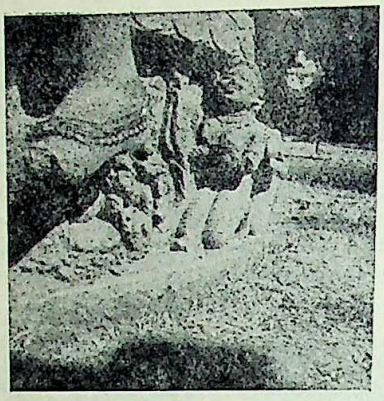
From all these points examined above I consider that the image discovered is the real presiding deity of the temple of Konarka which was removed to Cuttack by Kalapahara.



The worshipper Purandar Keshari (?) (mark the crescent on his forehead, also the Siva Lingam beside the leg of the image)

Another reason why I conclude that the image was brought to Cuttack by Kalapahara is that the place wherefrom it was discovered is a place within the biggest Muhammedan locality of the town. There is just near the place the office building of Kadam Rassul (the most important Muslim memorial at Cuttack) ever since the mosque was built. It is said that the mosque was built during the reign of Jehangir. Moreover, the spot from which the image was dug out is just below a place where the Muhammedans of the locality hold their Akhada (training in wrestling etc). From the word Akhada the pond from which the image was discover derived its name "Akhada Pokhari." There is on spot a *Pir*. Even now a red flag having the crescent it always flies over a tree there.

As this has long been a Muslim area, it may be the army of Kalapahara camped here, and in locality, considering the importance of the place, Muhammedans have settled. They might have be settling there since then as after Kalapahara's inro Cuttack all along remained in the hands of the Muhammedans. Since 1568 it has never come to be ruled any Oriya king of the place again.

I imagine that Kalapahara brought the images Jagannath, Surya Narayan, etc. to Cuttack first. As th were water-ways a country boat might have served purpose. There were no direct inland water-ways fr Cuttack to Bengal. The image of the Sun God is heavy that it cannot be carried away by bullock ca or elephants. So when Kalapahara saw that it was qu impossible to carry the image as far as the Mus capital in Bengal to display his vandalism there he br the image into pieces and buried it in the place whe from it has now accidentally been found out afte lapse of almost four centuries. He carried away image of Jagannath to make bonfire on the Gan because it was a wooden one and accordingly lighte

I invite the attention of all concerned and des that the place wherefrom the image was discove should be thoroughly excavated. It may be, we may the head portion of the image out of the place. We m also get something more which will contribute su tantially to the history of Orissa.

I also desire that the image as it is now should removed to Konarka to be placed on the pedestal the When the temple itself is broken we do not mind ha ing a broken image in it.

BRITAIN'S WOOL TEXTILE INDUSTRY

By A. JOHNSON

Department of Textiles, Leeds University

For centuries Britain's pasture lands have supported countless flocks of sheep which, in turn, have furnished the people of Britain with mutton for food and wool for clothing. The value of wool was recognised very early in history, although in those early days its full advantages, such as strength, elasticity, ability to absorb moisture and resistance to burning, were little appreciated.

The supply of wool was more than sufficient to meet the needs of the people of Britain, while its quality was so superior to that of other countries that it soon became a valuable export. Even in those early days the natural skill of the British spinner and weaver were evident in the cloths they made. After a period of development, it was cloth that became the major export.

Cloth, however, was difficult to produce in sufficiently large quantities owing to the inability of the domsetic spinner to supply the weaver with sufficient yarn. Hand-spinning was then still a primitive craft, employing few mechanical aids and relying upon a technique originated before the dawn of recorded history.

All this was changed however, when a poor Lan shire spinner invented a spinning machine which re lutionised the woollen industry. The British wool tex trade immediately expanded the quantity of the cl improved, and British woollen cloths were exported almost every country of the world. That invention laid the foundations of a British textile machin industry which has supplied spinning machines of highest grade to every country in the world.

This early lead of the British textile machinist abled him to specialise on the production of yarn fo every type of wool, and his ingeniously construc frames are being used in Commonwealth countries.

The principles of weaving, originated count years ago, are still incorporated in the modern po loom. Many generations of British loom builders h devoted their lives to improving this important proc and have evolved a machine which, within a sho absorbing, long-lived frame, incorporates mechanis sensitive enough to manipulate into cloth the fin woollen threads.

From this infinite variety of yarns, the designer

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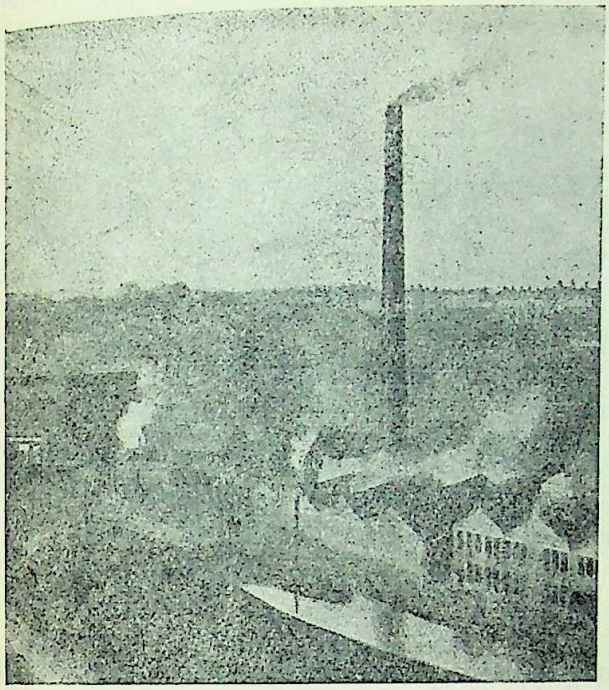
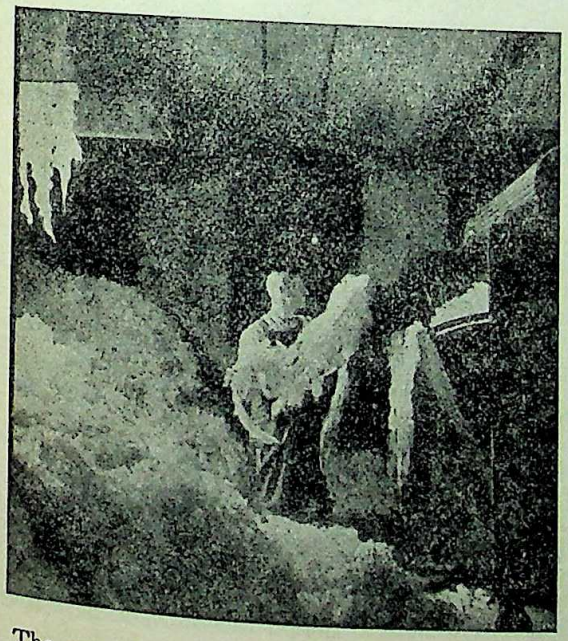
fabrics makes a selection which he uses as a palette in the creation of styles which have made British fabrics world-famous. His function is to co-ordinate the skill



A typical layout of a wool factory in Yorkshire

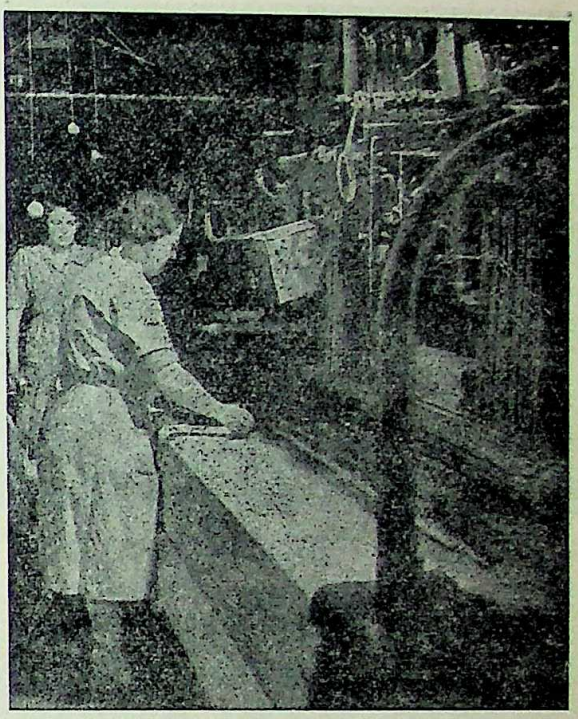
of spinner, weaver, dyer and finisher, so that the resultant fabric justifies its reputation of being of the finest quality in the world.



The operative is feeding the cleansed wool into the carding machine which prepares the yarn for spinning

The researches of the colour chemist and the expertness of the dyer have brought about revolutionary changes in the colour and durability of effects produced on the woven fabric, and have in addition, made great economies in processing. A similar development has taken place in cloth finishing and nowadays British finishes have obtained world-wide recognition.

So far, attention has been directed to processes and products rather than to operatives, but the importance of the latter must not be overlooked. They handle a



An operative re-filling shuttles in the loom

raw material which is very easily affected during growth, and each batch of wool has peculiarities apparent only to the expert. Highly developed faculties enable the

A typical girl weaver

wool-sorter unerringly to select areas of a fleece in which the fibres differ by only a few thousandths of an inch diameter from those in neighbouring areas, and, in a similar way, the spinner can assess the maximum strain that a wool yarn can bear without breaking.

The spinner and weaver handle the most delicate threads with rapid dexterity, and the dyer and finisher readily perceive differences in colour so slight as to be

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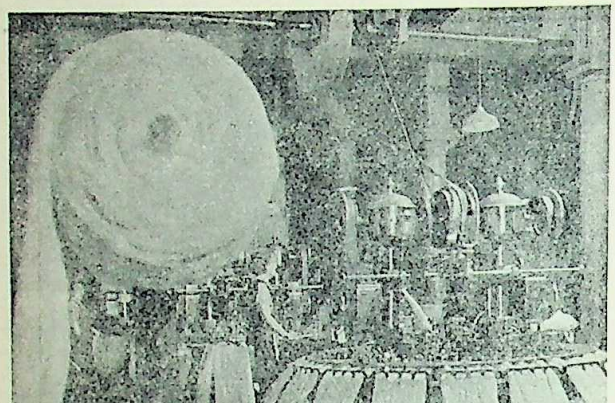
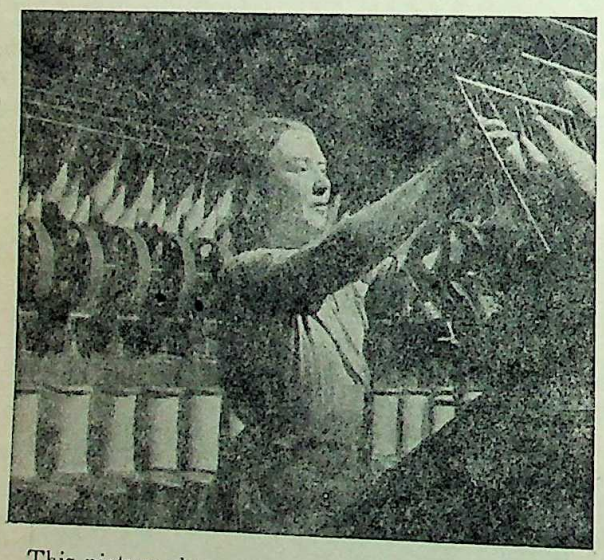
incomprehensible to the layman. The reputation of a product rarely becomes world-wide in one generation; thus such renowned fabrics as Scottish Tweeds, West of



The "noble comb," a complex machine which unerringly separates the long and short fibres of the yarn

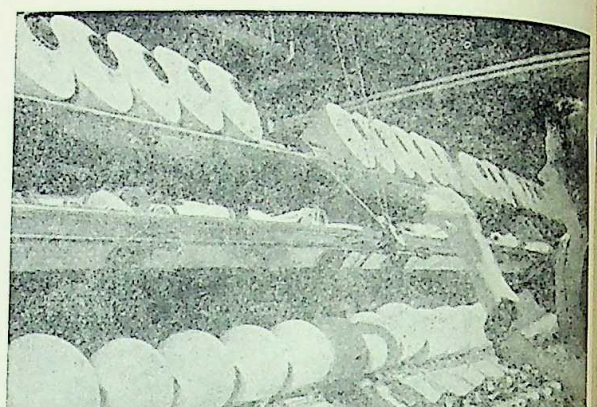
England Woollens, and Huddersfield Suitings reflect the attention to detail of successive generations of British textile craftsmen.



This picture shows yarn on a doubling machine, a process often necessary in the manufacture of worsted yarns

The British wool trade is alive to the importance of fundamental research on the growth and structure of the wool fibre, the Dominions, Colonies and the mother country contributing great sums annually for this purpose. Many far-reaching discoveries have been made by this original British research; for example, wool can now be made unshrinkable without damaging its other desirable properties, thereby making a highly suitable material for knitted underwear, and, on other lines, the relationship of wool clothing to health has been definitely and firmly established.

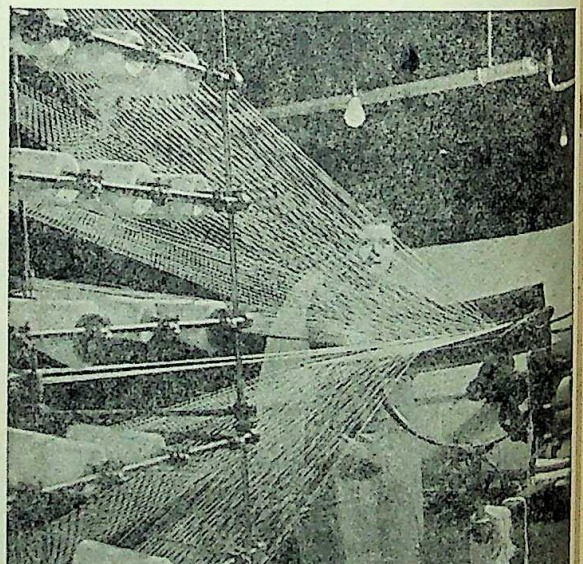
Plans for post-war development are being worked out by the trade, and many firms are arranging for the rebuilding of their factories and their reorganisation on modern lines, so that, by reducing costs, wool consumption can be even more widely spread. British textile machine manufacturers have improved the quality of their products by encouraging textile operatives



The machine which winds the yarn on to "cones" for the knitting machines, used in the manufacture of hosiery

suggest mechanical refinements which can be incorporated in future machines.

Vast reserves of best wool, equal to the production



The machine is spinning warp threads and the operative is watching it carefully for any breakages in the thread

of two or three normal years, have been accumulated and will eventually be available for export to the world. The ranks of a quarter of a million pre-war British wool textile workers are depleted by war service, but experience has shown that young operatives trained in textiles quickly acquire lasting affection for the trade which will obviate the risks of a labour shortage.

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STRANGE BUT TRUE

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By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

Once upon a time, from 54 to 68 A.D. to be precise, reigned an Emperor in Rome, Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus by name, who has immortalised himself by his taste for music emanating from a particular class of stringed instruments. Whether he was himself the artist who raised this music or that he had a musician who swelled the raptures for him that could make him oblivious of worldly affairs of great import, is not definitely known. In any case, hearsay attributes to him the credit of being able to drown himself in ecstasy when events that would have driven monarchs with weaker nerves to madness were taking place around the Royal Court. This great Emperor is said to have been fiddling when a great fire broke out on the night of July 18, 64, in the capital of the Roman Empire and spread in all directions, north, south, east, and west and furiously raged for six days and nights. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* :

"In Christian tradition Nero even appears as the mystic Anti-Christ, who was destined to come once again to trouble the saints. Even in the middle ages, he was still the very incarnation of splendid iniquity, while the belief lingered that he had only disappeared for a time, and as late as the 11th century his restless spirit was supposed to haunt the slopes of the Pincian Hill."

II

The causes of the last famine have been discussed in the pages of *The Modern Review* in the course of a series of articles on the subject, but it seems that they have not been exhaustive because proper assessment of the gravity of each of the causes could not have been made for want of a comprehensive knowledge about them. Much light is needed for this purpose. Proper scanning of Government correspondence and confidential notes, when published, will be necessary for judging facts in all their implication.

Reports are almost daily appearing in the press of huge stocks of foodgrains having been rendered unfit for human consumption, *in Government godowns,* due to bad storage, want of care for their timely use and a lot of other causes. These foodstuffs were secured through Government agents who had the discretion of fixing the maximum price all to themselves. Some of these foodstuffs had been purchased at controlled rates under Government order from agriculturists who subsequently died for want of food, or grains sold by the Central and/or the other Provincial governments on which every Shylock had his share of the pound of flesh. These transactions over grains, according to the Auditor-General to the Government of India and the Accountant-General, Bengal, are in at least some cases, of doubtful value and they do not satisfy even the minimum requirements of financial scrutiny. It is not unlikely that many other disclosures of a more startling nature might be forthcoming on some future date. In support of my contention I quote a passage from the report of the Officer on Special Duty, Mr. Butler (d. 16. 12. 44.), which runs as follows:—

"In no food administration is there complete absence of any bribery and corruption" and that "another aspect, more serious perhaps than bribery and corruption, is that of petty harassment by minor officials. That it goes on to a fairly extensive degree there is no doubt . . . . That Provincial and State Governments do not, generally speaking, take sufficient specific steps in this direction, is, I am afraid, a fact."

"And why is this ?" we ask.

Leaving aside for the present moment consideration of the audit notes or other aspects of the case, we are more concerned with actual loss of foodgrains which when properly utilised might have saved thousands of human lives, firstly, by keeping down the price of marketed foodgrains and secondly, by being available for direct consumption to those that have died of starvation.

On February 1, 1944, serious allegations were made in the Bengal Legislative Assembly about wastage of rice in the Botanical Gardens and at several station platforms in the Jessore District. The Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy, the Bengal Civil Supplies Minister, referring to the "stacks of paddy that had been lying on the Jessore railway platforms" said that "they had been trying to move them but they did not succeed because they could not get wagons." Sir Edward Benthall, the Transport Member to the Government of India, replied to this veiled attack on him on February 28, 1944, in the Central Legislative Assembly in these words :

"Movements of foodgrains in Bengal are arranged in accordance with programmes prepared by the Bengal Government and this paddy was not included in these programmes."

How the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy reacted to this statement I am not in a position to state.

The now famous Botanical Gardens stock had a more chequered career. That the stock had been deteriorating was mentioned by non-official members of the Bengal Assembly on Feb. 1, 1944. On the 14th idem, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, in moving an adjournment motion, supported his arguments "by physical demonstration of some samples which he proposed to present to the members of the Assembly and to the Hon'ble Ministers." He said, "There are worms and insects moving about inside the box" which he held aloft in his hand. He had with him reports of eminent food analysts of Calcutta, including Dr. J. B. Grant, to the effect that the foodgrains had been emitting foul stench, were full of worms, vermins and insects and had become completely decomposed and in consequence absolutely unfit for human consumption. Regarding "the stench of the rice stored at Botanical Gardens," on the 10th of March, 1944, the P.S. to the Chief Minister wrote in reply to a letter on the subject of Sj. Mrinal Kanti Bose, Associate Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* "that a similar complaint was made by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, and the Hon'ble Chief Minister *on a personal inspection* of the place *found the complaint baseless.*" (Italics mine).

On Sept. 4, 1944, several newspapers of Calcutta published photographs of fully loaded lorries with such captions as :

"Thousands of bags of half-decomposed foodstuffs have been removed by about 200 motor lorries and thrown into marshy lands in the Howrah-Belgachia dumping ground, five miles from Howrah Station . . . the foodstuffs were being removed from the Botanical Gardens."

Some of the Famine Commissioners visited the place in the middle of September 1944 and witnessed things for themselves.

As regards the quantity, I have to depend on the statement of the Hon'ble the Food Member made on Nov. 15, 1944, in the Central Assembly to the effect that

"Out of 120,000 tons of foodgrains that passed through the depot, 3,000 tons or 2½ p.c. were damaged in the Sibpur Botanical Gardens."

Let the readers judge if 3,000 tons of decomposing foodstuffs do emit any stench or not and let them draw their own inference as to who was right : Dr. Mookerjee or Sir Nazimuddin ? And about the quantity itself, there is room for holding different views.

On Sept. 19, 1944, the *Associated Press* reported that

"Over 75,000 mds. of 'atta' and 71,000 mds. of flour, which are considered unfit for human consumption, are now lying with Government stockists in Calcutta."

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I shall not try to gauge what consolation the relatives of those that are gone will receive from the comforting news that 146,000 mds. of sizing materials, were available for use, from the decomposed foodstuffs mentioned above.

A message from Khulna, dated the 16th September and published on the 19th idem, disclosed that the Provincial headquarters of the Hindu Mahasabha had received news that

"Hundreds of bags of rice and 'atta' belonging to the Supply Department of the Bengal Government are lying in some parts of the Khulna Railway Colony."

The *United Press* reported on Oct. 21, 1944, to the press on the strength of information supplied by Mr. Monoranjan Chowdhury, Secretary, Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, that

"80,000 mds. of foodstuffs including wheat, atta, rice and gram are lying decomposed in the Government godowns at Hajiganj, Godnyle and Sitalakya in Narayanganj in the district of Dacca."

On Oct. 24, 1944, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published the following as a news item :

"A curious case of wheat transaction, it is understood, has come to the notice of the Anti-hoarding and Anti-profiteering Branch of the Detective Department of the Calcutta Police.

"It is said the Civil Supplies Department sold 3,000 mds. of *rejected* wheat to a Marwari merchant at Rs. 4 per md. The Marwari, it appears, resold the whole quantity to certain Government food purchasing agents at Rs. 20 per md., making a net profit of Rs. 48,000."

The irate Civil Supplies Department came out with a contradiction (Press Note : Nov. 7, 1944) saying that it was true that 3,000 mds. of "deteriorated wheat, unsuitable for human consumption, were sold to a Marwari merchant," but not at Rs. 4 per md. but at Rs. 3-4, "for manufacture of starch." And about the quality of the disposed-of wheat, the Cereals Adviser to the Government of Bengal reported

"that the wheat was very old, damaged and musty with a heavy percentage of burnt grains." and "that even if the undamaged grains were *specially treated* there was danger that any flour or 'atta' manufactured from them would be tainted." (Italics mine).

(Please mark the words "specially treated," Dear Reader, because the present Bengal Government have devised means for *specially treating* or *reconditioning* of grains, a momentous discovery indeed (!), through which the grains, which are already devoid of food value and a fruitful source of disease, assume a deceptive appearance and are sold to the public).

The Press Note substantially confirmed the *news item* with the only difference that

"The story that Dataram Beniram (the merchant in question) resold the wheat to a Government food purchasing agent at Rs. 20 a md. is entirely fictitious."

(Still the question remains : "Did Dataram sell it at a lower price ?")

Nevertheless, it is admitted that *3,000 mds of grains* were allowed to become *old, damaged and musty and quite unfit for human consumption.*

The Hindu Mahasabha was also responsible for the news published on Oct. 25, 1944, that

"About 20 merchants . . . were ordered from the office of the Dy. Director of Civil Supplies, Region VI Dacca, by Memo No. 2793 (R. VI) to show cause why their license should not be cancelled for inability to deposit price of 10,000 mds. of rice each from Narayanganj stock which was allotted to them by Order 34(8)." The quantity of rice in stock at Narayanganj was estimated at about two lakh mds. of the "Sibpore Botanical Garden Quality" *i.e.*, either removed from that place or as bad as the deteriorated rice found at the Botanical Gardens. There was feeble attempt by the Food Member in the Central Assembly to contradict this report, but a rejoinder by the Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, issued in the *Nationalist* on the 23rd Nov. 1944, containing full text of the government orders put the matter at rest.

On Oct. 31, 1944 (published in the *Hindusthan Standard* on the 5th November) the *Associated Press* reported that

"1,230 mds. of atta were seized from a local shop by the Hooghly-Chinsurah Municipality and subsequently destroyed as it was found unfit for human consumption."

On Nov. 7, 1944, (*vide* the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 10th idem) the *United Press* reported from Jalpaiguri that the Dy. Commissioner of that place invited tenders for sale of about 2,000 mds of deteriorated foodstuffs . . . lying in Government godowns. On the 11th November the Calcutta newspapers printed advertisements of the Civil Supplies Department for disposal of 100,000 mds. of gram. According to the *Associated Press* correspondent at Rangpur (published on the 15th Nov.) the Asst. Director of Civil Supplies advertised for disposal of 11,777 mds. of wheat, etc., of "a deteriorated quality" and a Burdwan news of the 14th November, supplied by the *United Press*, disclosed that the Municipal authorities had seized 700 bags of atta "said to be totally unfit for human consumption" on the previous morning and had posted police before the sealed doors of godowns to prevent any chance of smuggling.

On Nov. 30, 1944, the Hon'ble the Food Member stated that out of the rice purchased by the Central Government, in keen competition with the provincial governments, not less than 30,000 mds. were lost. The most profitable use that could be made, according to the Director General of Food, of the stuff was that a portion of this was "buried as they could not be used for any purpose" and another portion was "disposed of for brewing local beer as it was not fit for consumption as food."

"On Dec. 2, 1944, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published a news despatched from Munshiganj (Dacca) on Nov. 30, to the effect that

"About 8,000 mds. of atta valued at Rs. 80,000 is lying in a decomposed condition in the Government godowns at Kamalaghat and has become quite unfit for human consumption."

The *Associated Press* reported from Noakhali on Dec. 7, 1944, (published on the 11th idem) that about 850 mds. of decomposed atta was sold at *four annas a maund* "on the distinct understanding" that the same should be used "as manure or fodder only." It further reported that

"Several thousand maunds of decomposed atta have similarly been rotting in the Government godowns at Choumohani and other places."

The vernacular weekly of Noakhali, *Desher Vani* in a recent issue wrote that it was alleged that the said atta, sold at four annas a maund, had been selling at Rs. 2-4 at Choumuhani and at Rs. 5 in the interior villages. It states that the law is helpless if the shopkeeper sells the atta at a price lower than Rs. 12-8. It was further alleged that the said atta was being sold for mixing with atta selling at Rs. 12-8 and used in making puddings, *nimki* and other *khabars* (prepared edibles).

So late as Dec. 20, 1944, (published on the 23rd) the *Hindusthan Standard* correspondent wrote from Naogaon (Rajshahi) that

"About 2,833 mds. of atta are lying here decomposed and tenders have been invited by the S.D.O. for purchasing the entire stock. It is stated that the stock purchased should be sold by the purchasers as fodder and not for human consumption.

"Of the stocks of 1,393 bags of atta (93 bags contain 21 mds. each and the rest 2 mds.) 83 bags are lying at Atrai godown and 1,300 bags at Naogaon."

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These are some of the many instances of wastage of foodstuffs and there may be many more which have not yet seen the light of publicity. It is to be remembered that long before the instances here related, were known to the public, the Calcutta newspapers, particularly the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* had been publishing from time to time, short notes on sale of *"damaged" grains* since October 1943. It was natural to expect that the Bengal Government had taken ample steps to prevent deterioration of the stored foodstuffs any further but the present disclosures surely make a painful reading.

III

In addition to huge waste of foodgrains, there is the story of deteriorated stocks being brought to the markets and "rammed down the throats" of unwilling purchasers in Bengal. It is known on the authority of members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly for Dinajpur and Bankura and a prominent rice merchant of Calcutta that huge Government stocks remained undisturbed till March 1944, *i.e.*, even a few months after the famine had ravaged Bengal. These stocks are in evidence everywhere and are being sold through the device of rationing where the Government hold the monopoly of selling foodstuffs at a price as high as Rs. 16-4 in Calcutta. Left to themselves the people would not touch it at Re. 1 per md. The rice sold in rationed stores in many cases is of a "shockingly poor quality" and some specimens bear a high percentage of pebbles with dirt as much. The stench that the rice emits, when it is boiled, bears testimony to bad storage and a considerable deterioration in quality verging on complete decomposition. After an elaborate tour of the Chittagong, Chandpur, Munshiganj, Narayanganj, Dacca, Barisal and Khulna districts, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, M.L.C. (Central) issued a statement to the Press on Sept. 17, 1944, extracts from which read as follows :

"There is a general complaint with regard to the quality of the rice and atta sent by the Government to the deficit districts. I was shown ample samples of rice which contained an appreciable quantity of grit and husk. This is not the only grievance of the people. They complain that on many occasions they have had to buy rice which had obviously deteriorated considerably. . . . The general view is that 1942 rice is being distributed now. People bitterly remarked to me that the food supplied by Government was as serious a danger to public health as the mosquito.

"The complaint is almost universal that it (atta) is very old and actually contains worms. The samples shown to me seem to justify the complaints of the consumers, . . . In view of the public dissatisfaction with the quality of the atta supplied in Calcutta and the large quantity of rotten foodgrains recently thrown away by Government the complaints in the deficit districts cause no surprise."

Further comment is superfluous.

IV

According to the Government of Bengal (vide *Famine and the Government*) "23·9 million people were *most severely affected* by the distress, 4·5 millions were *badly affected* and 12 millions were affected to some extent." These give a total of 40·4 millions of people affected by the distress in varying degrees. We are also told that 1,500,000 mds. of foodgrains were distributed free and 110,000,000 number of meals were given to the sufferers from the free kitchens. It is not likely that all the 23·9 million people *most severely affected* resorted to free doles or to free meals; but it is also quite likely that sufferers from the other two categories filled up the number that did not turn up for free help from the first category. In any case the number cannot be less than 23·9 millions who were in need of help from the Government and for whom, the benign Government of Bengal made such elaborate arrangements for relief. We find on calculation that the 1,500,000 mds. of rice provided *five chittaks per capita per month* during the period of seven months when the famine raged furiously in Bengal. It further provided *4·1 meals* of special menu, containing more than 80 per cent of water, 3 per cent of rice, 7 per cent of jowar or bajri, and the rest vegetables of all kinds (except potato) *during a whole month* for each person during the same period. Over (i) medical relief, (ii) water supply and (iii) other matters, the Government spent a sum of Rs. 75,00,000 during 1943 for all classes of sufferers. It means that a magnificent sum of *4·5 pies per capita per month* was spent by the Government, which he Government in its magnanimity consider it to be a "striking figure." In a sense, it was so !

The estimated death due to famine alone is over fifty lakhs and it is no wonder that it was not higher. On Nov. 8, 1944, Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt, the Deputy Speaker, in the Central Assembly could not understand "why food must be stored up when thousands were starving; nor could he understand how decomposition of food was not detected early enough. Decomposition did not take place in the twinkling of an eye."

He characterised the administration as "indifferent, irresponsible, callous and as rotten as the food supplied by them."

Justice demands that there should be sifting enquiry into the matter and the culprits publicly impeached, charged with if not for murder itself, at least, for culpable homicide not amounting to murder.

THE LATE HANS MAGHRAJH OF NATAL

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

It was a painful surprise and an unexpected shock flung on me when I received a cable from Shri B. A. Maghrajh of Durban announcing the news of the premature death of his beloved son, Hans Maghrajh, the former Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress. People in this country cannot easily realise how sorely Hans will be missed by the Indians in Natal. In the demise of this energetic young man the parents have lost one of their noblest sons, the Indian community one of their shining jewels and all those who knew him, a friend warm-hearted, honest and genuine. With me, it is a personal loss. It is sad to think that at a time when the richness of his experience, the keenness of his intellect and above all his singleminded devotion to duty promised to give the community his best, we should have been deprived of the benefit of his great qualities. Although recently I strongly disapproved of his resignation from the secretaryship of the Natal Indian Congress and his subsequent statement explaining the cause of his hasty action, that unfortunate incident did not affect our personal relation.

The second of the five sons of Shri B. A. Maghrajh, an Indian leader of Natal, Hans was born at Durban in 1909 and breathed the atmosphere of Arya Samaj in his family. He received his primary education in the Higher Grade Government Indian School of Durban. After leaving school he entered the estate agency

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business and soon after established his own firm under the name of Hans Maghrajh and Company. He was the estate, financial, insurance, and general agent and also the Government licensed appraiser, and was the first and only Indian land-auctioneer in Natal.

His public activities were varied and manifold. He was the secretary of the Natal Indian Congress for more than two years; assistant secretary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha; general secretary of the Durban Arya Samaj and the Young Men's Arya Samaj; secretary of the first Natal Division of the St. John Ambulance Association; treasurer of the Indian Hospital Advisory Committee, secretary of the Ward 5 Indian Ratepayers Association and the Institute of Natal Indian Real Estate Agents; member of the Durban Town Planning Association; vice-president of the Avondale Football Club and donor of the Hans Maghrajh Christian Stamp Fund in aid of Tuberculosis Hospital. In short, he was interested in many public affairs of Natal.

The blow to me is too fresh to let me realize its full significance. In his premature death we have lost an ardent political worker and a capable social reformer. A successful business man of notable acumen, he brought his common sense to bear on all problems that came up for consideration before public organisations. His passionate patriotism, his liberty of outlook and tenderness of heart, his tenacity and industry, earnestness and persuasive powers, and above all, his selfless services were the remarkable features of his character. When occasion required it, as at the time of the unprecedented commotion among our people created by the formation of a new association to supersede the Natal Indian Congress, he showed his powers of courageous leadership and firm determination.

What more can I say of Hans? Both as a business man and a public worker, he made his mark even in these days of racial discrimination in South Africa. At the age of thirty-five Hans had already passed through a glorious life. If only he had been spared longer, what a great boon he should have proved to be to the Indians of Natal!

Who knows, the Divine Architect, in His great design may have assigned him a still more important role to play which we may not even comprehend! Therefore, in offering my heartfelt sympathy to his parents and family, I commend these comforting lines to them from the holy Gita:—"As a man, casting off worn-out garments, taketh new ones, so the dweller in the body, casting off worn-out bodies, entereth into others that are new."

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By MANILAL GANDHI

The Residential Property Regulation Draft Ordinance which is being rushed through the Natal Provincial Council post-haste ere India has an opportunity to discuss it in the Central Legislative Assembly now sitting in New Delhi has created a great deal of consternation among Indians in South Africa and indignation throughout India. This new Draft Ordinance is to replace the Natal Occupation Control Ordinance which had resulted from the so-called Pretoria Agreement. So we had first the "Pegging" Act, passed by the Union Parliament, which aimed at establishing separate areas for Indians outside which they may neither reside nor occupy nor acquire ownership of landed property. This Act was condemned and rejected *in toto* by the Indian community as establishing the principle of statutory segregation thereby committing a flagrant breach of the Cape Town Agreement both in the letter and in spirit. Later certain leaders of the Natal Indian Congress succumbed to the temptation of safeguarding vested interests and showed their preparedness to sacrifice a long-cherished principle for a few paltry material gains and entered into the so-called Pretoria Agreement with General Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union, just on the eve of the latter's departure for England to attend the Conference of the Dominion Prime Ministers. I call this Agreement so, because it was entered into without the knowledge and consent of the Indian community whose rights were being sacrificed. Under the Pretoria Agreement the destiny of two hundred thousand Natal Indians was placed in the hands of the Natal Provincial Council, though they were supposed to be Union nationals. In reality, however, they are not accepted as such. Aliens such as the Jews, the Greeks, the Syrians, the French Creoles and even Germans are full-fledged Union nationals enjoying full rights of citizenship and an equal voice in the democratic Government of the country but not Indians though they are British subjects. They are being sat upon today in Natal particularly, not by the Boers but by the British who have always evinced more respect for the Union Jack than for the Union Flag. This is the tragedy of the whole thing. This is, however, by the way.

Coming to the point at issue, the Draft Occupation Control Ordinance which was the outcome of the Pretoria Agreement was to be a provincial legislation aimed at putting into effect the segregation part of the Pegging Act and restoring to the Indian community the right of acquiring ownership of landed property outside segregated areas for investment purposes only. This concession purchased by Indians at a very heavy price did not satisfy the anti-Indian Europeans who carried on a strong agitation and the Present Residential Property Regulation Draft Ordinance is the outcome of this agitation.

The new features introduced in this Ordinance are (1) that even for investment purposes Indians will have only restricted rights to own landed property outside segregated areas and (2) that the Ordinance will apply not only to Durban but to the whole province. There was provision, however, in the Draft Occupation Control Ordinance for it too is to be applied to other parts of the Province if found necessary. So the difference in the Present Ordinance is one of degree, which has led the Indian community to take exception to it and to declare it as constituting a breach of the Pretoria Agreement. There is no doubt that if there were no unscrupulous Europeans to sell to Indians there would have been no greedy Indians to purchase properties in European localities and the introduction in the new Ordinance of the intervention of the Housing Board in the transactions of such properties is to afford protection against such unscrupulous European sellers.

The point that India has to consider, however, is not whether the present Ordinance is better or worse than the one drafted under the Pretoria Agreement. It is the principle underlying it—establishing of the policy of statutory segregation. The "Pegging" Act is the root evil and it should be clearly understood that it is to remain on the Statute Book for emergency purposes. Its application will be withdrawn to the extent that the proposed Ordinance succeeds in achieving the objects desired. No sooner does it fail to do so than the "Pegging" Act may at any moment be put into force. The position today is that the principle has been

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sacrificed and in our over-anxiety to grab whatever material interests we possess we are losing ground inch by inch. In my humble opinion and I have no doubt it is the opinion of all those Indians in South Africa who are viewing this question not from the narrow materialistic point, but from the point of view of national self-respect, it is the duty of the Government of India and it is the duty of the people of India to bring pressure upon the Government of India to view the question from the broader point of view of India's national honour. If Indian nationals in South Africa are not willing to view the question from that standpoint and are prepared to sacrifice their souls for petty material gains, then they have no right to look to India for any help. They are spoiling the fair name of their motherland and they should be allowed to look after themselves as best as they can. India can and should look after the needs of Indians outside India, consistently with her national honour. She cannot under any circumstances sacrifice that.

What India has to consider, therefore, is whether the 1927 Cape Town Agreement has any meaning at all. Recent history of Indians in South Africa tells us that it has been treated as a scrap of paper by the Union Government. Its very basis was that India was opposed to the principle of statutory segregation and that those Indians born and domiciled in South Africa who are prepared to adopt the western standard of life shall be treated as nationals, allowed to stay there as self-respecting citizens and afforded every opportunity for their upliftment. That was the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement. It is now being said that it is not the labouring class but the more affluent section of the community that is a menace and that separate areas for them should be established where they could reside, trade and expand. In other words, as long as Indians remain 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' they can be tolerated but not if they stand equal with the South African Whites. Speaking to the Transvaal Provincial Congress United Party in Johannesburg, General Smuts is reported to have said : "White South Africa is big, strong and honest enough to do justice to all races and all colours and we shall do so taking into consideration our known attitude of separatism in housing work circles and associations." This clearly means that the Prime Minister supports residential and industrial segregation which is entirely contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Cape Town Agreement. The recent reports from South Africa go to show that the Union authorities are determined to establish the policy of segregation by means of a series of Ordinances and under the cloak of Town Planning Scheme not only in Natal but throughout South Africa. The Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs is reported to have stated recently that "Asiatics will not have segregation but we have to achieve the same end by laying out land for their occupation and not calling it segregation." It has also been reported that several miles away from Johannesburg city it is proposed to establish an Indian township. This is a serious matter and it should be tackled by India at its very root. It needs to be remembered that these things are being done just when a Judicial Commission is still engaged in inquiring into the whole Indian question in Natal in all its aspects.

What does all this mean if not utter disregard for the feelings and sentiments not only of the voteless and voiceless two hundred and fifty thousand Indians of South Africa but also of the four hundred million people of India. Something more than indulging in empty talk of applying sanctions against the wrong-doer is needed. Such talk without effective action only makes matters worse for the Indian settlers in South Africa. Immediate steps should be taken to review the Cape Town Agreement and if it is proved that it is, as it appears to be, but a scrap of paper there is no purpose in maintaining the Indian High Commissioner's Office in that country. The ten thousand odd pounds wasted in maintaining it could be put to much better use. The High Commissioner should be forthwith recalled as a protest against this wanton insult to the national honour of India. The Indian Congress in South Africa had unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the Indian Government to recall the High Commissioner but the Indian Government has ignored the voice of the Congress. Apart from being a lucrative post for the Government's favoured ones the High Commissioner's Office serves no purpose at all. India is under a foreign Government, and until she gets her freedom, the position of Indians settled in other parts of the British Empire will continue to deteriorate. The Japanese who are Asiatics—and the racial laws of the Union of South Africa apply equally to all Asiatics—were given preferential treatment prior to the war and the Chinese are given preferential treatment at present, on the ground that China is a powerful ally of the British Empire. The British Government is vocal enough in praising India's war efforts but where her rights and self-respect are concerned, India is made to understand that she is but a handmaid of the Empire and that Britain cannot be expected to stand by her against a self-governing Dominion.

THE CONQUERING WILL

By THE NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD

Abandoned joy for sorrow's sake,
Think lightly or never mind,
Its return is not at stake,
Revive it must you will find.

None ever in anguish remain,
A lesson learnt through despair,
Disconcerting thoughts disdain,
Of ill-fated probe beware.

Things are not as they appear,
Deception leads the mind to grief,
False hope creates always fear,
Misleading to a righteous belief.

To everchanging times on earth
The lot of man is prescribed;
Face this he must from his birth,
Patience may be sorely tried.

Any footprints of happenings past,
Which flight of ages has not left,
Ever their undying impression last
Tho' of their inspiration bereft.

When seeking the height of truthfulness
With redoubled energy to acquire;
To overcome greed's hollowness,
If solace of mind you require.

To danger leads the path to evil,
From its participation forbear,
Jeopardise not your life in peril,
Followed by many a silent tear.

Misfortune's sure sign of reinstallation,
In expectation speed ahead,
However bent by care's agitation
Evoke His blessings instead.

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ROMAIN ROLLAND

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By Prof. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.

Geographically there is only one France, but intellectually, there are two; the France of Racine and other litterateurs, and the France of Rousseau. Romain Rolland belonged to the latter. He represents that unique idealistic urge which made France the meet nurse for some of the greatest revolutions of history. His early worship of great men was characterised by a passionate fondness for the protagonists of the French Revolution, who remain embalmed in his immortal love, in his early plays. The ideas of the Revolution never left him, and with the ripening of his mind, he imbibed them with greater passion.

As a literary artist, he represents a break with the tradition of the 19th century French literature, that of an aimless, vagrant naturalism that subsisted in vacuum. He cultivated closer contact with life than could the easy-going, literary photography ensure. He sought for life in its rudiments, in its eternal quest for what is permanent. The naturalism which only touches the fringe of life, is born in the marsh, and betrays, with illusory illumination. Rolland wanted to discover the light that never fails, radiating from the inmost depth of soul. The delicate shades of thought, the suppleness and refinement of intelligence, qualities which are typical of French genius, were neither his forte nor his goal. Literary finesse had, from his youth, become a non-conductor of his imagination. It is the flow of soul, whether in life or in literature, which has always kindled his genius. He never cared, as did Gustav Flaubert, "to sit out the entire day with head between your hands beating your unfortunate brains for a word." For words came to him naturally and spontaneously, charged with the deepest spiritual force and profound passion. He was more affiliated to the spirit of Russian literature than to that of the French, and Russia is the country, and her cause the cause, which fired his imagination with prophetic expectation and hope of glorious fulfilment, and to which he never tired of reverting afterwards.

As a man of literature, his position is undisputed and universal. His *John Christopher* has aptly been characterised by Edmund Gosse, as "the noblest work of fiction of the 20th century." In the above work he has re-introduced the vogue of biographical novel, as popularised by Butler and Dickens. Here also, the deliberate formlessness and want of cohesion are un-French, from the literary point of view. The influence of this kind of novel had been very extensive in modern literature, and I shall mention only one of its kind, a worthy successor of *John Christopher*, namely, the "Thibaults" series of R. M. DuGard. Christopher, like his creator, is an unhappy idealist, vowed to a life of truth and sincerity, of which he finds a complete deficit in his environments. The story is a veiled discussion of the moral and intellectual activities of modern times, and is autobiographical also, to some extent. The hero, like the author himself, was an exile from his own country and sojourned in Switzerland, the Mecca of internationalism. The ideas on force, militarism and war, are Rolland's own ideas. "Think with courage" is the motto of the group of truth-seekers whose rendezvous was the salon of the Italian lady Grazia, in whom the hero found the Shelleyean shadow of the idol of his thought. That was the motto of Rolland also.

The Soul Enchanted is another of his gigantic novels. Here also we have the same search for truth and sincerity through a confusing maze of errors and hypocrisy. Rolland's novels are epical in scale like the life they portray. He does not see life in detached fragments, but life in its epic comprehensiveness is his subject-matter; he sees it steady and sees it whole.

The two persons who utilised the doctrines of Tolstoy with profit were Gandhi and Rolland, and the latter recaptured their essence in literature also. His early experiments in drama were inspired by Tolstoy and his hero, John Christopher, leads a life according to Tolstoyean principles, as it were. From Tolstoy again like Gandhi, he derived his tenets of pacifism, his belief in non-resistance. Next to Gandhi, Rolland is the greatest force for the moral regeneration of the world and next to him again, he is the greatest example of living sincerity. "The moral force which Rolland possesses is a courage unexampled in the history of modern literature,"—says his admiring biographer Zeweig. And this courage had been stubbornly manifest in life as well as in literature. His bold departure from the tradition of his country was as typical of him as his prophetic utterances for the moral regeneration of the world. The poet and the prophet have shaken hands in him and Rolland the man is as truly himself as is Rolland the writer. The result is that the artist has been liberated from the cramp and confinement of literary ambition and merged in the Weltschmerz. He has ceased to be a mere literary figure; he belongs to history and his life is a dynamic fragment in the universal chronicle of human progress.

Romain Rolland then is much more than a mere novelist. Even in his early days, when he was still busy courting the Muse in Parnassian haunts, he had already developed that moral stamina which was to become his blessing and his bane. Dream of the great men, not of the soft-eyed belles, was the dream, in which he spent his youth and from which he never really awakened. One of his characters in his *Triumph of Reason* says, "Our first duty is to be great and to defend greatness on earth." With this solemn vow he prepared for his life's crusade in which he failed but failed with singular success.

1914. "John Christopher" had already been born in a world of chaos and spiritual unrest. Now more than ever Europe seemed to be unfit for a spirit like Rolland's. A self-exile in Geneva, he looked, with intense pain, at Europe mad with blood thirst, burning incense at the altar of force. Intellectuals and writers were enslaving themselves to the fond idea of victory and men using the all-atoning name of nationalism to justify the greatest blunders. Even socialists had deserted to the opposite camp. "Force is always hateful to me,"—wrote Rolland to Jouve. "I dread war so great, I have dreaded it for so long." This is what is said by Oliver, one of the characters in his famous novel, and Rolland himself never said less. To Hauptmann he wrote denouncing German aggression and to his own countrymen he revealed the error implied in a too-narrow patriotism. He exhorted the Frenchmen "to build both broader and higher, dominating injustice and national hatred, the walls of the town where the free and fraternal souls of the world should assemble." When Huns were at the very gate of France, this lonely spirit from Geneva spoke in a voice of thunder and denounced the nationalism which was sending the world to ruin and ruin. But he spoke Cassandra-like, not to be believed. His own men dubbed him a traitor to his country's cause and his voluntary exile was confirmed as a necessary one. Yet undaunted by desertion and admonition, he went on preaching his gospel of internationalism, localised the cause of the war in Imperialism and administered a sharp rebuke to Austria, Prussia and the Czar. In a Swiss newspaper he published an appeal, "The worst enemy of each country is not without but within its frontiers, and none has the courage to fight against it. It is the monster of a hundred heads, the monster named Imperialism . . . He was not anti-national, as he was commonly supposed to be, for a time at least. But his conception of nationalism was awaked by his own intellectual originality. A man, in his opinion, can best serve his fatherland by serving all mankind and by launching

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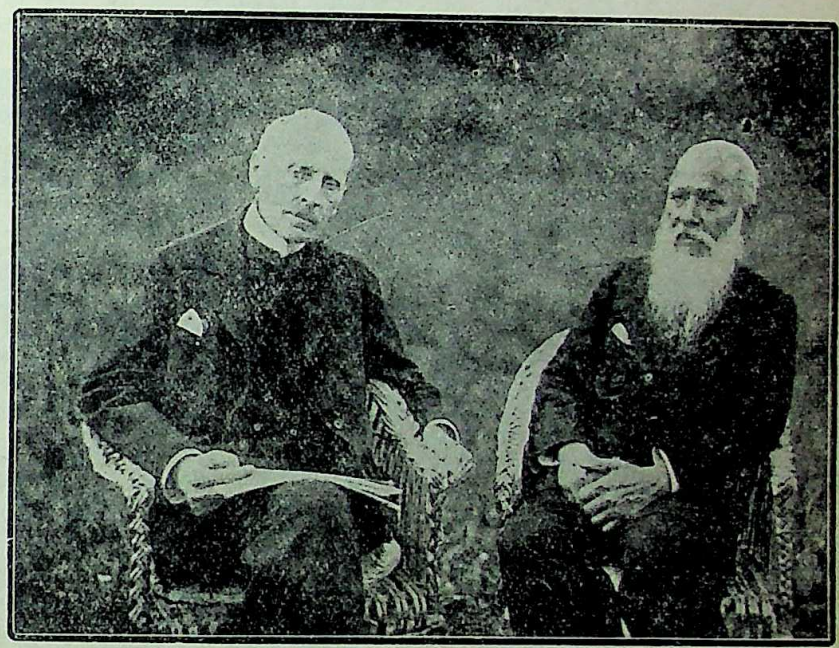
relentless campaign against war. It has rightly been pointed out by the French critic R. Lalou that internationalism was with him the very article of the faith of moralist. Of force, militarism and victory in the popular sense of the term, he was an uncompromising enemy. The treaty of Versailles, when the teeming millions of the world were hailing it as the great charter of the world's future security, failed to inspire any confidence in him, being based as it was on force and repression. He foresaw its failure and the disillusionment which was to follow in its wake. "Victory in arms is disastrous to ideal of an unselfish humanity." He cried in the wilderness but every word he spoke proved prophetic of the future. As a man, he found his responsibilities heavy on his shoulder, as an artist he found them no less so. He repudiated the idea of an artist's aloofness from the world which he considered to be a crime even for intellectuals and men of thought. He found his duty clear and straight before him and unhesitatingly joined the Red Cross society in Geneva, the only international organisation working for the common good.

Since 1914, Rolland has been an intrepid fighter on behalf of the highest ideals of man, liberty, equality and peace. He ceased to be a solitary recluse mentally and took an unshaken stand on the terra firma of hard realities. His famous appeal to President Wilson is regarded as an immortal vindication of human liberty. His exhortation to the President to convene a parliament of man, for the establishment of a permanent fraternity of mankind, is an idea beside which the highest conceptions ever forged by the world's spiritual and intellectual consciousness, pales away into insignificance. In 1919 he published the *Declaration of Independence of Thought*. "Thought is the slave of none. It is we who are the slaves of thought. We have no other masters." Again he says, "Freedom of thought takes no orders from Paris, Rome or Moscow." Being accused of intellectualism and pacifism, which were alleged to be only other names for escapism, Rolland, in no uncertain terms, declared himself an enemy of escape in any form, and would not forgive those persons who in the name of freedom of thought, evade responsibilities. In his famous controversy with Henri Barbusse he cleared his position with regard to this contentious issue.

The last chapter of his life is still more glorious. It contains his second spiritual renaissance, a rekindling of his soul from Russian fires. Soviet communism had been an acid test for Rolland's sincerity and intellectual honesty. Ordinarily a man of mystic temperament, he had always been a champion of freedom of thought, of which Russian communism was supposed to be the very antithesis. To some communists he openly declared that he considered it the sacred duty of intellectuals and men of thought to defend themselves against any state domination. Soviet Russia, in her early days, represented to the world a complete negation of individual freedom, a fact which even an honest and impartial thinker like Bertrand Russel had not had the catholicity to overlook, having regard to her positive contribution to human progress. But the case was different with Rolland. He found in Soviet Russia the chance of the fulfilment of the most cherished ideals of his life and gave her a sincere welcome. While he did not deny the partial suppression of liberty in Russia, he still congratulated the Reds in various articles, addresses and appeals, explaining the harshness of their social pattern away as necessary evil, which, not being of the essence of it, will pass away, leaving what is permanently good for man. The Russian experiment appeared to him clothed in the transcendent glory of a religious crusade against sham oppression and inequality. For whatever is done with a fearless search of truth at all costs with single-minded sincerity prepared for any sacrifice, he would call religious. ". . . For it presupposes faith in an end to human effort higher than the life of the individual, at times higher than the life of existing society, and even higher than the life of humanity as a whole." The banished litterateurs of Russia like Bounine, Balmont and others, who saw the Russia they loved crumble to dust, were shocked to find Rolland, the relentless seeker of truth and warm champion of freedom of thought, send message of congratulation to Soviet Russia on the occasion of its anniversary. Rolland



Romain Rolland and Ramananda Chatterjee (1927)

in his letter to them offered them consolation for the loss of the Russia they loved but asked them not to grieve. For in Russia the hope of humanity was henceforward to be concentrated. "It is the hope, the wretched hope of humanity's future. It is yours : in despite of you, it is of your blood, Bounine and Balmont."

India owes him a deep debt of gratitude, for Rolland was one of those few westerners who understood and admired Indian culture and interpreted it to the rest of the world. "Defend the great," he said in his youth, and he defended with indomitable zeal, the great sons of India, with whom he realised his own spiritual kinship. Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Gandhi, Arabinda and Tagore,—these were the great men who symbolised to him India's undying soul, her hoary tradition. No westerner has better understood these sons of our mystic land and no one has served India better by interpreting their life and philosophy to the rest of the world. In Gandhi he read the gospel of action, in Ramakrishna, that of mystic devotion. He calls the latter "the younger brother of our Christ" and gives him the homage of "a Universal Soul." Vivekananda is to him "the most intellectual, the most imperious, the most justly proud of all the great religious spirits of modern India." He was the St. Paul of the Messiah of Bengal that Ramakrishna was. Regarding Gandhi he says, "This is the man who has stirred to action three thousand millions of men, shaken the British empire, and inaugurated in human politics, the most powerful moral movement

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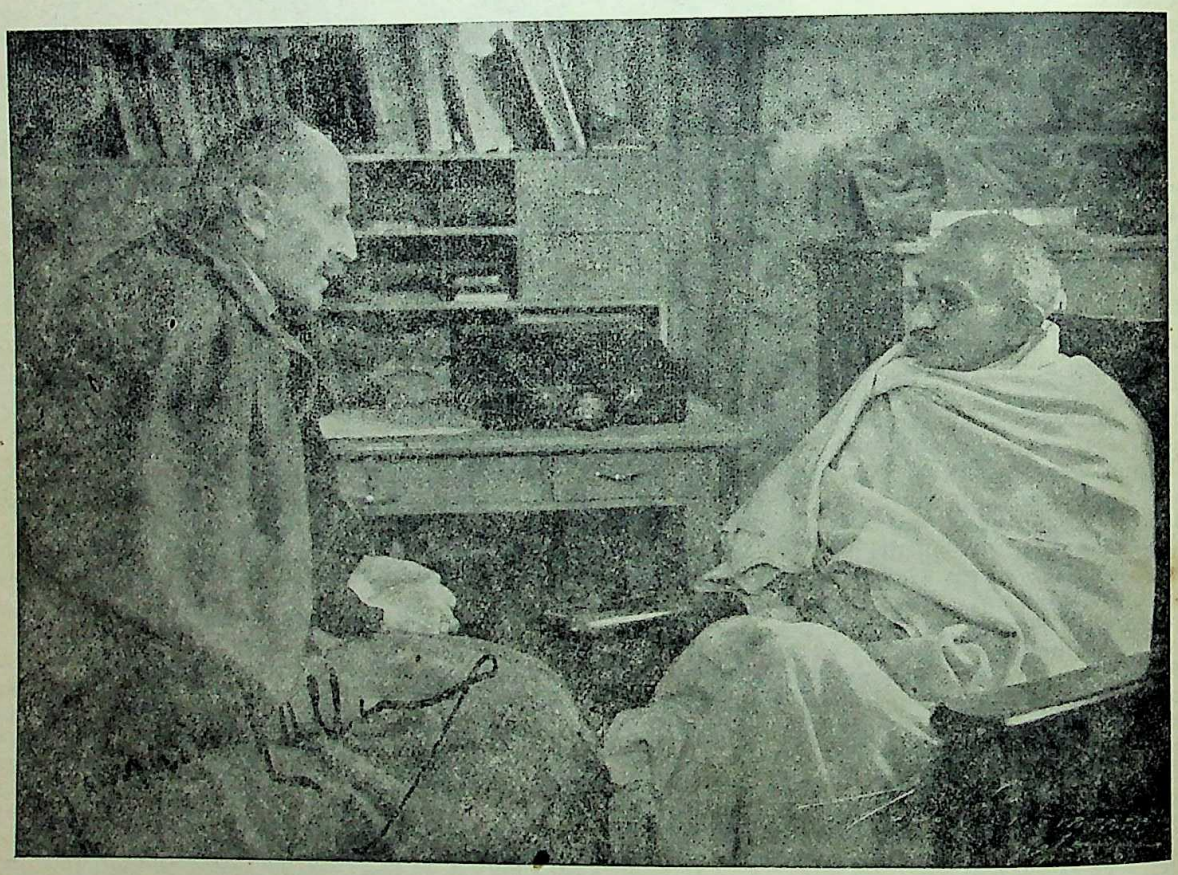
since nearly two thousand years." With Gandhi he had a spiritual affinity, both having common ancestry in Tolstoy. Both believed equally passionately in the ideas of non-violence and non-resistance. Both are cosmopolitan in the true sense of the term and believed in the essential unity of man. "The whole humanity is one," says Gandhi. Rolland echoes him when he says, "There is neither East nor West for the naked soul, such things are its trappings. The whole world is its home."

And Romain Rolland has not rested. The title of his *I Will Not Rest* is an epitome of his own character. It contains a brief resume of his own spiritual history and innumerable correspondences, articles, appeals, written by him from time to time, his peaceful weapons in the war of soul. The true Rolland may be sought for in this book undisguised and in bare, naked majesty. Herein it will be evident that from 1914, right down to the last moment of his life, he had been carrying on an unceasing, restless struggle for liberty, equality and peace. Theory and practice, idea and execution, never found a perfecter union in the personality of a single individual. Never was there an artist who was so much of a prophet, never an idealist so much conscious of the real. He viewed with apprehension the crumbling edifice of European civilisation. He warned the people of the world that in order that a permanent security may be built, the restrictive barriers of nationalism must be shattered, that the soul-killing industrialism and speedy mechanisation of life must be checked, that sincerity and honesty must be made the bedrock of future organisations and that peace should be made the *summum bonum* of all political aspirations. "I have dedicated my whole life to the reconciliation of man." He had tried to achieve a harmony of European nations; then, of the East and the West. Lastly, he tried to accomplish,—what is even more difficult,—the union of the scientific and the visionary in man. An example of courage, sincerity and of soul-force, Rolland's life remains an ideal for us to strive after.



Meeting of Mahatma Gandhi with Romain Rolland at Villeneuve, Dec. 1931

"La Vérité est Dieu."
(Gandhi)

Romain Rolland
Octobre 1933

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

RUSSIA AT WAR: *By Ilya Ehrenburg. Indian Edition by the Educational Publishing Company, Karachi, 1944. Pages 247. Price Rs. 7-8.*

Ilya Ehrenburg, a Russian Jew, is the most talked-of war correspondent of Soviet Russia. This book contains fragments from the flaming pages of his war diary based on the dual themes of German aggression and Russian resistance. The story takes us up to Stalingrad and the disastrous German retreat from the Volga in defeat and humiliation. On the pages of this chronicle are recorded some of the most realistic pictures of the Russo-German war—its glory and heroism, its brutality and ugliness. There is a special quality in Ehrenburg's reporting: he writes as fighting soldiers and sailors talk; he revels in satire, bitter and cynical; he excels in wit, biting and ruthless. He also represents the psychological make-up of every Soviet citizen, whether fighting at the front or working behind it. Ehrenburg's diary is not mere war propaganda, it projects the entire nation's impatient indignation and bitterness against the Germans on the broad canvas of human suffering. "Now, every Russian soldier is a judge, who inscribes his verdict in black German blood on white snow. We have drunk the chill water of hatred from the soldier's flask—draughts more searing than spirits," is a characteristic entry. Hatred and revenge are the two dominating sources of Ehrenburg's inspired reportage. Here is a specimen: "The moon sheds its venomous green light on the snow, on Germans, thousands and thousands of them, some shell-torn, some tank-squashed, others resembling waxwork figures, mowed down by merciful bullets. The blowing snow buries some corpses; the wind exposes others beside them. They are beyond counting. Here they met their end—those conquerors who dreamed of sables, gold, and the sceptre of the world. A colonel shows his old rat's yellowed fangs: a sergeant-major clutches a flask to his breast. A pair of pince-nez, by some miracle, still survives, quivering on a lieutenant's nose, but the lieutenant has no body; a tank passed here. Germans are trampled, minced, chopped. They dreamed of a 'kolossal' victory. Instead we provided them with a colossal necropolis. Here Russia met justice—it was a long-awaited meeting. For eighteen months our country has been thirsting for this sight. . . . Life arose against them like a tempest of old: death took them and they froze in a last convulsive spasm, pitiful enough amidst an alien land. Lumps of flesh resembling crushed machine parts." This paragraph epitomizes the entire spirit of the book and perhaps of the Russian people at war with a ruthless enemy. Ehrenburg, however, suffers from an excess of emotion, almost pagan in its limitless exuberance. In dramatizing the present and visualizing the future, the author makes such magnificent use of his vitriolic language and sadistic imageries that the reader is sometimes left with a stink in his nostrils—the stink of rotten human flesh; whether the flesh is German or Russian does not really matter much to those who do not share the deep-seated racial animosities and political antagonisms of these two seemingly irreconcilable peoples. Apart from this blemish, Ehrenburg's diary is an unrivalled piece of war commentary and gives a remarkably vivid, though somewhat grim, picture of "Russia at War."

Monindramohan Moulik

ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF INDIA: *By Kali Charan Ghosh. Published by the Indian Associated Publishing Co., Ltd., 8-C, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. Pages 240. Price Rs. 3-12.*

The handy volume contains various information regarding raw materials—agricultural and mineral, land and forest, livestock, ploughs and tractors, trade and commerce, industries, man-power, etc., about India. The *Dictionary of Economic Products of India* by Sir George Watt was published about fifty years ago and the Dictionary of Economic Products which is now under compilation by the Government of India will take sometime to see the light and as such Mr. Ghosh's book as a book of reference will be of great help to the teachers and students of Economics and Commerce and also to public-men and Legislators and the general public interested in the economic development of the country. Vernacular names have been given for identifying materials scattered all over the country and figures given are up-to-date. When post-war planning has been taken up seriously both by the Government and the Industrialists of the country, the publication of this volume is a welcome addition to our Economic literature.

A. B. Dutta

CAPITAL: *By Karl Marx. Puplished by the Saraswati Library, C 18-19 College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 15.*

This is the first Indian edition of the greatest work of modern times, Marx's *Capital*. This book since its publication 1867, has shaken the world to its very foundation. It commands an influence which no other book, besides a scripture or epic, has ever done. The publishers deserve congratulation for bringing out an Indian edition of this monumental work specially at a time when the need for this book is the greatest and the difficulties in the way of its publication are the heaviest. The editor of this work, L. G. Ardnihcas, in his Introduction, has pointed out, this is the English rendering, from the third German Edition of *Das Kapital* edited by Engels, by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. Substantive additions and alterations made in the fourth German edition have been appended to the text in the form of foot-notes. This edition will provide an opportunity to those who desire a first-hand and complete acquaintance with the writings of Marx.

D. Burman

FIFTY YEARS' PILGRIMAGE OF A CONVERT: *By A. S. Appasamy. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India, Post Box 501, Park Town, Madras. Pp. 168. Price fourteen annas.*

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It is an autobiographical sketch of a Hindu who was converted to Christianity. The author was a successful lawyer and at the same time a devout Christian. He earned heaps of money, built large and comfortable houses in different places and received distinguished guests and visitors. He lived in affluence and yet held his communion with God. He had his sons highly educated and well-placed in life but yet he never forgot his Maker. Worldly success did not lure him away from the Author of his life.

It is an interesting—and we might even say, a remarkable—book in several ways. One remarkable thing is that, in spite of his conversion, the author continued his love and respect for whatever was great and good in Hinduism. His regard for Yoga practices is an example to the point. Another remarkable thing about him is his naive faith. One of his regrets in this life was that he could not convert his parents to the faith he had adopted. But he believed that he would perhaps be more successful in the next life. "I shall meet them in the other world," says he, "and continue the good offices which I tried to do to them in this life" (p. 86).

Space forbids us to enter into a discussion of the value of ceremonial conversion and of the belief that spiritual truth belongs exclusively to any one kind of worship or creed. We concede that it takes all sorts to make a world and that there are those who will not agree with us.

The book before us, however, is an informing biographical document and will be read with interest by many.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BENGALI

BANGLA PUTHIR BIBARAN (Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat) Part I: *Compiled by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti. Published by Ramkamal Sinha, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

We accord a hearty welcome to this latest publication of Prof. Chakravarti in the domain of study of manuscripts in which he has earned a well-deserved reputation. In it he describes in a tabular form 1553 manuscripts or about half the collection of Bengali manuscripts belonging to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. The manuscripts arranged according to subjects and authors cover three major branches of old Bengali literature—Ramayana, Mahabharata and Bhagavata. Besides giving formal details, *e.g.*, subject number, serial number, title, author, extent, date and place of copying, the learned compiler has made it a point in the footnotes to draw attention of scholars to special features of particular manuscripts and to previous notices, descriptions and discussions thereon made by others. The method followed is the same as that in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat* published several years back. The labours of Prof. Chakravarti in thus throwing light on the hidden treasures of the manuscripts of the Parishat will be highly appreciated by the world of scholars. The volume under review will be specially useful to scholars dealing with the literature of medieval Bengal.

S.

KONGRESS SANGATHANE BANGALA: *By Chapalakanta Bhattacharya. Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is a welcome addition to the existing Congress literature, written from time to time by well-known writers. Bengal's pioneering efforts for the awakening of political consciousness amongst Indians cannot be forgotten. Its contribution to the formation and growth of the Congress is immense and many-sided. In the book of eighty-six pages, the author has tried to touch on most of this contribution, as for instance, the starting of political organisations on an all-India basis, industrial exhibitions, organisation of volunteer corps, and propounding the ideal of Indian independence. Space being limited, the author's treatment of the subject has been necessarily scrappy. We hope he will be able to do sufficient justice to the subject when normal conditions will set in. Some minor omissions and commissions are noticeable. The Chaitra or Hindu Mela was founded in 1867 and *not* in 1867-68. The Indian Association was founded on the 26th July 1876, and *not* on 1st July 1876. In the section on "The National Newspapers," not to mention *Sambad Cowmudi* of Raja Rammohan Roy, *Samachar Chandrika* of Bhowanicharan Banerjee, *Sambad Bhaskar* of Gaurisankar Tarkabagish, *Somprakas* of Pandit Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan, *The Bengalee* of Girish Chandra Ghose, and last but not the least, *The National Paper* of Nabagopal Mitra, is a glaring omission.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

DOSHI KAUN ?: *By Shambhuratna Dube. Delhi Pustaka Bhandar, Bazar Sitaram, Delhi. Pp. 247. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Here is a novel, the story in which is packed with intellectual and emotional complexes and clashes. The hero-husband is a professor of science, devoted to the pursuit of his particular subject of study; the heroine-wife is a product of modern educational system with its bias for the flashy pleasures of society. The result is a growing discontent, leading to domestic discord against which the hero finds shelter for some time in his laboratory and the heroine in clubs and cocktails and extra-marital contacts. But it is finally resolved by the realization, on the part of the heroine, of what is the secret of basic harmony and happiness, followed by repentance and reconciliation. There is a lot of thrill in the story and also of the "sensationalism," the swiftness and sweep of the screen. As one finishes reading the novel, he is confronted with the question: who was to blame for the rift in the lute of love? The author leans on the side of defective educational idealism and instruction, as is evident from the alternative title of the book: *Vidya-Mandir*. The resolution of the domestic discord is rather too quick and at one or two places the episodes appear to be like "excrescences" on the body of the plot.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARAT SAHITYA SABHA, KARYAVAHI 1942-43: *Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 208 + 15. Price Rs. 3.*

Alone amongst the few Sahitya Sabhas in the Province, the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha of Ahmedabad, has chalked out a line of work, which contributes not only to the addition of diverseness and wideness of the literature but to the attainment of valuableness for all time to come. It deserves the pre-eminent position it has obtained by the genuinely solid work it has been pulling in. It has published about 28 useful books, it has encouraged scholars, year after year, to trace out, review, the literary output of each year and evaluate it. It presents gold medals to deserving scholars, it arranges for speeches, discussions and meetings, all connected with literary questions and we are glad to notice that it meets with a hearty response from writers and scholars in all its efforts. We have nothing but admiration and praise for the Sabha and its work.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Chinese Womanhood

The womanhood of China is very similar to the womanhood of India. Prof. Tan Yun-shan writes in *The Twentieth Century* :

From the Chinese legends, Chinese ancient records, Chinese philology and linguistics, we can see that once upon a time there was a matriarchal system of society in China.

At that time women in China had naturally occupied a higher position than men. But that has substantially changed during the ages passed.

According to the old classics 'Li-Chi' or 'Records of Official Rites', the woman is expected to fulfil three obligations, called "San-Tsung" and she is to be endowed with four virtues, called "Szu-Teh". Her three obligations are : (1) subjection to the father when a maiden, (2) subjection to the husband when a wife, and (3) subjection to the son when widowed. Her four virtues are : (1) chastity and piety, (2) refined and restrained speech and power of pleasant conversation, (3) graceful manners and politeness, and (4) efficiency in domestic duties, like cooking, weaving, sewing and general housewifery.

But in spite of these rules and restrictions, the Chinese women still have maintained their great powers over men at home. The women are the centre of authority at home and their powers are really great,—even more than that of the emancipated women in the West.

Although the purdah system is unknown in China and women go about unveiled, strict decorum is maintained in ordinary social intercourse between the two sexes. Since the establishment of the Chinese Republic, perfect legal equality has been brought about between man and woman.

One important fact which is connected with womanhood is the family system. The Chinese people, like the people of India, lay great stress upon filial piety and personal love and affection, and emphasize brotherhood and friendship. Therefore, they like to live together and form a large family. An ideal family in China is a large home which consists of parents and grand-parents, brothers and their wives, children and grand-children. Such a family is usually called "Wu Tai Tung Tang," which means 'five generations living together in the same hall.' The beauty of such big-family system is the spirit of unity, love, affection, mutual help and co-operation which permeates the family members.

Marriage in China, as in India, is regarded as the most important event in life, so it is also the heaviest burden. In the old days of China marriage was wholly arranged by the parents and go-betweens, both the boy and the girl themselves not being consulted. But in modern times, the young men and young women mostly like to be free from their parents and marry themselves out of mutual love.

The Chinese woman has performed no small task in history and great personalities of Chinese womanhood are not lacking. In ancient times, the wife of the Yellow Emperor, the first emperor who united and ruled the whole country of China nearly five thousand years ago, named 'Lai-Tsu' was the inventor of sericulture.

Eddington

The death of Sir Arthur Eddington will be mourned by the scientific and the non-scientific world equally. N. R. Sen observes in *Science and Culture* :

The latest of the sad news that *Reuter* have brought us is the rather unexpected one of the death of Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington, the world-renowned Astrophysicist, and the greatest Natural Philosopher of England of the present age. We say *unexpected*, as Sir Arthur was only sixty-two, and was not also known to be ailing beforehand. Sir Arthur Eddington's name was not only known to specialists, but was also a familiar one among laymen in all countries. To the ordinary man he was the philosopher who spoke about the mysteries of the universe. He (along with Jeans) has brought modern scientific thought almost to the door of every person by his exquisitely written popular books on modern science and astronomy.

Eddington was born at Kendal on the 28th of December, 1882, and was educated at Owen's College, the necleus of the present Manchester University, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was senior Wrangler (1904), the Smith's Prizeman of the year 1907, and a Fellow of the Trinity College, Cambridge. He started his career as Chief Assistant at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich in 1906, where he continued till 1913. In the same year he was called to Cambridge as the Plumian Professor of Astronomy, and in 1914 he became the Director of the Cambridge Observatory. He worked in these capacities till his death.

Eddington was a member of many British and foreign scientific societies and was awarded the Hopkins Prize of the Cambridge Philosophical Society (1918-21), the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society of the Pacific (1924), and the Henry Draper Medal of the National Academy of Sciences. He was knighted in 1930.

Nearly the whole domain of theoretical astrophysics was the field of his researches, and every branch of this science bears the impress of his Roman hand. In 1919 he led the Solar Expedition to test if the straight path of a ray of light sent out by a star is curved while passing the neighbourhood of a massive body like the

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Sun, as was predicted by Einstein. The announcement of the positive result which he found rang through the world as a discovery of profound significance, and at once brought Einstein's Generalized Theory of Relativity to fame.

Eddington's *debut* in scientific life was made by his analysis of the *double star streams*. Stars in the sky were long known to have motion in space. The Dutch astronomer, Kapteyn, from a deep study of stellar motions, suggested that the stars have a general motion, and there are two fixed directions in which the stars are streaming. Thus the stellar motion may be considered as a general motion along these streams, plus a haphazard motion like that of the molecules of a gas. Eddington analyzed this double stream mathematically. His researches in this line are embodied in his book *Stellar Movement and Structure of the Universe*, which was published in 1914. This pioneer work helped the construction of the present theory of Shapley, Oort and Lindbland, according to which the so-called Milky Way is a spiral nebula about 100,000 light years broad, and about 10,000 light years in thickness, rotating about an axis directed towards the star cloud of Sagittarius.

The theory of the internal constitution of stars, as we understand it at present, is a creation of Eddington.

The equilibrium of gas spheres was previously discussed by Ritter, Lane and very fully by Emden. The real contribution of Eddington to this problem was twofold. He first realized clearly by bringing in his calculations the part which the pressure of radiation plays in this problem. The combined gas and radiation pressure in any part of the gas mass has to contend against the weight of this mass to keep the whole material in equilibrium. The next question which Eddington had to answer was: "How does the pent up radiant energy flow outwards?" Realising the fact that under stellar conditions the energy flows mainly by radiation and not by the usual processes of conduction and convection, Eddington first worked out the equation of Radiative Transfer of Energy in the equilibrium state which obtains in stars. His mathematical theory enabled him to deduce in 1924 a relation between mass and luminosity of stars, which has been entirely supported by observational results. This is known as Mass-Luminosity relation in astrophysical literature. From this it is possible to predict approximately the mass of a star when its luminosity has been measured.

In his study of the internal constitution of stars Eddington came to the conclusion that the atoms within the star are stripped of almost all of their electrons, and move about almost naked devoid of their outer coverings of electrons. This reduces the size of the atoms enormously, so that the stellar material should be capable of showing extremely high compressibility. The theory of dense matter in stars, technically called matter in degenerate state, has subsequently been worked out in fuller details by many workers amongst whom are three Indian astrophysicists Chandrasekhar, Kothari and Majumdar.

The heat and light we receive from the Sun and the stars directly come from their outer envelope. In the case of the Sun it is called the *photosphere*. The radiation from the deep interior of the Sun slowly finds its way into the photosphere in which, specially in its upper part, the characteristic dark line spectrum of the Sun known as Fraunhofer lines is formed. The astrophysical problem is to explain the intensity distribution in the lines and in the background. Eddington worked at this problem and has made substantial contributions towards its solution.

Eddington played a great part in spreading the doctrine of Generalized Relativity in the English-speaking countries.

The internal beauty of the theory and the observational confirmations it received from time to time brought complete conviction in the mind of Eddington about the correctness of the theory, so much so that it entirely determined his subsequent outlook regarding the universe and the cosmos. He was a firm believer in Lemaitre's Cosmology, popularly known as the theory of the Expanding Universe, which he himself developed considerably. In December 1937, Eddington came out to India with other British scientists on the occasion of the Jubilee Celebration of the Indian Science Congress.

Eddington did not stop with the Relativity theory of the gravitational phenomena. He endeavoured to extend it to the theory of electrons and protons. His latest idea was the square of the ratio of the electric and gravitational forces between the electron and the proton is of the order of the number of particles in the universe, which he put down at about 10^{79}

For his grand attempt at a complete understanding of the universe we should call Eddington a philosopher. But his contribution to positive knowledge is not in any way meagre. By his "analytical boring machine" he has opened up the bowels of the stars, from which we have gained definite knowledge about their interior in several respects. He has raised mere speculations into the higher rank of mathematical theories through which contact with observational data has been made possible. He has disseminated the knowledge of the physical world which modern science has gained, among ordinary men through his charming English style and refreshing humour.

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Einstein's Spartan Simplicity

The Indian Readers' Digest observes :

Professor Albert Einstein's life is marked by Spartan simplicity. That is certainly remarkable of a lordly dweller in the remote, cool, abstract world of mathematics. His modest study at Princeton, from which even his family is sternly barred, is furnished only with an unpainted table, a few unpainted shelves, a pencil and paper for his mathematical calculations. Though his salary from the Institute for Advanced Study is 20,000 dollars a year he has never owned a car, fights off his family's efforts to make him buy a new suit, stops only at cheap hotels when he travels.

Such is the intimate pen-picture given in the biography, *Einstein—An Intimate Study of A Great Man*, just published in New York.

Einstein, whose love of music and sailing is well known, also likes to visit 5 and 10 cent stores, admiring their glittering gadgets. When a friend gave him a zipper bag, Einstein delightedly zipped and unzipped it again and again. He hates strenuous exercise and pretentious people. The usual conversational approach of dowagers when introduced to him is to ask him to explain his relatively theory. Einstein sometimes obliges, but reduces them to stunned silence.

At home, Einstein is almost unvaryingly gentle, even-tempered, meekly obedient—and impersonal. He has never tried to explain relativity to his family. His scientific life is strictly solitary. When as often happens even at meal times, he falls into long mathematical reveries, his family is careful not to disturb him.

The Force of Creative Ideas

A regenerate world is a world of regenerate men. Randolphe Louis Megroz writes in *The Aryan Path* :

It should not require a world war to bring home to people the value of the simple enduring things, or the inexhaustible excitement and beauty of life when we do not thwart it. But there was, long before the war again broke out, a strong stream of vital ideas coursing through the strained social fabrics of the world, and the character of post-war climax to so much conflict and destruction is going to be the fateful consequence of the mental fight that has gone on ceaselessly all the time. Not only the cloistered poet but also the more accessible fiction writer as well as the philosophical essayist is willynilly in this world-wide movement, helping or hindering the spreading light. I can think of no better example of a good novelist who is consciously and artistically something more than the story-teller in this sense than the late L. H. Myers. His group of stories set in sixteenth-century India, *The Near and the Far* (including "The Root and the Flower" and "The Pool of Vishnu"), show that he was none-the-less master of the novelist's art by exercising also a noble and intense mind on the problems of human destiny. The means for disseminating ideas are so plentiful and effective today that their influence in even the most secular books must be enhanced.

False ideas also can circulate easily today but that should be a stimulus to those who realise the superior potency of truth. We need, all of us, to go to school again but in a new sense, for after all education is, in respect of the individual, the removal of obstacles to full development, and, in respect of the nation, the improvement of each generation over the preceding one. *In respect of the human race as a whole the most urgent educational step is to realise the brotherhood of man.* Certainly no League of Nations or other great Council alone can establish peace until the spirit of kindness lives in the intelligence as well as in the universal heart of common men. The morality of every institution is always lower than that of the private individual, and if governments are to be spiritually purged, as they must be to achieve the better world we aim at, the change must spring from a noble intelligence in the governed.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Symbol of Japanese Jingoism Passes Away

Theodore D. Walser who spent many years in Tokyo as a missionary-educator writes in the *Worldover Press* about Mitsuru Toyama under the above caption :

Mitsuru Toyama, head of the "Kokuru Kai" (Black Dragon Society) of Japan, died early last month (October, 1944). His death symbolizes the passing of an old order that cannot survive the coming peace.

Toyama never held a government office, seldom made addresses and wrote no newspaper articles. Ignorance of facts about him led to mystery, and mystery led to fear of him. One of his many "Boswells" writes of him, "One is at a loss to know of what his greatness really consists."

This man, influential in Japan among certain classes, was born in 1855 in Fukuoka of a poverty-stricken Samurai ("ancient warrior") family. It is variously reported that the boy, Mitsuru, sold sweet potatoes and mended wooden clogs in his youth. Nothing certain is known about his education.

While yet in his 'teens," he joined one of the many societies agitating for the conquest of Korea. These several societies finally succeeded in their propaganda. In about 1876, Takamori Saigo, often called "The Great Saigo," fomented the Satsuma Rebellion, was defeated and later killed himself, but the youthful Toyama was arrested and later released, as having been indefinitely related to the plot.

Soon afterwards, Toyama consulted with Itagaki (later Count), who was reportedly a progressive and who advised Toyama that modern technique required developing the minds of the great "hoi polloi" by education, propaganda and speech-making. As a result, "Aikokusha" (the "Love Country Association") was established. One of its objectives was a demand for parliamentarianism. In 1891, the government yielded, and a constitution providing for a parliament was granted. Whereupon, perhaps characteristically, Toyama refused to run for a seat in the new House of Representatives, but instead founded his own "Dojo" (seminary for the training of youth).

There is much evidence that Toyama was active in the coalition between the "Genyosha," of which he was a member, and the government, in their joint opposition to the parties in the election of 1892, when terrorism was utilized to secure votes.

In the early 1890's, there was a demand for increased armaments (did this help to foment the war with China that came five years later?) and for a stiffer foreign policy. The ultimate goal was the abolition of the inequitable extra-territoriality that had been fastened upon Japan at the time her ports were opened and against which all Japanese chafed. Prince Ito, the Premier, and Count Okuma, the Foreign Minister, were visited by Toyama, who objected to their negotiations with the treaty powers and demanded action. Later, an attempt was made to assassinate Okuma. It failed. Who perpetrated this outrage, no one knew. But Toyama was arrested and then released for lack of evidence.

Rumour has it (unproven, of course, like many rumours about this mysterious figure) that he was unscrupulous in the acquisition of wealth and generous in the dispensing of it. Near the turn of the century, Toyama organized an anti-Russian society, and, when the Russo-Japanese War broke out, he secured for a score or so of his henchmen positions in the War Office of the government. There his influence was felt.

In 1911, Toyama founded the "Union of the Friends of the Chinese Revolution," but Yuan Shih Kai accused this union of plotting to seize Manchuria. When Sun Yat Sen's final revolt crashed, Sun fled to Japan, and, in spite of governmental opposition, he found asylum in Toyama's home.

Of the proletariat and a friend of the proletariat, Toyama again showed his power when, during World War I, Rash Behari Bose, an agitator for Indian independence and a fugitive from British justice, fled to Japan. The Japanese Government, at the request of the British Government, ordered him to leave the country. Bose sought and secured safety in Toyama's house. Today Bose is working, through Toyama's "Friends of India" group, some meetings of which I attended while in Japan, for freedom of India and the release of all Asiatics from Western domination.

In 1932, supposedly at the instigation of General Araki, Toyama's house was raided and searched by the police. Toyama's son was arrested, but Toyama himself was not molested. Was this a warning to him?

Until death, Toyama's venerable and bearded figure could be seen at almost every patriotic gathering. At these meetings, he would preside over the important function of giving three "Banzai" for the Empire. One of his biographers records Toyama's opinions as follows : "Each state has the right to display its national glory and splendor and work out its own destiny. Each state must therefore have the armaments necessary for the realization of this supreme object. No power can check the westward march of our civilization. China and Japan must be like brothers."

Toyama's sun has set, and in the future there will be no Toyamas in Japan. if the war results in a just and righteous peace, with Japan and all nations in Asia provided the essentials of material prosperity, with Japan and all nations in Asia enjoying the effects of self-determination, having a place in the family of nations, and with responsibility for maintaining peace and order. In such an atmosphere, the Toyamas of Japan would languish and die.—*Worldover Press.*

African Art

In the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* H. Clarence Whaite writes under the above caption :

Contact with the early and varied forms of children's art has enlarged my interest and appreciation of the art of the African, who seems to have succeeded to a remarkable degree in maintaining the spirit, vitality, and sensibility of a child-like vision in his work even as an adult and mature craftsman.

He has amazing sensibility and feeling and equally amazing skill in creative expression.

There is also a parallel of the wholeness of the art in the life of the African, and in the life of the young child. The arts in Africa were not kept in watertight compartments, but were an essential force in life itself. The African found delight in many forms of artistic expression including carving, modelling, weaving, pottery, painting, music, singing and dancing; all of which were intimately linked up with his every-day life, physical and spiritual. This is equally true of children

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for whom the imaginative life is of real and absorbing interest.

Nor must we make the mistake of regarding these African peoples as savages without any history or civilisation. The researches of Frobenius and the Meyorowitzs, among others, have traced their history and contacts back to Byzantine times.

Let us turn to look at the background of experience of the African whose work we are considering.

He lived very close to nature, lived simply, and had ample time for long and continuous application to his creative work. It is probably very difficult for us to conceive any idea of his fear of the unknown, or how much fear entered into the occupation of his mind.

The African lived side by side with the jungle in all its density and in which grew some magnificent trees. And what must the jungle have meant to the childlike mind of the African! Camouflaged creatures of the jungle, hovering insects, and all the patterned reptiles. In addition, the recurring catastrophes of drought and fire, and loss of his crops. Europe has experienced something of the same terror in another form during these war years.

The African felt the need of a faith, something stable, gods to whom he could turn with hope of help. This took, among other things, the form of the worship of the fetish, the representation of the spirit to be appeased or placated.

Like the Greek and the Christian the African conceived his gods in semblance of human form with this main difference that he was far less concerned with the correct anatomical proportions of his statues. For the African the idea, the design, was the important consideration.

He was aware of the richness and variety of pattern in the world around him, in the tracery of bough and foliage, in shells, feathers and skins. He loved to cicatrise his own skin in rich arrangement of pattern.

All the experiences of nature through all his senses found expression in his art, in the pattern and structure and thatching of his hut, his ceremonial masks, hair dressing and the making of many objects of everyday use.

Sex, and the maintenance of the race against the many destructive elements, occupied his mind and there seems little doubt that the African believed in the continued spiritual existence of his ancestors.

It has been stated that he believed he had two souls, one which left the body in dreams, the other at death.

This belief in spirits finds expression in the spiritual quality of much of the African statues.

In addition to his experience of pattern in nature, he had unique opportunity for observing, unselfconsciously, the bronzed forms of his fellow-creatures.

He was surrounded by magnificent trees, whose tall column-like boles must have impressed themselves on his mind.

Stone was scarce and it was in these boles that the African conceived his statues. Wood was his staple building material too, and he must have felt its shapes and surfaces as well as seen them during the turning of it into many articles for which it was used.

In this way he experienced something vital of the third dimension. Through a developed sense of touch he came to understand and grasp the significance of elemental forms in nature.

The African, like the child, is not in the least concerned with imitating the world around him, but rather with creating a real world of his own. In the process of doing this his mind selects for emphasis from the vast and infinite variety of inspiration in nature those aspects which impressed themselves upon him.

This emphasis naturally leads to distortion of figures from the camera-like point of view.

Like a child, the African is able to transcribe ideas into the material used. He sees boundless possibilities for creative work in materials and directions which people living in the complex and conventional surroundings of modern civilisation are quite unaware. We have much to learn from the African in this respect. Indeed, it is only as a result of the awakened perception of a few of our greatest artists that the genius of the African has been recognised during the last half century.

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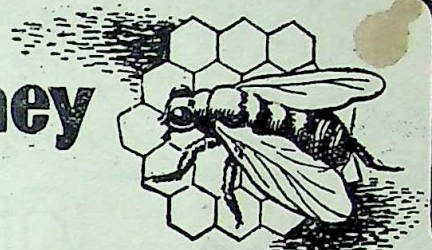

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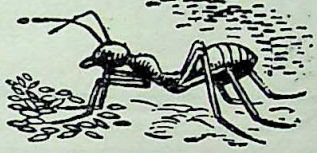

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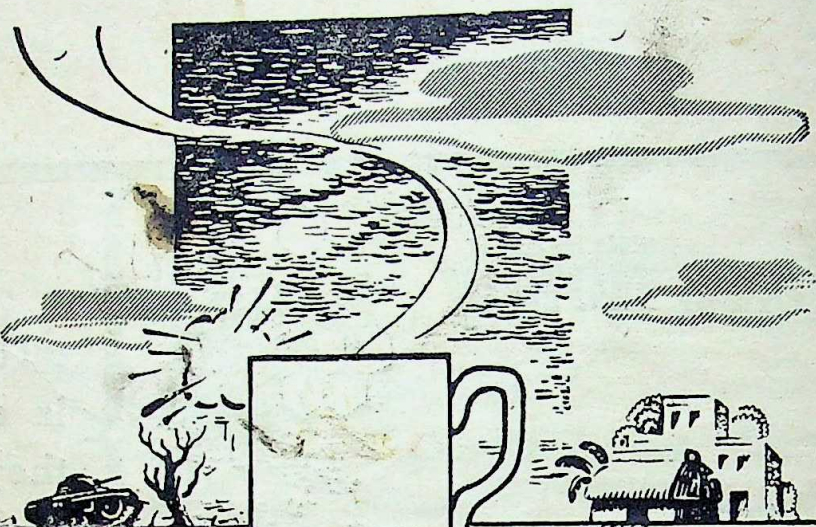

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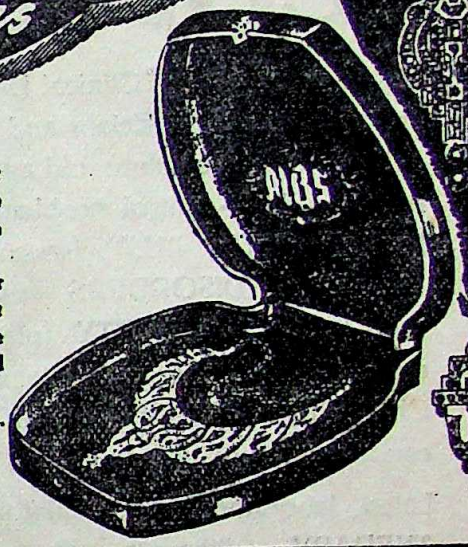

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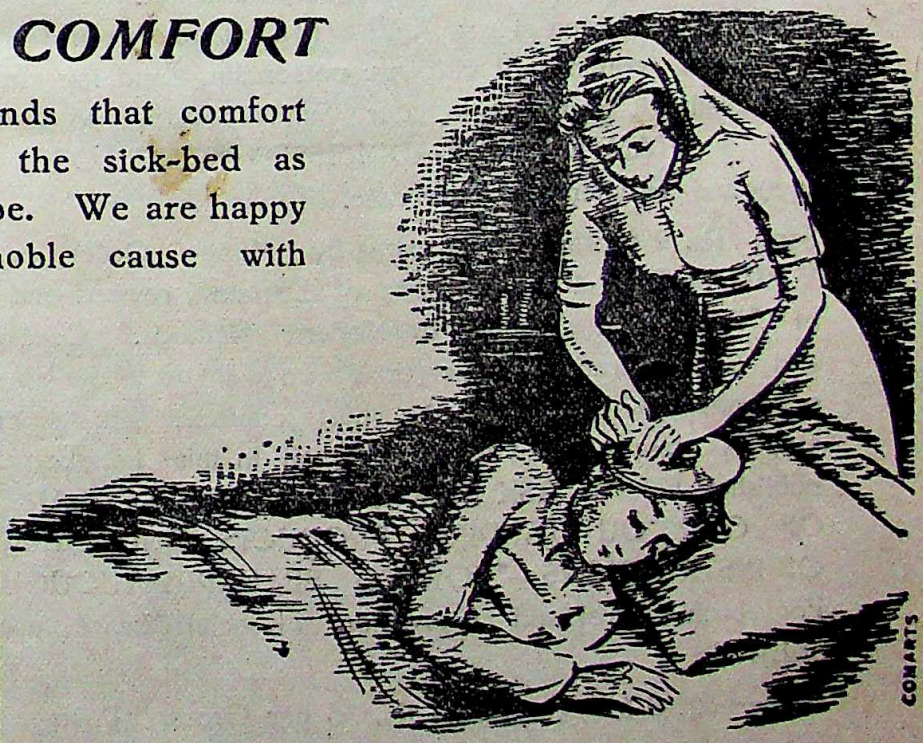

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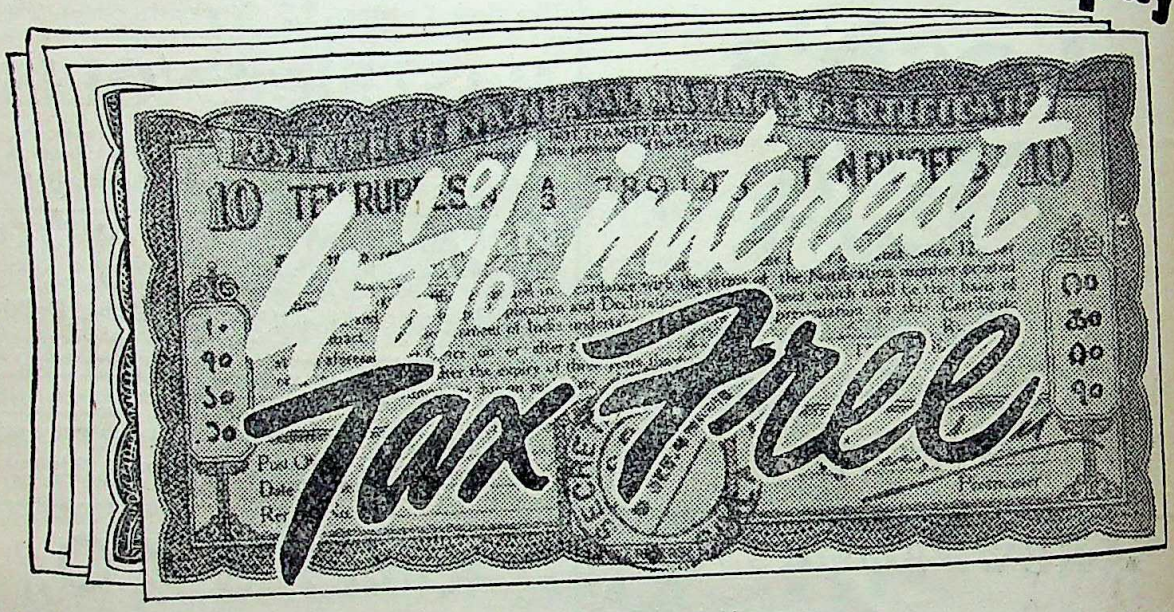

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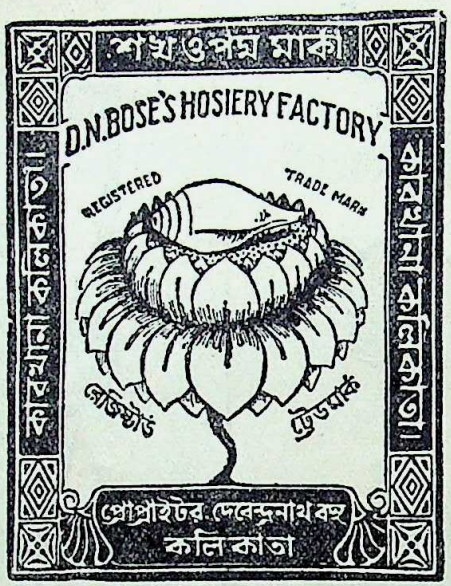

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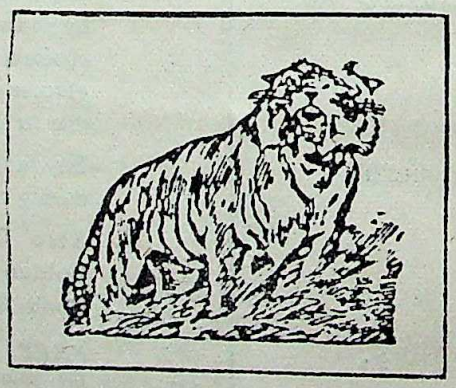

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH 1945

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NOTES

American Exposure of British Propaganda

A revealing report of an interesting radio discussion by four persons arranged by the American Forum of the Air on "What's holding back India's Freedom?" has been received. How tendentious British propaganda fails before the arguments of knowing Americans can be seen in the course of the debate. Sir Frederick Puckle, Adviser on Indian Affairs to the British Embassy having to face the truth, got into temper on some occasions and was promptly rebuked. The Indian case was well presented by American Socialists. There were four speakers, Sir Frederick Puckle; Mr. Norman Thomas, a Socialist leader; Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York and Mr. S. M. Ahmad, Indian trade consultant and American correspondent of the Orient Press.

Sir Frederick, in a characteristic imperialist way, boiled down his question to this: "Who is going to take delivery of India's freedom from the British and under what arrangements? A problem in practical politics for Indians to solve."

Mr. Thomas followed him and said: "In the imagination of the world India long has been the crown and symbol of Empire. It is Imperialism which holds back not only the freedom of India but the peace of the world. Divided as India may seem to be, all parties are agreed in demanding freedom. The failure of the British Government to use Indian mercenaries in the invasion of Burma is further objective proof of its fear of the people."

The third man to speak was Mr. Ahmad. In the Muslim League propagandist style, he made the most unjustified flings at the Congress, Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru. Finally he said: "The Moslems, the orthodox Hindus, the princes, the untouchables, labour, farmers, socialists, communists and various other minorities have arranged themselves against the Gandhi-Nehru Congress party. I make this bold statement that Hindu Brahmins and upper castes with the help of the British are holding back freedom for all India."

Congressman Celler, the fourth speaker, made a direct hit. He said: "Yes, there are poverty and disease in India. Agriculture and industry have not reached the highest point of development. There are divisions of class and caste. I point these out because these are the very arguments that are advanced for keeping India a subject nation. This is how India has fared, ruled from above and from outside. An absentee-landlord sends its overseers—who must somehow manage to keep their jobs—to attend to the needs not of the inhabitants but of the employer, exact tribute, divide the interest, keep the level of living low, but remember to tell them that it is for their own good. No unbridgable chasm exists in India to keep the people divided and render them unfit for self-government. There are more minorities, more unrelated languages spoken in the United States, more variance in custom and belief in the United States than there is in India and yet out of the amalgam a mighty nation was forged."

Churchill on India's Future

Following the statements, the debate opened, Sir Frederick Puckle and Mr. Ahmad were both put to tight corners. Quoting Churchill, Congressman Celler asked a straight question:

> "I want to ask our distinguished visitor from British Embassy this question: You try to distinguish between the Cripps offer and the statement made by Mr. Churchill at Mansion House. I will give you another statement. Mr. Churchill said, "Except as an ultimate visionary goal, dominion status for India would not then happen in any now foreseeable period. The loss of India would consummate the downfall of the Empire. If we lost India, two million bread-winners in Britain would be tramping the streets and queing up at the Labour Exchange."
>
> Sir Frederick Puckle: Will you give me the date and place of that last sentence?
>
> Congressman Celler: 1935 and 1940.
>
> Sir Frederick Puckle: No the last one about the two million people in the breadlines.
>
> Congressman Celler: 1935, and the other one—
>
> Sir Frederick Puckle: I have looked for it and I can't find it, and I don't believe it.
>
> Congressman Celler: But Mr. Churchill still believes that India is the subject of Barracks Room Ballads, and that is why we have no faith whatever in the Cripps offer, just as we could have no faith whatever in the offer made by Lord Montagu

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twenty-five years ago or in the offer made about ten years ago. They all have the same situation. It is always around the corner in India. Try to get it!

One of Mr. Ahmad's categorical statement, that the Moslems and other minority sects constituted together a majority of the population, was sternly challenged by Mr. Thomas to which Mr. Ahmad could not reply. He said: "I have not read anything anywhere to support Mr. Ahmad's figures, for instance, as to the size of the respective populations in India." He also pointed out that Mr. Ahmad had not been in India for twenty years and that "he has sources of information that no one else has."

Pakistan and Mercenary Troops

Replying to a question whether the demand of the Moslems for a separate State was the stumbling block to independence, Congressman Celler said: "There is no doubt it was a stumbling block, and that was in the Cripps offer. To my mind, the Cripps offer was naught but a gold brick. It was deliberately fashioned so as to receive a negative vote from all parties. Even your Moslem League rejected it. All parties in India rejected the Cripps offer. It was like a green apple that agreed with no one. The Cripps offer contained a provision for independence in future. Now we know offers of that sort have been made many times before. When the Indians want to grasp their independence, they always find it around the corner and they know the promises made by Imperialistic Britain are like pie cast, they break readily."

Addressing Sir Frederick, Mr. Thomas said: "It is precisely in this war that something big was needed to show you trust the Indian people, who are certainly not supporting the War. You don't use your mercenary troops on any large scale aggressively but only in defence." Sir Frederic said: "There is one thing I do want to take up at once. I can hardly sit here and hear Indian troops called mercenaries." Congressman Celler retorted: "General Stilwell said they were mercenaries." Mr. Thomas then continued: "That is what your *Hindustan Times* said. Mercenaries can be brave. The Swiss mercenaries were brave for the Bourbon kings. No one in India enlists out of patriotism. He enlists out of bitter poverty. Some say to get military training. I can quote you Indian papers that use the word 'mercenary.' There was a time when that was not considered so disgraceful and if they were not mercenaries, why was General Wavell, before he became Viceroy, so exceedingly opposed to even an attempt to invade Burma and why did General Stilwell while he was in this country say if the Indian question could be settled, Burma could be rapidly conquered?"

Sir Frederick could not reply.

Anti-Indian Propaganda among British Troops

The latest sample of anti-Indian propaganda carried on among British troops by specially selected army officers is furnished by the *Fighting Forces*, a British army journal. In its December issue just received in India is published *Lecture on India* by Lt.-Col. Crocker who writes what he lectures to troops on India.

The following gems from the lecture have been quoted by the *National Call*:

"Hindus are the most undemocratic people in the world and are directly opposed to the Muslims.

"Indians themselves are descended from alien races who invaded the country many centuries ago and have little more right to be there than the British.

"War has affected India in many ways and almost entirely for her good and her history tells us that she has never been able to defend herself against outside invasion until the arrival of the British.

"How will Indian government deal with internal strife without impartial British troops."

Another question which he asks his audience is "How will they deal with inroads by wild Pathan tribes from the North-West Frontier who would regard the withdrawal of British as a direct invitation to repeat their national pastime of looting."

"I leave my audience with consideration of these problems to think over for themselves and tell them once more that they personally will be responsible for the future of India."

More tell-tale quotations from this lecture could be reproduced showing what sort of propaganda is being carried on against India and her political future since the lecturer mentions the Cripps offer and why it was turned down. The lecture also details blessings of the British Raj and how it eradicated famine, poverty, disease and universal ignorance which were the natural order of things and nothing was done for the people.

When it is noted that this propaganda is being carried on among troops who are reminded that they are "the men who are thus ignorant of one of the greatest countries of the British Empire and are responsible for its well-being and govern it through men whom they sent to Parliament to represent them," its obvious purpose becomes clearer. Comments are needless.

Cost of Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

In our February number, an account of the nature of anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America has been given. In reply to a question put by Mr. Abdul Qaiyum the cost of such propaganda has been revealed. Mr. Qaiyum asked if it was a fact that Rs. 25 lakhs were being spent annually on propaganda there. Sir Olaf Caroe gave the figure as Rs. 4,51,245 for the current year. Mr. K. C. Neogy asked if in addition to such allowances, the Agent-General had an allotment for secret service funds at his disposal. Sir Olaf denied it. But the full value of such propaganda may not be ascertained from this interpellation. The share that the India Office bears has not yet been published.

Mahasabha and the League to Send Propagandist in America?

The foregoing summary of the debate conclusively shows that the Indian case has been very ably presented in the U.S.A. and responsible and leading Americans are coming forward to defend India's demand for freedom. Any communal propaganda done there will greatly harm India's cause and will only strengthen the local case of the British Imperialists. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League have both decided to send propagandists across the Atlantic. Even this short summary of the debate shows that the League has no

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there, even the figures presented by the League champion were carefully scrutinised and challenged. The Americans themselves have voiced against the Pakistan idea. It will, therefore, not only be needless but positively harmful to India's cause if our communal bickerings are transferred on American soil. Sardar J. J. Singh, the devoted President of the India League of America who has achieved eminent success in presenting the true case for India on that hemisphere, has very strongly opposed the idea of sending Mahasabha and League publicists to America. We quote his opinion below and hope that the Mahasabha at least will have the wisdom to refrain from any such action. Mr. J. J. Singh, the President of the India League of America, told *Reuter* that the reported plan of the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha representatives to come to the United States and present two viewpoints would be a 'Tragic Move'.

He said, "Such a move would harm the cause of freedom. It would be playing into the hands of British propagandists in this country. The propaganda line of British here is that it is differences between Hindus and Muslims that are in the way of India's freedom and not British Imperialism.

The presentation of communal views in America will weaken India's case and strengthen the British case.

My countrymen must realise that India is a pawn in the game of world politics. India's fate and future is being decided in conferences like Teheran and Yalta, and not in New Delhi.

India's case is very strong because India's right is the inherent right of men to be free. Let us not spoil it with narrow communal or party considerations."

Bertrand Russell Demands Release of Indian Leaders

Mr. Bertrand Russell, in an exclusive interview with the *United Press of America* correspondent, in answer to a question as to what the British Government should do now to solve the Indian deadlock, stated: "I should say that the British Government should state quite unequivocally in a declaration that India should be given independence, at a definite date—after the war against Japan was over—say, twelve months after that.

"Moreover, I say that all the people in prison should be let out now, if they don't hamper war effort. I have great affection for Nehru but I found him in the time of crisis always siding with Gandhi when he ought to take a definite stand. Additionally, negotiations should be reopened and kept open until a settlement was achieved."

Asked whether he is in favour of a new approach to India, whereby India's confidence in Britain could be won and which could destroy the 'notion' that the Cripps proposals were made because of the reverses in Malaya and Burma, Mr. Russell answered: "The Cripps proposals, with a plain clarification, must be made known unequivocally and emphatically and America should be invited to support such clarified proposals.

"Many people do not believe that the Cripps proposals are still open as they have not been reiterated very much more emphatically which would carry conviction. We can find some way out of it so that there will be no doubts of genuineness of the offer.

I sincerely feel and advocate for a 'new approach'."

Asked what friends of Indian independence in America and Britain could do and should do to bring about a settlement with India, Mr. Russell said that they should make a political agitation of the present facts to the people and explain India's case and educate public opinion.

He expressed the belief that a change in the Government of Britain would be necessary in order to achieve a settlement. People in India also hold the same view that so long as the present Cabinet remains in power in the U.K., no solution of the Indian problem is likely to be reached.

Congress-League Talks Again

With unabated zeal, the Congress pursues its erroneous policy of placating the Muslim League. The failure of C. R. propaganda and the Gandhi-Jinnah talks have not discouraged the Congress. In spite of occasional snubs, Mr. Desai continues to strive for appeasing the League, this time through its Secretary, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan. In pursuing this policy of appeasement of the reactionary forces, the Congress has let the progressive Muslims badly down. A strong distrust of this one and only anti-Imperialist body is taking root among the progressive Muslims due to the faulty leadership of the Congress. The Muslim supporters of the Congress have been practically thrown to the wolves. The Congress may forgive the Muslim Leaguer, but it is certain that the League is not going to forgive their opponents just because of the fact that they are brothers-in-faith. It is now plain knowledge that the League maintains its power in Bengal and Assam through the political black-market in jobs and contracts. When normal conditions are restored and ration shops, the A.R.P., the Civil Supplies Department, war contracts and government purchases are no longer in existence, the League will soon begin to crumble. Victory in some bye-elections is no indication of popularity, it can be easily achieved by a party in power which has very large scope for the distribution of favours. The latest voting in the Bengal Assembly on the cloth famine adjournment motion shows that the Opposition still holds an almost 40 per cent strength which is no mean achievement in the midst of a deluge of jobs, favours and even hard-cash in the shape of contracts.

The Congress has made the initial blunder in their communal policy by not studying the conditions of the masses. The present-day communal rivalry and antagonism is not the whole truth, it is a mere passing phase of a dangerous policy played in the interests of British Imperialism. This antagonism is fomented and maintained with the help of the self-seeking henchmen of the Imperialist. An intensive and thorough study of the Hindu-Muslim relations during the past centuries would certainly have debarred the Congress from its policy of appeasement and surrender to the protagonists of the very power which it seeks to displace.

The Two-Nation Theory Exploded

Dr. Kalikinkar Dutt, in his *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah* has given a good account of how the Hindu and the Muslim communities had lived side by side for centuries together and had borrowed each other's ideas and customs. Hinduism had patiently withstood the onrush of the militant forces of Islam without

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losing its assimilative power and as soon as the storm had subsided, it cast its influence on the followers of Islam. Similarly, the influence of Islam also affected the Hindu society to some extent. With the gradual increase in the number of Hindu converts and with the disappearance of the feelings of bigotry from the minds of the masses, this process of assimilation and interchange of customs and thoughts drew the two communities closer. Dr. Dutt has cited some illustrations of this mutual assimilation of customs and thought even in the age of the great orthodox Emperor Aurangzeb. Alawal, a Muslim poet, translated into Bengali the Hindi poem *Padmavat* and wrote several poems on Radha and Krishna in the 17th century. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen writes in his *History of Bengali Language and Literature* : "The manuscripts of *Padmavat* hitherto obtained, all belong to the border lands of Aracan in the backwoods of Chittagong, copied in Persian characters and preserved by the rural Muhammadan folk of those localities." This certainly indicates how far the taste of the Muslims was imbued with Hindu culture. Dr. Sen tells us that this book with lengthy disquisitions on Hindu theology and Sanskrit rhetoric has been strangely preserved, ever since Aurangzeb's time, by Muslims who copied, read and admired this poem. In Kshemananda's *Manasamangala*, written towards the latter part of the 17th century, there is a pssage which tells us that in the steel chamber prepared for Lakshinder, a copy of the holy Koran was kept along with other sacred charms to avert Manasa Devi's wrath. Dr. Dutt shows that this process of mutual assimilation had greatly advanced by the middle of the 18th century when the British came and began their attempt to establish political supremacy in Bengal. The *Holi* festival was enjoyed by Nawab Sirajuddowla and other princes. In the *Seir-ul-Mutakkharin* it has been recorded that on one occasion Nawab Mirjafar crossed the Ganges with all the gentry of the town and engaged himself in enjoying the *Holi*. Again, on his death-bed, Mirjafar drank a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol of Kiriteswari. The Muslims offered *puja* in Hindu temples, and the Hindus offered *sirni* at Mahommedan mosques and dargahs. Dr. Sen has pointed out that "in Chittagong this fusion of ideas and interchange of customs and usages seem to have reached its highest point. In a Bengali poem called the *Behula Sundari*, written by Hamidullah of Chittagong, we read that the Brahmins who had assembled to find out an auspicious day for the hero's journey abroad consulted the Koran for the purpose . . . Aptabuddin, another Muhammadan poet of Chittagong, who wrote a poem called *Jamil Dilaram* in 1750, writes that his hero, who was a Muhammadan, went to the nether worlds to seek a boon from Saptarsis or the seven sages of the Hindus." The numerous poems on *Satya Pira* illustrate how this interchange of ideas and curtoms had long ago led to the evolution of a common god.

This fusion of ideas and cultures continued undisturbed among the Hindu and Muslim masses even at the time when bitter relations prevailed in the Court circles. In the sphere of ordinary life, the two communities were living side by side in harmony and mutual attachment. This fusion continued not in Bengal alone, but it extended all over India. Prince Dara translated the Upanishads into Persian. This Persian translation of the Upanishads opened a new vista of Indian philosophy in Europe through an Italian translation. This Italian translation of the *Oupanekhat* fell into the hands of the celebrated German philosopher Schopenhauer, whose writings since then were imbued with Indian philosophical ideas. Faizi, a poet in the Moghul Court translated the *Mahabharata* into Persian. The *Bhagavad-gita* was also translated into Persian. Malik Muhammad Jaisi, a Muslim poet of the United Provinces wrote an epic poem on the Rajput princess *Padmini* in Hindi written in Persian characters. It was this poem which, as stated before, had been translated into Bengali by the Muslim poet Alawal.

This condition of mutual trust and confidence continued till the opening of the twentieth century. The masses had their differences in religion and sects no doubt, but that did not stand in the way of the enjoyment of a peaceful and friendly common life. They had the same language and the same script. Urduisation of the Bengali language in the name of the protection of Muslim culture is of a very recent growth, a development of the twentieth century Imperialist need. In the economic field, the masses, in spite of their apparent differences in religion, found that conditions for the earning of their livelihood were the same. Mutual assistance between the two communities in the pursuit of their vocations were necessary and did in fact prevail. An unbiassed and intensive study of the masses would, therefore, convince anybody with an open mind that the two-nation theory is a myth, a dangerous cancer imported from outside and injected into our body politic and social structure.

First Breach in the British Period

It was the British Imperialist policy of divide and rule that created the first effective breach between the two communities. Cow-slaughter and music before mosque came as the first slogans of division. When these two lost their force, they were replaced by two more—representation on public bodies and in the services. Although these slogans were raised in the name of Muslim interests, in reality they served the ends of the Muslim Leaguers alone. Since 1937, the Muslim League had nursed a party grievance which they were quick to turn into a communal grievance. The Congress Governments were the first targets. Congress provinces being largely Hindu in colour most of the appointments naturally went to the Hindus. Muslim members of the Congress got their share, but members of the Muslim League got little or nothing. The party grievance was quickly turned into a communal one. They did not say, "Why don't you give appointments to Muslim Leaguers?" but "why don't you appoint Muslims?"—a far more effective battle cry. Impartial political observers like Horace Alexander have seen through this political game of the League. In the Muslim majority provinces, this battle cry has now practically lost its force as the public bodies and services have already been surcharged with the supporters of the party in power, which just for the present happens to be the League. The last battle cry of despair had therefore to be raised, the cry of the Pakistan—an undefined mirage. The Muslim League, a creation of British Imperialism with Government support, continues to serve the ends of British Imperialism.

India a Vast Prison-house

Mr. Amery voiced Imperialist sentiments when he expressed disagreement with Mrs. Pandit's statement

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that India was a vast prison-house and that religious differences did not substantially exist in India. The Imperialist idea of a paradise may not always be in keeping with the common people's view-point. The Andamans were once described by an astute Home Member of the Government of India as an "earthly paradise" when there were claims for the repatriation of political prisoners from that penal island. Mrs. Pandit was more than justified in describing India as a vast concentration camp. It was an English poet who wrote "Stone walls do not a prison make" and it needed an English Government to prove the bitter truth of this poetic statement. In a concentration camp, a prisoner has no freedom of person, no right of property and no liberty of communication. In India, all over the country to-day, freedom of person is completely non-existent,—anybody and everybody may be arrested and imprisoned at the sweet will of the authorities on the report of a police spy. Not even the semblance of a trial is needed to deprive a person of his liberty and nobody knows when he is going to be so deprived. Hundreds of innocent people are being trampled to death by special types of lorries and even the Indian Legislative Assembly is helpless to stop this slaughter. Freedom of movement, an essential corollary of the freedom of person, is now an impossibility owing to the acquisition of the means of transport by the agents of an absentee landlord. Right to property has been blown to pieces. Villages are asked to quit their ancestral homes on a few hours' notice. Thousands and lakhs of small traders like boat-men and fisher-men are deprived of the only means of their livelihood at the orders of a panicky Governor. Defence of India Rules prevent new entrants in trade and industry in most of the fields thus depriving the coming generation of their means of livelihood. Privacy of correspondence has been completely taken away. The concentration camp type of censorship has been imposed practically all over the country. The recent debate in the Central Assembly on the sale of Savings Certificates shows that concentration camp brand of torture is widely in application in many of the provinces. Just as in a concentration camp the prisoners' supplies are at the mercy of the official contractors, similarly people all over India are completely at the mercy of black marketeers thriving under the wings of the Government.

Mrs. Pandit's second assertion that no religious differences existed in India is also equally true. We have already shown that Hindu and Muslim masses lived side by side for centuries together in peace and unity. Neither the Hindu nor the Muslim Governments had ever imposed any political or educational disability on members of the different religion as England had done on her Catholic population. It required an Act of Parliament to emancipate the Catholics. No crusade of the Christian type has ever been fought in India. Hindus and Muslims differed from each other in religion but not as human beings dubbing each other as heretics.

Cloth Famine in Bengal

With the continuous expansion in the cost and establishment of the Civil Supplies Department of Bengal, miseries of the people continue to grow. Price of rice rules at a level four to five times higher than the normal, while thousands of tons of valuable food-stuff rot in Government godowns under the supervision of highly paid officials. Drug famine, coal famine and cloth famine continue with unabated fury. Cloth and coal are not obtainable at the open counter. Black-marketeers continue to thrive under the protecting wings of the Government.

An adjournment motion brought in the Bengal Legislative Assembly to discuss the cloth famine has been defeated. The Opposition mustered by votes which shows that in the midst of the political black marketing there are at least five dozen honest men in the Bengal Legislature who had the honesty and courage to record their votes against a Ministry which thrives on jobbery, black-marketeering and corruption. The Civil Supplies Minister miserably failed to convince the House or the public outside that the famine was not due to their fault. The fact remains unchallenged that this Ministry failed to secure adequate quota for clothing in Bengal which falls far short of other provinces. It is certain that Bengal's case was not pressed home. Distribution through novices and a favoured class has proved an absolute curse. At every step of distribution of essential commodities, the present Ministry has interfered with the normal channels of trade and transport. Special types of distributors have been created only to prey upon the people of this no-man's land like so many special types of lorries crushing the Calcutta pedestrians to death. It is high time that these blood-sucking leeches on Bengal's body politic should be torn away.

The Bengal Budget

The Bengal Budget has been presented with a huge deficit. Rs. 13½ crores alone account for loss in food transactions. Rs. 5 crores have been budgeted for the construction of boats under two careerist Hungarian Jews who have had no experience or knowledge of boat construction or boat trade.

Had the boat constructions been made by the village carpenters with some financial aid from the Government, there would surely have been much less wastage and better work would certainly have been done.

Rs. 4 crores have been provided for the A.R.P. while the masters of the Ministry, the European Group, have expressed the belief that the blackout in Calcutta should immediately go.

Confusion of accounts in regard to Government transactions in foodstuff is apparent. Great pains have been taken to make them as vague as possible. In the original budget estimate for rice transactions we find an estimated surplus of Rs. 13 crores but in a Revised Estimate for the same year this surplus has been converted into a loss of more than Rs. 30 crores! Sale-proceeds of rice have not been clearly shown; a vague item 'other receipts' cover the receipt side. Such gross discrepancy between the original and the revised estimates indicates that either the persons in charge of preparing the estimates are completely unworthy of the job allotted to them or that there is reason for a grave suspicion of a cooking of accounts. The revelations recently made by the Auditor-General of India about the keeping of Accounts in Bengal under the direct superintendence of the Governor must give the public cause for suspicion. The tendency to evade original budgets by placing a supplementary at suitable moments is highly condemnable and thoroughly undemocratic.

The Finance Minister has waxed eloquent on rehabilitation expenditure but has remained completely silent about the detailing of any programme. Of a total of Rs. 169 lakhs for rehabilitation, Rs. 155 lakhs have

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been left completely undefined under the head Famine. In the famine expenditure itself one finds that Rs. 90 lakhs have been provided towards meeting salaries and expenditures of the establishment which will distribute only Rs. 50 lakhs as gratuitious relief. One wonders what portion of Rs. 155 lakhs will go to the actual needy if it is spent on the same proportion, *i.e.*, if 65 per cent of the total is reserved for salaries and establishments.

An impartial scrutiny of the budget taking into account its receipts and the normal heads of expenditure will convince any sensible man that this budget could be immensely improved only if the reins of Government are taken out from the present set of incapables—and worse—and handed over to a set of honest men with drive and imagination.

Yalta

As the war drags on to the end of its orbit, the veiled under-currents of Power Politics are slowly eddying on to the surface. The "Big Three" have met and held conclave beyond the range of the public's eye. As on previous occasions, this time too we have been told that the conclusions arrived at, were settled in mutual harmonious accord, and for all we know that may be the truth. For the ways of the Great, like that of an eagle in the air or a serpent on a rock, are beyond the ken of the average mind. Our own ancients advised us not to put any faith on the words of kings, and now it seems to kings we should add dictators and presidents. A poem, addressed "To the Leaders of the Allied Nations," by Edna St. Vincent Millay that has appeared in *The New York Times Magazine* of January 21, 1945, seems so cogent that we make no apologies to our readers for quoting it substantially in these columns :

Do you deceive us? Do you? Yes? No?
Speak. It is time to speak. You have talked
enough.

This was a war for Freedom; so we thought it;
And so we fought it.
You knew this, all of you.
You promised us a new
World—a decent one this time, a world a man
might live in without shame.
How is it going forward, this great enterprise,
this plot
To outwit Evil?—Are the blueprints done?
And may we see them? No? Why not?

"The time is not yet ripe," you state.
We say: "The time is ripening fast."
We say: "Before the time is ripe, the time will
rot
At the core, too late
For harvesting, the proper moment passed."—

* * * *

What do you plot
In camera, behind closed doors?—
Something that we,
Your loyal citizens and subjects, doing our
distasteful chores,
Not without, here and there, some bravery,
Would work, would die (for so you have con-
cluded) more contentedly
If we do not,
Than if we should know?

For I have heard soft footfalls here and there
Running along beside the deeds you do,
Of some most furtive thing.
What can this creature be?—
Expediency?
Steel? Iron? Oil-Wells?
Intrigue? Cartels?
Come, fetch us forth its name!
We have a mighty, nagging wish to know.

* * * *

But you have said soft words, to put to sleep
The minds of people that were thinking deep
Of what great issues This War must decide
If it, in any way, be justified.
Have you some pattern, you,
Our private sacrifice, our love, to halt, or to
undo?—
We who at this war's end
Not only hope, but yes, by God, intend
To see our dreams come true!
Do you deceive us? Do you? If you do,
The more incautious you.
Come gentlemen, the plan ?—
Produce it. Spread it out before us. Show,
Though it be intricate, its prime simplicity:
Namely, that men and nations, shall be free.

* * * *

Out with it now. We have the right to know
What you are up to—we
Who placed you where you are, and pay your
salary;
Who, for your waste, your blunders—broken
crockery
By truck-loads carted off—do dearly pay;
And for vast ovens, in their size and number
every day increased,
Where sits and sulks a bread that does not rise,
for you forget the yeast.

Unfold it, spread it out, the plan :
We have the right to see,
To bend above in study, question, scan;
Yes, we the people; we, the undistinguished man;
The Demos in the word Democracy.

We say the poem is appropriate because we believe that the sowing of the Dragon's teeth is being proceeded with in silence, while brave words are being uttered by those in power to lull the suspicions of the war-weary world. Indeed the words do not sound brave now, since some parts of the real blue-print have been exposed to the public eye for a fluttering moment. But the glance has sufficed us to appraise the plans for the future which these Autocrats have been forming in disjointed and self-contradictory fashion. The Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, the U.N.R.R.A. these were real great plans and they brought comfort and hope and promise for the future in the hearts of hundreds of millions of the silently suffering. But and Madras, and now France, Italy and Greece, have shown what the U.N.R.R.A. is worth and now at Yalta the scrapping of the Atlantic Charter is complete. As for the Four Freedoms, they seem to us to be in reality a huge, though rather cruel, joke. With the complete Balkanisation of the whole of the Continent of Europe between the borders of France and Russia and the virtual enslavement of all Asia, the only freedoms that the Nations of the Earth will possess would be to plot and to prepare for the Third World War which by all signs would be due about 1960, by which time fresh harvests of cannon-fodder would have been garnered and fresh shibboleths formulated.

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The Gandhian Plan

All Post-War plans have certain points of similarity specially in their conditions-precedent. It is self-evident that for a Post-War Plan to succeed, there must be a Post-War period, that is to say there must be a period of peace with no strife of any kind to divert the energies or the resources of a nation to war or the immediate possibilities of war. Even if the people concerned are not aggression-minded, that is even if they are inclined to observe the Ten Commandments where other nations and peoples are concerned, this favourable condition may not exist. For if they are surrounded or subjected to the action of predatory nations, then with all their eagerness to keep their energies confined to their own work and their desires to their own possessions, they are more than likely to be obliged to divert their time, treasure and energies to the purposes of war—which means destruction—to a much more degree than to that of construction of a national life based on Peace. Even though there be no actual hostilities with arms, there might be economic warfare, which is equally destructive of a weaker nation's national economic structure as India has experienced to her bitter cost during a hundred and fifty years of British Rule.

To a war-weary world, bleeding at every pore through the results of the terrible strifes and stresses that this mechanized civilisation has caused, the Gandhian Plan gives real glimpses of Heaven, with peace, contentment and *above all leisure*. Leisure for contemplation and for enjoyment of the blessings of a life of easy self-sufficiency. The Plan as formulated is self-contradictory in places as the planner has had perforce to provide for certain incompatibles which happen to be indispensables in the event of war and strife. The planner does not seem to realise that those incompatibles—namely, mechanisation, key industries, etc.—are prone to induce conditions that lead to alteration of the economic structure to the whole gamut. Industrialisation to an extreme degree is the inevitable corollary to the establishment of Key Industries and large-scale Power-Projects, if they are to stand up to foreign and bounty-fed competition, and under such conditions it is difficult to visualize the success of a plan of decentralization on the basis of village economy. If such a compromise were possible, that would indeed be ideal, despite all that Economics Pandits might say about setting the Wheel of Time back. Indeed it is about time that such Pundits realize that their theories have proved to be the greatest failures of all time, and that the proof has been given in strife and suffering and in the destruction of all that is held as being of any value in Life. This latest plan contains really much that is of the essence, but all the same there is that atmosphere of Utopia about it, which will remain until it be proved that the incompatibles can be made into constructive—or at least not destructive—factors in the scheme. The crux of the problem therein is, can Ahimsa act as a shield against aggression, economic or war-like?

A Plea for More Astronomical Observatories

Immense possibilities exist in India for Astronomical Observatories. Virtually for nine months in the year the sky is clear and very suitable for telescopic observations and photography of heavenly bodies. But unfortunately there are only two observatories worth-mentioning, *viz.*, the Solar Observatory at Kodaikanal and the Nizamiah Observatory at Hyderabad. Great Britain has at least 17 observatories maintained by Government, Universities and private endowments. In the United States of America and in Russia the number of observatories is much larger. On the same scale as that of Great Britain, India should have at least 130 observatories.

Popular exposition of the functions of Astronomy on an extensive scale and wide publication of the results of Astronomy are two important problems which should be satisfactorily tackled in our scheme of post-war reconstruction on Education. In Britain, due partly to war conditions, a keen popular interest in Astronomy has been awakened recently. Mr. D. S. Evans writes in the *Observatory*, October, 1944: "The present time is most propitious for the consideration of plans for the popularisation of Astronomy. The black-out and military, air force, homeguard, observer corps and fire-watching duties have stimulated an extraordinary increase in popular interest in Astronomy. There is a considerable demand for good books on the subject. Over ninety per cent of the scientific questions sent in from the Forces to the B.B.C. are either definitely Astronomical or closely related to Astronomy and there are other evidences of a lively popular interest."

In Sargent's Report we have a comprehensive scheme for Post-War Reconstruction of Education in India. In any such scheme the need for the establishment and planning of a number of Observatories in India should also be considered. As mentioned before, we have at present only two Observatories worth the name. India is a vast country, and to begin with, we should have at least ten more Observatories at suitable places in this country. In Northern India there is no modern Astronomical Observatory as yet.

In Delhi, Allahabad, and Calcutta, valuable research work has been done in Astrophysics during the last few years, which has received recognition outside. But the research work and teaching in Astronomy have been purely theoretical, on account of lack of suitable observational material and equipment. So properly equipped Observatories attached to these Universities are very necessary. In these Universities, effective collaboration of observational astronomers, theoretical workers, and laboratory physicists would be possible.

A fairly well-equipped Observatory with research facilities will cost about 5 lakhs of rupees. Ten such observatories would cost about half a crore of rupees, which is a small fraction of the total amount proposed to be spent on items of education in the Post-War period.

A. C. B.

A Plea for Teaching Aerodynamics in Indian Universities

The knowledge of aerodynamics is essential for a proper appreciation of the fundamental principles of the Sciences of Aviation and Meteorology. A thorough grasp of these principles is a *sine qua non* for any original work in the theory and practice of these sciences. In post-war India aviation is bound to become one of the chief means of transport. For proper designs of machines and their handling a good grounding in Aerodynamics is necessary. It is an acknowledged fact that theory has helped a lot in finding out devices

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for giving stability to the machines and overcoming the resistance of air while flying. In fact every step in the rapid development which has recently taken place in aviation has been the result of close collaboration between the theoretical and practical workers in the field.

In the domain of Meteorology, knowledge of weather conditions is very necessary for agriculture, aviation and shipping. Weather forecasting has been very helpful in minimising loss to life and property by giving timely warnings of impending storms, floods, etc. The United States Weather Bureau has done signal service by predicting times of occurrences of devastating floods in the Mississippi valley and the dreadful American tornadoes. The Indian Meteorological Department has also been very helpful in making timely forecasts of tropical cyclones. As the science of forecasting is still in its infancy there is much scope here for theoretical work in aerodynamics, to collate the observational data, to indicate the lines of further research and to make proper deductions.

It is expected that there will be considerable expansion of the Departments of Aviation and Meteorology in Post-War India. A band of fully-trained young men with special knowledge of Aerodynamics would be required by these Departments. So Aerodynamics should be introduced as a special subject in the Mathematics curriculum of our Universities which are evidently the proper places for imparting instruction to our young men in the theory of the subject.

A. C. B.

An Australian for the Taxila School of Archaeology

Mr. Dermont Casey, brother of the Governor of Bengal, has been appointed head of the Taxila School of Archaeology. At the time of his appointment Mr. Richard Casey is reported to have expressed the hope that more big posts should go to the Australians. So, one more big job goes not only to Australia but to the Casey family itself. We are opposed to the import of Australians in our administrative posts at least so long as Australia does not lift the ban on Indians for entry into their land. So far as the department of Archaeology is concerned, we disapprove the appointment of any foreigner on it who has not demonstrated his knowledge and love for the traditions and culture of this country as Cunningham or Sir John Marshall did. There is no dearth of archæological talents in India, but they have not been encouraged. Indeed if the truth were to be stated the greatest names in Indology are predominantly Indian and so at least in this sphere there is no call whatsoever for imported talent, which at the best has been of doubtful quality of late.

Exactions by Provincial Officers

A censure motion has been passed in the Central Legislative Assembly which was initiated by a backbencher of the Muslim League concerning unfair and illegal exactions in the National Savings campaign spread over the United Provinces, Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and other provinces. The mover Mr. Abdul Ghani concentrated his charge against the officials of Bihar. But Mr. K. C. Neogy lifted the debate to an all-India level by fastening the responsibility on the Finance Member. He instanced cases in the U. P. and suggested a "Mudie touch" behind them. From the Punjab Sardar Sant Singh gave his own personal experience. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Sir Cowasjee Jahangir spoke about exactions in Bombay. The Assembly refused to admit Sir Jeremy Raisman's claim that there had been no use of force. The Finance Member gave a lecture on benefits of anti-inflationary measures which, he suggested, were based on "high degree of perfection," to which the Assembly retorted with a cry "third degree methods." All sorts of third degree methods employed in the sale of Savings Certificates were instanced on the floor of the House. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League, brought home the truth to the Finance Member by mentioning the case of an orphanage in Delhi which was denied ration cards for three days in an effort to compel the manager to contribute. He declared that the allegations made in the motion were true throughout the country. The Home Member had given reasons why the scheme put forward by the Finance Department was not acceptable to the provinces. Sir Francis had said it would have been difficult for Provincial Governments to exercise supervision over Central Government agents if the latter started monkeying with the business. But in fact the main consideration that agitated those concerned amongst *these provincial officers was that any perquisites that might be there should go into their pockets and not in the pockets of central officers*. That was the reason for rejecting the central scheme.

The Nawabzada voiced the opinion of the country when he asserted that "75 per cent of the inflated money was with contractors, bribe-takers and black-marketers working under the protection of the Government of India." Those were the three sources which should have been tapped for getting money and only then could a large portion of inflated money have been got at.

War Allowance Claim by the I. C. S.

It took five long years for the I.C.S. to overcome their delicacy and to apply for a war allowance. The Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government had been to Delhi pleading for the proposals of his Government that the I.C.S. men should be given war allowances. The I.C.S. is the highest paid service in the world and if any reconsideration about its salary be made it ought to be the other way. The present high scale has been proposed first by Lord Clive in order to make the Civil Service bribeproof. His proposal was accepted but his hopes have not been quite fulfilled. The Congress had acted up to its claim, during its tenure of office, that the highest salary for administrative posts need not be more than Rs. 500. In a poor country of cheap living, this amount ought to be sufficient.

The present I.C.S. enjoys, besides salary, a number of allowances. During the depression of 1930 when there was a salary cut in all the services, the I.C.S. was spared from the cut. Now at the close of the war when prices are wavering towards a fall, their claim for war allowances should certainly be judged carefully. The I.C.S. men have not starved on account of the War. As an Indian contemporary puts it, their margin of expenditure on luxuries might have been reduced as it should be because in a war in which others have sacrificed their lives it is not a great sacrifice for the steel frame "to do without genuine Scotch."

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Draft Hindu Code and Sacramental Marriage

Recluse, the writer of the Bandra Diary in the *Indian Social Reformer*, has very ably discussed the case for and against sacramental marriage. The Rau Committee has concluded its sittings in Bombay and is now in Calcutta. In view of the importance of the subject and the sanity of the argument, we quote his views at some length :

The part of Hindu Code relating to marriage reform bulked more largely in the Committee's proceedings than the part relating to intestate succession. This is natural as the latter is only of academic interest to the vast majority of the population. Monogamy and divorce were opposed by the representative of the All-India Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh, which is an Association standing for the autonomy of Hindu castes. *Mr. Jayakar whom the Committee co-opted for the Bombay province, asked the spokesman of the Caste Association whether he knew that hundreds of Hindu women, either young widows or those not happily married, changed their faith every year, and that depletion of the Hindus in that way amounted to about two per cent in ten years.* A Hindu wife could obtain divorce by changing her religion. As a Hindu trying to consolidate Hinduism would not the witness rather prefer the woman to remain in the fold ? Would he not provide for a straight and honest method of divorce rather than the circuitous method of conversion ?

The witness replied that he would certainly detest the idea of any Hindu woman leaving the fold, but he would not under any circumstances give up the high ideal of sacramental marriage referred to in Manu Smriti. A few women were likely to suffer in the process but it could not be helped.

The witness wants the sacramental character of the Hindu marriage to be preserved. But is it preserved when husband and wife are unable to get on together and when the wife in a desperate effort to free herself from the sacrament becomes a convert to Christianity or Islam without in the least believing in any religion? In a recent case which obtained much publicity, a Hindu woman had become a Muslim and back again a Hindu all within a few months. It is true that she could not have secured divorce even if the Hindu law provided for it. But there are genuine cases of hardship, cruel hardship, driving women to insanity and suicide and, surely, the sacramental marriage does not contemplate such a catastrophic state of things. This particular witness and others of his view are no doubt influenced by a fervent regard for the letter of the law. But they are honest in their fanaticism. Quite recently I came to know, to my intense surprise, of another reason which some opponents of the reform who by no stretch of language can be called orthodox, have in mind though they do not openly state it. It is that *they do not wish to marry under a law which gives their wives the right to claim divorce, while themselves retaining the freedom to marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first.* These men also profess to be anxious about the sacramental marriage though the word sacrament on their lips is a sacrilege. There are persons of the highest moral calibre who want marriage to be irrevocable but they want this not only of women but also of men. If the sacramentalists are honest they should strongly support the monogamous principle which the witness opposed on grounds which run counter to commonsense. The representative of women's organisations supported the provisions both for monogamy and divorce in the draft code.

What is actually the case is that all idea of the sacrament has vanished except such as are detrimental to women. To that extent, there is no real sacrament. Polyandry is a criminal offence but polygamy is not. Those who believe in the sacramental marriage should make Hindu marriage monogamous to both men and women. The draft Code does this and nothing more.

The Rau Committee

The Hindu Law Committee popularly known as the Rau Committee has begun to take evidence in Calcutta. It is very unfortunate that the committee has not been provided with short-hand writers with the consequence that the very valuable oral evidence offered either in support or against the Code goes unrecorded. The members of the Committee are no doubt taking notes, but such notes can hardly replace the questions put to and answers elicited from the witnesses.

J. M. D.

Increment in Governors' Allowances

Soon after the I.C.S. men's claim for war allowances, Mr. Amery has pleaded in the House of Commons for a 25 per cent increase in Governors' allowances, all except three of whom are members of the I.C.S. This news did not have a savoury taste even in British members whose spokesman in Calcutta has voiced disagreement. In Bengal, the Governor's salary is Rs. 1,20,000 and his allowances this year have been budgeted for Rs. 8,43,100. His allowances actually spent in the famine year 1943-44 was Rs. 6,57,312. In the budget estimate for 1944-45 it was increased to Rs. 8,22,000 which again was reduced to Rs. 7,57,400 in the Revised Estimate for that year.

Expenses for gubernatorial austerity have always been considered in this country as unnecessarily high. Governors' salary and allowances are charged on the public revenues, not subject to the vote of the Legislature like the Civil List of the British King. Even a discussion in this head of public expenditure is forbidden under the Indian "constitution."

Mechanisation of Agriculture

Attention is now being directed to the dehumanising effect of the machine, especially on farm populations; the destruction of the soil by chemical fertilisers, power implements and commercialised methods, and the disappearance of folk art and a sound rural culture as the result of industrialisation. Among the unwholesome tendencies resulting from these trends are firstly over specialisation and monoculture. The one crop farmer is more at the mercy of weather and the market than the more diversified farmer. Monoculture has also a destructive effect upon the soil. Secondly, the farmer's foods are often processed at great distances from his farm to the detriment of his family's health. In the western countries with mechanised agriculture, the farmer sells his wheat on the open market and buys it back in the form of flour. He does not realise that on so doing he is paying the carriage charges to the grain mill, paying the expenses of processing the wheat into flour, and then paying the carrying charges back

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again. The quality of mill-made white flour cannot be equal to the whole meal flour he can have ground at home. In India, with our primitive agriculture, both the rice-eating and wheat-eating people retain food crops needed for their own consumption and have them processed at home. Thirdly, the problems of lessening soil fertility, of soil erosion and of diseases in plants and animals have greatly increased since the advent of farm industrialisation. Sir Albert Howard writes: "In 1937 the conditions and needs of the U.S.A. were appraised. No less than 25,30,00,000 acres or 61 per cent of the total area under crops, had either been completely destroyed or had lost most of its fertility. Only 16,10,00,000 acres or 39 per cent of the cultivated area could be safely farmed by the present methods. In less than a century the United States has therefore lost nearly three-fifths of its agricultural capital. The root of this soil erosion trouble is misuse of the land." Comparing the crop yields in wheat and corn in highly mechanised Russia for the years 1930-34, it has been shown to be lower than in *any other* European country. Holland with very little mechanisation had the highest yields. These experiences ought to be considered before mechanised agriculture in India is put forward as the only panacea. The possible evil consequences have to be guarded against first.

Restoration of Burma, Malay and Hongkong

The New York Daily News editorially demands "clarification of the extent of support to defeat Japan which America can expect from Russia and Britain." The paper says that the capture of the Philippines will wind up all the Pacific War that strictly concerns U.S.A. as a nation and which affects American national honour and pride.

The paper observes that the American factories are producing more synthetic rubber than its consumption during peace time. Therefore Malaya is not important to the United States. It writes: "If the British feel that that area must be restored to the British Empire, it is difficult to see why we should furnish all the blood and material which such a restoration of Malaya will cost. The time seems to be ripe to request the British to begin doing their share of work."

The same holds true in regard to the restoration of Burma to the Empire and Hongkong, adds the paper.

Asia will be the acid test of the Three Powers' declarations about freedom and democracy. With the end of the War drawing nearer the frequency of professions for human rights and liberties is lessening and the century-old Imperialist land-grabbing tactics is growing more and more pronounced.

Fifty Years of the Lee Memorial

The Lee Memorial Missioin has completed in 1944 fifty years of its service to suffering humanity in India. The Mission was founded in 1894 by Dr. and Mrs. Lee of America. At a grave disaster in Darjeeling, they lost six of their lovely children, this terrible calamity became a stepping stone to nobler and more self-sacrificing service. Work in Calcutta was opened with three Bengali girls, two of whom were destitutes. The work continued to grow and by 1899, there were over a hundred girls in the school founded by the Mission. The present buildings at the Wellington Square, Calcutta, were erected and the plant finally completed in 1909. The Lee Memorial has always been active in times of need and want. It has rendered sterling service during years of finance and pestilence. During the past five months almost one thousand children have been receiving a daily glass of milk. This has come from America, the powdered and canned types, provided by the American people for the poor of India. Over 100,000 M-Vitamin perles have gone to children through the Lee Memorial centres.

Banks for Human Spare Parts

The *Readers' Digest* has given an account of how banks for human spare parts are developing in the modern world. Inspired by the life-saving feats of the blood banks, medical science has begun developing banks in which to store other "spare parts" of the human body for surgical use in emergencies.

Thousands of persons—estimates run as high as 100,000—whose sight has been dimmed or lost through damage to the cornea, the clear, transparent membrane that covers the iris of the eye, have been waiting patiently for the promised operation that will enable them to see again. This operation is extremely delicate: there are perhaps 20 surgeons in the United States qualified to perform it. A clear piece of cornea taken from another eye is skilfully stitched in place of the damaged membrane.

The difficulty has been to obtain eyes. Rarely, an eye would be sacrificed by a living donor; occasionally some person would execute a will leaving his eyes to science. But there never have been enough eyes to supply the demand; surgeons could perform the operation only occasionally.

Now the hospitals of New York City have established the world's first eye bank. Nineteen hospitals have agreed to supply eyes. They deal with would-be donors, furnish the necessary legal papers to be signed (in New York State the consent of the next of kin must be obtained), and remove the eye from the donor's body immediately after death.

The American Red Cross Motor Corps rushes the eye to the New York Hospital where it is stored in the plasma bank at proper temperature until needed.

The eyes of stillborn babies can be used, but the chief source of supply is expected to be adult donors.

Similar banks have been developed for storing dehydrated nerves. Dr. R. M. Klemme and his associates of the St. Louis University School of Medicine have done outstanding pioneer work in nerve grafting to replace missing sections. The Russians have used preserved nerve fragments, removed from the bodies of their own battle casualties, for repair surgery. According to Russian reports, war-torn arms and legs are thus restored to complete usefulness.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

On the Eastern front in Europe the battle for Germany is fast approaching its climax. After the blitz advance over the frozen fields and marshes the Soviets' spearheads were halted by a sudden thaw that overtook them when they were within forty miles of Berlin at one point. The enforced halt gave the Germans the first breathing space after nearly three weeks of strenuous but fruitless efforts at stopping the rapid advance of the Soviets' armour corps. Indeed the assault was of such momentum that the infantry divisions of the Soviets were left far behind as were the heavy artillery, while the mechanized divisions, and the brigades of self-propelled artillery barely kept up with fast-moving panzer spearheads that had torn gaps in the German defence lines and had thrust far into the rear of the enemy formations that had been bye-passed. The halt caused by the thaw held up the Russian advance approximately along the line of the Oder and the Lower Vistula. Several strong German fortifications had been bye-passed and very large groups of German defending forces were also left in the rear. During its rapid drive into the home-land of the Reich the Soviets' armour and mechanized formations had kept up their spearhead formations, the Fanning-out and the Cauldron manœuvres being left for a later date when the thrust had travelled deep enough into the vitals of the German defenders. So when the check, due to climatic change, occurred the Germans were enabled to envelop the spearheads with large masses of anti-tank artillery supported by small groups of mechanized forces which were accompanied by hurriedly organized volunteer groups. This was followed by the moving up of Soviets' infantry divisions and heavy artillery but the German defenders in the rear started fighting their way back to the new battle-line too and in the meanwhile large reserves drawn from the central pool started moving into position to defend vulnerable sectors and a hurried re-arrangement of the defence-plan was started.

The Wehrmacht had been out-manœuvred at the first assault. Its defences had been breached and extremely powerful thrusts delivered deep into the main territory which contained the central reservoirs of man-power and material. But evidently they were prepared for such eventualities, for directly the pace, weight and direction of the thrusts were ascertained a new structure of defence began to take shape all along the line from the Baltic to the Carpathians and into Hungary and the Balkans. The threat to the Baltic ports, to Berlin and to the great armament production centres of Upper Silesia were assessed and rapid counter-moves were started, firstly to show down the Soviets' penetrating moves, and secondly, to stabilize the defences along the line that provided the most favourable terrain for the defence. The first part of this manœuvre was successful in the main, as the Soviets' advance lost its blitz character, and the Wehrmacht is now attempting to achieve the second part.

The Soviets' Supreme Command on its part, having been baulked of its main objectives of its blitz assault, through the sudden change in the weather, has now thrown in vast masses of infantry, artillery and air forces, and started a gigantic assault on a front extending from Libau to the Slovakian border. Over three hundred Soviets' divisions with colossal artillery formations in support are now battering at the newly organised German defence structure. That the change-over in the strategy has not been rapid enough to take advantage of the disorganisement subsequent on the blitz campaign is apparent. The Wehrmacht still moves rapidly and is quick at taking decisions and in carrying them out in detail. But the Soviets have a tremendous advantage in numbers and in the weight of armour and artillery, almost five to one. And so in the battle that is now raging in full fury the handicaps on the defenders are tremendous. The battles that are now in progress with extreme violence are rapidly approaching a climax and great decisions may be attained within the course of a few weeks, if not days, on which will depend the whole course of the War, not only in Europe but Asia as well.

If the German defence structure be disrupted within the next few weeks, then the war in Europe may indeed be over before the year has progressed beyond the summer. Germany cannot have much reserves to spare even now, though the quantity as it is seems to be far in excess of what Mr. Churchill estimated it to be. and these battles that are now assuming the form of a 400-mile long and miles deep blaze must be draining the life-blood of the German army fast. The Germans are staking all to prevent another wide break-through in great force, as occurred near Warsaw, and the vital centres threatened are many. If the break-through occurs in spite of all the efforts of the Wehrmacht then there would be little to stop the Russian tidal wave from engulfing the main regions of armament production and re-fitting. If that happens then the defence plan of Germany will crumple up in the East which will be rapidly followed by the break-up of all organised resistance inside Germany proper. Indeed the morale of the people may well crack up even before the Wehrmacht loses its grip on the Nazi War-machine and in that eventuality the end may come close. If, on the other hand, the new defence structure stands together till the Spring thaws have set in all over the front, even if instead of being shattered it is merely pushed back yard by yard by tremendous blows with great masses of men, guns and armour—as it is being now—then the position might well change towards a prolongation of the war. For it must not be forgotten that great as the German losses must be in the present campaign—though the recent Russian estimates are evidently shots with a long-bow—the Soviets' losses must be bigger still. And it must be remembered that in a Winter campaign of the present magnitude Russia must have scraped its man-power barrel to the wood and that in guns and armour it must be throwing in all it has for a quick decision. If that decision be not obtained before the Spring has progressed well into the marshes of East Prussia and in the riverine tracts of Eastern Germany, then Russia will have to take a long breath

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before it can start a fresh campaign on different lines, in co-ordination with its allies.

On the Western Front the Siegfried Lines are still proving a barrier against the Allied progress. Major assaults have been delivered by the Canadians near Cleve and by the Americans from Aachen and near Luxembourg but the progress is as yet slow and halting, and the resistance shows no signs as yet of slackening. The latest developments on the American sectors are promising according to the news just received (24. 2. 45) but as yet there is no sign that anything in the nature of a decision can be quickly attained on this front. The Germans have evidently obtained some very valuable time, through Rundstedt's strategic move of December last, for further augmenting their defences at the weak points indicated by American thrusts in the latter part of last year's autumn. On the Italian Front the Germans seem to have temporarily stabilized their defence lines, though Spring may bring in a change with the coming of less inclement weather. For the present, therefore, the only prospect of a quick end of the War in Europe can be seen in the battles in the Eastern marches of the Reich. If the Soviets can obtain a quick and comprehensive decision on those battle-fronts where the struggle is rapidly mounting to a climax, then the war may be over by the summer in Europe.

In Asia Japan is now being hard-pressed. The American War-machine is gearing up for the uphill journey to decision. Japan has had much valuable time presented to her through the famous "Asia must wait" dictum of Winston Churchill. But Japan still needs some more time to complete her tooling up and to organise her transport system. It is all the more promising therefore to see that the U.S.A. has evidently come to a different conclusion regarding the needs of the Asiatic front. After stepping up the campaign in the Philippines the U.S.A. forces now have struck at the last barriers before the home-land of the Japanese. Indeed in a sense Iwojima is a part of the main defensive structure of the Japanese islands, and the fierceness of the fight that is raging day and night on that volcanic island of a few square miles is a good index of the issues at stake for the Japanese. The battle for the Philippines is not over by any means as yet, indeed there are indications to show that the major struggle there is still ahead. That the Pacific Command has decided to extend the scope of its action without waiting for the final break-up of the Japanese resistance in Philippines shows that the U. S. A. is now well-aware of the grave results that may come if Japan is allowed much more time.

Japan is a long way off from being beaten as yet, despite all over-optimistic opinions regarding the end of the War that are cabled to India every now and then. She is not yet ready to meet the Allies on even terms in the technical sphere. But she is not losing any time and has already made progress. The growing ferocity of Japanese defence shows that there is no chance of an early collapse of Japanese morale and it is also a clear indication of the magnitude of the task that lies ahead of the Allies on the Continent of China and on the home-soil of the Japanese. Japan is preparing as fast as she can to meet the threat of a landing in force on the South Coast of China by the U.S.A. forces, and she is not letting any grass grow under her feet in the attempt at completing the railway communications between Korea and the Malay Peninsula and beyond. The re-opening of the Burma Road is the m[illegible] promising event on the Asiatic mainland fronts, [illegible] there might be yet time to resusciate the armies of Fr[illegible] China and to re-equip and refit the wonderful guerr[illegible] organisations that have kept the Japanese at bay f[illegible] years now even in the vast tracts of the occupie[illegible] areas.

The campaigning season in North Burma has s[illegible] over ten weeks ahead of it. But in Lower Burma a[illegible] in the Arakans the time is getting short. But w[illegible] Akyab in re-occupation and Ramree island well in t[illegible] grip of the Allied forces the monsoons may cause o[illegible] a temporary stoppage and not a total break in the ca[illegible] paign as happened in the previous years. Progress [illegible] slow in Burma and the Japanese defence plan a[illegible] obscure. Of course, the difficulties in the way of tra[illegible] port and communications are great and are likely [illegible] remain so until some part of Lower Burma comes i[illegible] the hands of the Allies. It is to be hoped that t[illegible] "Asia must wait" theory has been scrapped for go[illegible] The possession of the Irrawaddy and the main line [illegible] Lashio would count a great deal in the campaign [illegible] China for once those channels are clear the "back-do[illegible] to China" would be wide open in reality and t[illegible] Japanese in China would then have to face assaults [illegible] two fronts. Otherwise the battle for China might [illegible] indeed long.

The sixth year of the War passes its meridian w[illegible] the coming of March. Of the three "Have-not" natio[illegible] that formed themselves into the "Axis" group two a[illegible] still fighting though the odds against them are now [illegible] six to one in men, machines and arms. The two th[illegible] are fighting are the two that have caused the great[illegible] damage to their opponents, Germany in Europe a[illegible] Japan in Asia. In European Russia the havoc caused [illegible] German arms is unparalleled in history, though t[illegible] slaughter of the Chinese by the Japanese probab[illegible] surpasses even that record in the destruction of hum[illegible] life. These two are still fighting with the same ruthle[illegible] ness and with the same fury, Germany in the sixth y[illegible] of the European War and Japan in the closing mon[illegible] of the Eighth year of the Asiatic War. In man-pow[illegible] and resources, Russia, France with colonies and Brit[illegible] had at least a fourfold advantage over Germany and [illegible] these Russia alone had two and a half times the wei[illegible] of armament and trained reserves as Germany. T[illegible] potential of America and the British Empire agai[illegible] Japan was similarly nearly fourfold even if China [illegible] left out of the calculation. With all these odds in fav[illegible] the United Nations have taken these long years [illegible] bring Germany at bay and to start the preliminar[illegible] against Japan. And even with all the tremend[illegible] potentialities of power, treasure and technical eq[illegible] ment of the United Nations utilized to the [illegible] this war-weary world does not know as yet w[illegible] the end will come. Therefore, the entry of Turkey i[illegible] the War is not likely to sway the balance to any app[illegible] ciable extent. Turkey's entry into the War on the s[illegible] of the United Nations might have been of gr[illegible] military consequence at the end of 1942. Even in 19[illegible] it would have been of great assistance to the Russi[illegible] Now it is in reality merely a diplomatic event [illegible] Europe. In Asia it means the complete merger of [illegible] Saadabad Treaty group of Moslem States into [illegible] European power complex. The South American St[illegible] are of even less consequence so far as the War [illegible] concerned.

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Our Debt To The Swami Shradananda*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

I received, the other day, a letter that had been written by a man I greatly esteem. The house in Lahore from which he sent it is in Rattigan Road.

The sight of that street's name awakened memories that were imprinted upon my mind when it had hardly been formed. "Ratee-geen," as I called the lawyer it honours, then was much mouthed by the youngsters of that day—say 55 years ago. One fellow, questioning the wisdom of another, would mockingly shout :

"Have you set yourself up as a Ratee-geen ?"

This paragon of wisdom was an English barrister—Mr. (later Sir William) Rattigan. Briefs came to him unsought: they were, in some cases, actually thrust upon him. His was the most lucrative practice in the capital of the Punjab—or so, at least, it was reputed to be.

Whether he was supremely sagacious or not, I cannot say at this date. This much, however, is certain : he was worldly wise. Being such, he was in the good books of the provincial government. The Lieutenant-Governor (as the member of the Indian Civil Service who ran the administration without being burdened by any executive councillor or minister, was styled) had nominated him as the chairman of the council created to manage the Khalsa College. He was also appointed the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. At some stage of his life that I cannot place with any precision he was knighted.

II

Three, or possibly only two years prior to the interment of the nineteenth century, my father said to me :

"You boys are constantly flinging 'Ratee-geen' at one another. A man is coming here tomorrow who, not long ago, defeated Mr. Rattigan. A smashing defeat it was, I should say."

"Who is this defeater of Rattee-geen, Father ?" I asked. "To have won a victory against Rattee-geen he must have been far, far wiser."

"Whether he is far, far wiser, it is not for me to say," Father replied. "He is, as I told you, coming here. Would you like to have a *darshan* of him ? Would you like to meet him ?"

With these words he stopped talking. My curiosity, therefore, had the opportunity to over-work itself. Cutting a stone from the quarry of my fancy, I immediately started carving it with speed that no sculptor in any clime—in any age—has ever been able to approach, much less excel.

III

The hero in actual life failed, however, to bear any similitude to the demigod of my imagination. I had given him the sort of features and figure that I then deemed as intellectual—a massive head, "arched forehead" (Father's phrase), short-sighted eyes with spectacles in front of them, a short, slight person with the stoop that I associated with scholarship.

He was, on the contrary, a mountain of a man. Tall and broad-shouldered, he stood erect like the *hauldar* (Punjabi for *havildar*—a corporal) who drilled me in the school ground. He strode along and talked loudly, even for a Punjabi.

He must be a Jut, I said to myself. In those days we of the Khatri (Kshatriya, martial) castes used that term for a yokel, whether he was a Jut by social subdivision or not. Women, men and boys went about shouting : *Jut ki janan longan da bha*—how can a Jut (clod of earth) know the rate at which cloves sell ? I had no idea that I shohld live to see Juts spoken of as Jats; and the Jats in concert with Muslims, some descendants of Jat converts to that faith, would, in virtue of arrangements devised in London, be ruling the Punjab.

This man may, I thought, be a *pahalwan* (wrestler). He certainly would give a good account of himself in a wrestling match.

He would, however, it seemed to my callow mind, cut a sorry figure in a joust of wits. Had father been joking when he told me that this friend of his had bested the man who was regarded, at least by us youngsters, as the wisest person in the Punjab ?

IV

No. That account proved to be true enough. The most eminent lawyer in the town—Hoshiarpur—who was my confidant, confirmed it.

There had been a legal battle, Lala Sham Das, the Government Advocate, said. On one side was engaged Mr. Rattigan. On the other appeared Lala Munshi Ram (the giant whom I had just met). The two made their pleas. Munshi Ram won.

"Some day," the lawyer said to me, "you will be visiting Suket.[1] It is not far from here. Just over there."

He pointed towards the Kangra Hills. Invisible, they were not so very far from where we were sitting, could we but wend our way like the bee conveying to the hive the nectar it has gathered.

It did not occur to me to ask if Lala Munshi Ram had had a better case than Rattee-geen. I jumped, instead, to the conclusion that, being more brilliant, he had won. Thereafter I made up my mind that a Jut's body may carry a head-piece in which a brilliant mind might function.

V

Within a few minutes after meeting Lala Munshi Ram I was to find that, in his ways, he was no Jut. His voice was loud but not raucous—certainly not unkind. He called me to his side as he sat near my father in a manner so gentle that I unhesitatingly went to him. A question or two and we were on friendly terms. Without the slightest shyness I was telling him that I meant to be a writer—that all my leisure even then was being devoted to mastering shorthand (Pitman's Phonography).

"A worthy ambition," he said, patting me on the back. "If you wish to succeed," he went on, "you must persevere and work hard."

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* Named in infancy, with due ceremony, Munshi Ram. This name he bore till, in his sixties, he entered the *vana*---forest---the Hindu way of ridding oneself of worldly cares and responsibilities to devote oneself wholly to the cultivation of the spirit. Thence onward he was known as Shradanand---the Swami (Master) Shradanand.

1 This is a small state nestling in Himalya's Kangra range.

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I loved him for encouraging me. Seeing that I had taken to him, father told me that though I had met the gentleman only then, he should not really be a stranger to me. I already knew his brother-in-law—the Raizada Bhagat Ram—a barrister in Jullundar, who came to Hoshiarpur (only 25 miles distant) every now and again to appear in cases considered too important to be trusted to the local lawyers. I called him, in fact, "Uncle."

"You see," explained father, "Lala Munshi Ram is married to Raizada Bhagat Ram's sister. You, therefore, should also call him 'Uncle'."

"So he is not Jut," I, knowing the Raizada's caste, commented. "He is, like ourselves, a Khatri."

"Certainly. Who told you he was a Jut?"

I then told father how at the sight of Lala Munshi Ram's giant frame, I had set him down in my mind as a yokel.

VI

Events that have been or were soon to be matters of comment and even heated discussion among the grown-ups amidst whom my life, more by choice than by accident, was cast, served to impress my new uncle upon my mind. He was represented as being a member of a band that was upsetting the social order.

They were credited with good intentions. They meant, to be sure, to put "spirit" into the Hindus—to make the Hindus stand up like men. More than this, they were desirous of opening up for them economic opportunities by addressing themseves to certain callings—weaving, for example—which were largely left to non-Hindus.

Their agitation, however, was of a disturbing nature. They caused contention. They brought Hindus much ill-will.

As if this were not enough, they engaged in debates and discussions that roused considerable acrimony. Christians and Muslims alike waxed wroth.

The officials detested the Aryas even more than did the Hindus. They regarded them as Satan's spawn. This because of the discord that their contention roused in a peaceful population. No *ji hazoors* ("yes-men") themselves, they stirred others to walk erect, with head held high in the air.

Much of this talk was not fully intelligible to me till later years. I fully understood, however, that no one was more actively engaged in furthering this social revolution than my new-found "uncle." Contention was the breath of his nostrils. One of his companions—Pandit Lekh Ram—had been done to death by some fanatic. That fact stood out above all talk.

VII

The more I saw of Uncle Munshi Ram, the better I liked him. Whenever he met me when I happened to go to Jullundar, where he then lived and practised, or when he came to Hoshiarpur, he would quietly ask me how I was getting on with my writing. Did my father frown upon my giving time to it instead of studying my school books? Did my masters (the word "teacher" was not used in the Punjab of that day) object?

On one occasion when he and I chanced to be by ourselves, he turned the pages of his own life-story backwards. "There was a time in my student days," he told me, in his forthright way, "when I did not study as hard as I should have. The result was that I failed to pass the examination. I disappointed my father. That pained me more than the humiliation I suffered in my own sight.

"Now, my boy, you see to it that you do not make the mistake that I did. It cost me dearly. Be sure that neglect of a similar nature does not cost you even dearer.

"After all, you have plenty of time ahead of you. After you get through with the school—and college—books, you can devote your whole self to writing. There no one will—at least legitimately can—object. You can get ahead with writing as much as you please. All you please."

He had a way of repeating words and phrases. They emphasized what he said. At that point in my life's journey that method was to me of immense importance, of great value.

VIII

Either at this juncture or a short time later, Uncle Munshi Ram confided in me that in one respect he was something like me (just note the delicacy with which he paid this compliment!). He wished to do nothing so much as to write—as to speak. But—

But the law interfered. He had to study the case (I had not yet learnt the word "brief") that he had to conduct. Files had to be examined in court, in addition to the papers his clients had entrusted him with. He had to appear before the judge, who, at times, sat with assessors. He had to ask searching questions—he had to plead.

How he disliked it all! There was so much in it that was dishonest. Crooked. Downright *crooked*. He wished to be rid of it all. He *would* get rid of it. He had already given up much of the work. He accepted only a few cases. Seldom did he appear in court. He longed for the time to come when he could give up the business altogether.

"And then, Uncle, what will you do?"

"I will write—write—preach—*preach*."

I saw that the conversation was veering towards the region that I had been told endangered the faith—Sikhism—in which I was being brought up.

"Talk all you wish with Uncle Munshi Ram," father had admonished me, "only do not let him make an Arya of you."

The way father said this implied that no worse disaster could befall me. With one exception. My being influenced by the Reverend Doctor Chatterjee.

That missioner lived in the Mission Compound near the playground. To it I went every evening. When on my way thither or back I sometimes chanced upon him. Now and again I even contrived to meet him. He used to give me papers and magazines to read and encouraged me to write.

IX

Something that Uncle Munshi Ram had written in one of the papers he conducted must have upset father about this time. Or more likely the offending article had emanated from the pen of some lieutenant of his. Some of these worthies were Sikh in appearance. They in their zeal in the Arya Samaj cause drag them into regions that made them, in father's sight, devils incarnate.

Or it may have been that his talks with me had caused annoyance. Their trend cut across father's ambition for me.

I was to be sent to England and, if I could manage it, was to enter the Indian Civil Service. I was otherwise to be called to the bar.

Uncle Munshi Ram hated the idea of my entering

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any service, however highly esteemed that service might be. He hated legal chicanery even more.

Whatever caused annoyance, father said to me one day: Munshi Ram is like the cat that, after devouring 99,000 mice, proceeded upon pilgrimage.

In view of all that had gone before, I was astonished at the taunt so wryly flung by him at one whom he had taught me to call—and to treat—as uncle. Knowing his ways, I kept silence. That silence encouraged him to pour out the vials of wrath that had accumulated in his system.

"To-day he is acclaimed a Mahasha (high-souled one)," father said, the acid of irony dripping from his accents. "What was he yesterday, though—and the day before?

"I will tell you. He was a drunkard. Worse. He consorted with women of evil repute. As for eating meat, he, before he turned (an) Arya consumed so much that you would be lucky if you came within a hundred miles of the quantity, even if you live to be a thousand years of age.

"You see, he was ushered into the world by a police *daroga*. You know what that means. He himself was in the police[2] service for some years. What need to say more!"

Father could—and did—dramatize events when his imagination was stirred. Divested of the twists and turns he gave, however, he was telling only the truth. What I learnt, from time to time, from Uncle Munshi Ram and from other sources, confirmed his statements.

X

A year or so prior to the outbreak of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny, Munshi Ram was born in 1856, at Talwan, in the Jullundar district. His father—Lala Nanak Chand—a Khatri of that small village near Jullundar, was, at the time, a *daroga* (Sub-Inspector of Police) in the Northwest Province (now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh). He bowed to the Lord-over-dissolution (Siva) as his god of gods and was credited with being honest. His wife was, if anything, even more devout in worshipping that deity and particularly in the adoration of his *shakti* (energy) now personified as Uma, the Himalyan *tapesvi* (anchorite), now as Durga, the white-faced, beneficent One, and now as Kali, black-visaged with blood-red, thick, long tongue lolling out of her gaping mouth and a garland of skulls depending from her neck.

Munshi Ram had begun his student career exceedingly well. Powerfully built, he assiduously cultivated his body by exercise that had not yet been displaced, to any large extent, by foreign importations. His intelligence, bright by nature, he polished with equal diligence.

Once, however, out of his mother's sight, upon entering the college at Benares (his father was then an inspector at Bareilly), he went to pieces. Riotous living played havoc with his body and mind alike. Failure in the First in Arts examination was inevitable. Without graduation, he entered public service. High officials pleased with his father made all arrangements for him to put his foot upon the first rung of the ladder (a Naib Tehsildarship). By that means he may have climbed to executive heights: but, through his own volition, that was not to be.

XI

Illumination had come to Munshi Ram. That prospect, so bright in his fellows' eyes, lost for him any attraction it might ever had had. No. He would go back to his studies. He would secure from the University the title that, confirmed by the Chief Court,[3] would enable him to engage in (what was then deemed to be) an independent, honourable profession.

This light had fallen upon his mind from a Hindu sage. Named as an infant Mulshankar, he was to become illustrious. That word meant the primal *shankar*: and *shankar* was an appellation given to the lord over all the agencies that make for disintegration.

Suitably named was Mulshankar till the night of nights in his life. He then realized that the deity of his adoration was only a "stock"—a "stone." It would vouchsafe him no solution of the problems that at the moment perplexed his votary.[4]

That realization directed his mind towards the *Veda* (literally knowledge) and particularly the oldest portion of it—the *Rik*[5]—and the *Upanishads* containing the essence of our ancient culture. With the wisdom derived from these studies, he prepared a work that he named the *Satyarth Prakash*—guide to the true path. According to him, this was the path that our forbears—the Aryans or Aryas (to use his term)—trod in the Golden Age.

With the scholar-teacher's *danda* (staff) in hand, he—now acclaimed as the Swami[6] Dayanand Sarasvati[7]—travelled from town to town, province to province, everywhere preaching. Wherever he toured, he exhorted the people to come off from the tangent upon which they had flown in this degenerate age. They must get back on to the main track—the Aryan track.

His preaching threw into nervous convulsions priests who battened upon the men and (especially the) women caught in their toils. They sought to humiliate him by proving that his exposition of the writings held sacred was unwarranted. An erudite Sanskrit scholar, he, however, confounded the best of them, even at so important a religious centre as Benares—the Varanashi of the Buddha's day and Kashi of the Kassikas.

Dayananda wandered into Bareilly (now in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), in 1882. Munshi Ram's father was set by the authorities, in whose pay he was, to keep an eye over the meeting that the revivalist was to address. He took his son along, little dreaming that this was to be a red-letter day in the young man's calendar.

Of this meeting I had an account from Munshi Ram's own lips. The sight of the sage,[8] he said, astonished him.

Tall and broad-shouldered, the Smami stood erect like a giant of the forest. His body was lithe as if each muscle —each tendon—was wrought of the finest steel and worked on ball-bearings. His voice, though strong and penetrating, was mellifluous. His chanting of the Vedic texts, with which his speech was interlarded, lifted the listeners from the shabby little town and deposited them in some primeval forest. There, in a

2 Not strictly accurate. See later.

3 Then the highest tribunal in the Punjab. It has long since been raised to the status of a High Court of Judicature.

4 See my article on the Swami (Maharishi) Dayanand Sarasvati in the Dayanand Commemoration Volume, *Dayanand's Legacy to the Punjab*, p. 60. Edited by Har Bilas Sarda, M.A., Ajmer, 1933.

5 Also spelled as *Rig*.

6 Also the *rishi* (sage) and *Maharishi* (great sage).

7 Dedicated to Saraswati---the goddess of learning---a title borne by persons learned in the ancient Sanskritic lore.

8 For a personal impression of the Swamiji, see my *Memoir of the Bhagat Lakshman Singh*, now in preparation.

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clearing, the *rishi*, who had composed those words, was, mayhap, instructing the pupils who had entered the *guru's* (teacher's) *kula* (clan, sept).

The men who heard the Swami chant hymns were struck not only by the perfect intonation of the ancient words, but also by their appositeness to the theme that he was developing at the moment. They were even more impressed by the ease with which he pulverized the contentious questioner—be he Eastern or Western—Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

Moved to the depth of his soul, Munshi Ram sought and obtained the opportunity for heart to heart talk. They lifted him out of the slough in which he had been sinking.

He resolved to take the road re-discovered by the sage. His resolve shook the domestic circle. Despite the emotional storm he had raised, he stuck to his decision.

(To be concluded)

GANDHIJI'S CONCEPTION OF NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY

By SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL, M.A. (Cal.), M.A. (Alld.), F.R. ECON. S. (Lond.),
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THE last World War was fought with the sublime intention of making the world safe for Democracy and to establish enduring peace among the warring countries. It was fervently hoped that the League of Nations would pave the way for a World Federation on the firm foundations of Collective Security and international co-operation. But the Treaty of Versailles, instead of ushering in an era of peace and good-will, sowed the seeds of the present globe-shaking holocaust which is unparalleled in its callousness, ferocity and totalitarian destruction. The violent suppression of Germany gave birth to Hitler, and if Hitler is overwhelmed by force, a Super-Hitler is sure to be born in the wake of violent peace. "I know nothing more terrible than a victory except defeat," remarked the Duke of Wellington who earned the unique honour of crushing Napoleon. The United Nations, cannot afford to forget these prophetic words of the Iron Duke in their determination to bring Hitler to his knees. One must confess that the prospects of winning a lasting peace even after this world-wide carnage do not appear to be any the brighter, and if history repeats itself in the form of another Treaty of Versailles, the world shall once again rush headlong into another catastrophe the disastrous consequences of which we shudder to visualise.

What is the root-cause of this violence and blood-shed? It was once thought that war is a biological necessity and the world must continue to be 'red in tooth and claw.' But that theory has long since been rejected as fallacious and mischievous. To say that war is psychologically inevitable because of the human instincts of pugnacity and self-preservation is again a perversion of truth. It is now admitted on all hands that the basic cause of all wars is the excessive and unfettered greed for economic gains through the inhuman spoliation of weaker nations. As Bernard Shaw puts it, "Capitalism has no conscience," and its God is nothing but Gold. It can afford to be gentle and suave so long as its supremacy is not challenged and threatened. But in face of imminent danger it does not fail to raise its fierce and ugly head in the shape of Fascism or Nazism. Vain and disgraceful attempts are made to drape Capitalism in the fashionable garb of democracy and freedom; but we all now know only too well that the velvet glove conceals the iron fist.

In view of these calamitous tendencies of the Capitalist economy, it was fervidly hoped that Socialism will put an end to all our ills. The Soviet experiment was, consequently, hailed as the saviour of exploited and down-trodden humanity and as a great land-mark in the history of economic reconstruction. It is true that the U.S.S.R. did succeed to a considerable extent in raising the standard of living of the masses by eliminating the Capitalist class with an iron hand. It was also believed that, with the spread of Socialism in other countries, international wars will cease. But the reaction has now set in, and the erstwhile supporters and admirers of Soviet Economy are feeling disillusioned and sadly disappointed. The Socialist Society, which was, originally, meant to be classless, democratic and international, is now dominated by a new bureaucracy and 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' instead of 'withering away' has culminated in the regimentation of the masses. The international ideal has also been thrown to the winds. With a return to Nationalism, it is almost impossible to resist the natural sequence—return to Imperialism, even though it be of the Socialist brand. With the progress of the present war, there are now ample facts to indicate that Soviet Russia is fast developing into a huge and haughty Socialist Empire or, to use a sweeter and milder expression, 'Socialist Commonwealth.' The pivotal cause of this transformation is not far to seek. With centralized control and large-scale Planning, individual liberty is bound to be crushed under the iron heel of violence.

What, then, is the alternative? How to save the world from violence, blood-shed and totalitarian control? The solution lies in simplicity, decentralization and cottage industrialism. And it is from this point of view that Gandhian economic ideas have assumed unusual significance at a time when other economic theories and experiments have led us to a blind and dangerous alley. There was a time when Gandhiji's economics was scoffed at as chimerical, faddy and unpractical. But subsequent experience not only in this country but all over the world has compelled careful study of the economic implications and potentialities of Gandhian Village Communism based on decentralized socio-political system.

The fundamental principle underlying all Gandhian thought is non-violence. Gandhiji holds that violence in any form, cannot succeed in establishing an economic and social order which will bring peace and happiness. True democracy and real growth of human personality are conceivable only in a non-violent society. Violence breeds greater violence and whatever is gained by force needs to be preserved by superior force. For all those that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Gandhiji will, therefore, have nothing to do with violence because in a planned society economic

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The Legislative building at Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, stand as a massive symbol of the growing strength of the Philippine Islands

This is how the Escolta, main business street of Manila, looked before the war

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With song and dance the Slovak girls welcome the spring

Helpa in Central Slovakia. The Slovak mountain villages hold firmly to their traditional architecture, costume and beliefs

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construction is only a Means and not an End. In order to preserve the purity of the End, the Means employed towards its attainment must be equally pure. That is why he maintains that even a Socialist society should be established through non-violence, and not by means of a bloody revolution.

Gandhian conception of a non-violent State or society is based on three important ideals. The first ideal is "simple living and high thinking." The Western civilization attaches supreme importance to material welfare and maintains that the goal of a progressive individual or nation should be the increasing accumulation of physical comforts and luxuries. To the western mind, the fullness of life necessarily implies the abundance of material goods. That is why all his economic planning is in terms of a rise in the "standard of living." But Gandhiji is fundamentally concerned with the "standard of *life*." "We notice" says he, "that the mind is a restless bird; the more it gets, the more it wants, and still remains unsatisfied. The more we indulge our passions, the more unbridled they become. Our ancestors therefore set a limit to our indulgences. They saw that happiness was largely a mental condition." Like Capitalism, Russian Socialism is also based on the principle of material welfare; the ideology of both is essentially identical. But Gandhiji detests 'this mad desire to destroy distance and time, to increase animal appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction.'

The second ideal is the dignity and sanctity of "bread labour," it naturally follows from the first ideal of simplicity. "It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if we set our minds after such needs, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after due consideration, decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet." Gandhiji thinks that our mental and moral development is dependent on our physical work. The Wardha Scheme of Basic Education adumbrated originally by him is based on this very principle of 'learning through doing.' The correlation of hand-culture and mind-culture has been now scientifically proved by modern psychologists and educationists. Apart from the moral and mental values of simple life, Gandhiji discourages, to use Plato's phrase, 'this reckless pursuit of wealth' through excessive mechanization and lopsided industrialism, because without maximum self-dependence by virtue of our manual labour we are liable to get inextricably involved in the chain of economic serfdom and exploitation. He contends that the aim of all our activities should be the natural development and unfoldment of our personality in an atmosphere of freedom and economic independence at least so far as the minimum necessities of life are concerned. The present industrialism exploits the 'surplus value' of human labour in a Capitalist society and results in the regimentation of the people in a Socialist society. It has its foundations in violence and rigid State Control. In his non-violent society, therefore, Gandhiji has no place for the modern industrial civilization. He is not against machinery as such, for, after all, this human body or the spinning wheel is also an exquisite piece of machinery.' But he has set his face against modern industrialism which concentrates wealth in the hands of a few and reduces human beings into cog-wheels and automatons.

The third ideal is the recognition of human values. Orthodox economics has been laying undue emphasis on Money and Profits. To Gandhiji 'Man is the supreme consideration,' and 'Life is more than Money.' "Khaddar Economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of the human factor. The former concerns itself with the human." The economic law that man must buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest is, in Gandhiji's opinion, 'the most inhuman among the maxims laid down by modern economists.' "True economics cannot be divorced from ethics; it means a complete renunciation of everything that is likely to harm our fellow creatures." From this principle of Humanism, Gandhiji derives his ideal of Swadeshi—the practice of buying from one's immediate neighbours rather than from distant markets. "It is sinful for me to wear the latest finery of Regent Street when I know that, if I had worn the things woven by the neighbouring spinners and weavers, that would have clothed me, and fed and clothed them."

A non-violent society based on these three deals of simplicity, dignity of labour, and human values will, necessarily, be a federal net-work of decentralized village communities which will be to a very great extent self-governing and self-sufficient. Like the ancient Gram Sanghas or the Greek City States, these village communities will have maximum political autonomy for their internal organisation. Real democracy based on adult suffrage will be possible in these small Republics because there will be intimate contact among the citizens who shall govern their colony with joint and co-operative effort. 'The only government which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state is one in which the whole people participate,' wrote James Stuart Mill. The non-violent Republics of Gandhiji's conception will fulfil this test of true democracy. These village communities or Panchayats will, of course, be linked federally to the Taluka, District, Division, Province and the whole country for the purposes of common and co-ordinated policy. But, so far as their own internal administration and economy are concerned, they shall enjoy the largest measure of autonomy and independence. Economically, they will try their best to produce all the necessaries of life through the manual labour of their citizens. They will export only their surplus produce, and import only those commodities which they cannot manufacture. There will, thus, be minimum internal trade between the different self-sufficient village units, and the need for the means of transport and communication will be reduced to a considerable extent. The farm crops will be for immediate consumption and not for distant markets. The present practice of raising money or commercial crops, will disappear. Cloth will be spun and woven in the villages for the villagers. The economic units would manufacture their own paper, oil, gur, soap, shoes and other necessities of life; they will grow their own vegetables, maintain a dairy for milk, butter and ghee, and run other village industries on a co-operative basis. For their recreation, these Republics will develop their own indigenous theatre and folk dance; they will celebrate their festivals artistically and establish 'bhajan mandals' for evolving their community-music. For eight hours, the able-bodied citizens will work hard for their living; their labour shall not be dull, monotonous and soul-killing as in modern factories; it will be joyful, pleasant and conducive to their mental and moral growth. The citizens of these non-violent village units

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shall not exploit the labour of others; nor shall they allow others to exploit them. Their economic organization will strike at the very root of unholy spoliation which is the predominant characteristic of the capitalist order. They shall lead a quiet, peaceful and contented life instead of the hectic, crazy and nerve-racking life of the modern towns. To the citizens of these states, money shall be only a means, and not an end. Most of their transactions will be in kind and not in cash. The cash-nexus will be conspicuous by its absence. The people will be in a position to understand the implications and consequences of their economic activities; they shall not be the helpless spectators of a complicated financial system in which even the Governor of the Bank of England is forced to confess: 'I do not understand it.'

Internal trade in the non-violent state may be left to private individuals, of course, under State control. Gandhiji is not in favour of stifling private initiative and enterprise altogether. But its scope and margin of profit should be regulated by the State authorities. For purposes of International Trade, the National State and not private persons, should be the sole authority. The country should try to be as self-sufficient as possible; but international transactions need not be tabooed. A non-violent society will not hesitate to import those articles which are impossible to be produced inside the country; but these articles must be absolutely essential for the well-being of the nation. Luxury goods from outside will not be encouraged. The country could also export to other countries those commodities which are indispensably required by them and which could be spared by it. Thus, in a non-violent World State, international trade will satisfy the real and felt needs of various countries with their mutual free consent, w out being involved in the 'whirl-pool of Econ Imperialism.'

Gandhiji's State will run the least risk of for invasion and aggression because it will provide ha any scope for economic exploitation which is the r of Imperialism. 'Simple homes from which there nothing to take away require no policing.' If citizens of the non-violent society refuse to be explo by foreign nations by being self-sufficient in regard their necessaries of life, the motive for colonial quest will largely disappear. If they firmly deter to use only hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, ne the internal nor foreign capitalists can compel them wear fashionable mill-cloth which is a source exploitation. Similarly with regard to other commodi A society which is based on decentralized and cott production can, thus, preserve its liberty and econo independence without any violence.

It is wrong to think that Gandhiji is medieval antediluvian in his outlook and is trying to put hands of the clock back. He is instinctively a rea and has been successful in laying his finger on pivotal cause of our economic and political malaise disorder. I can invoke the testimony of many west thinkers in support of Gandhiji's ideals. But it suffice here to say that Gandhiji is a man of vision, his bold conception of a non-violent state may pr to be the harbinger of a new era of world peace good-will. I am convinced that the Mahatma, inst of being medieval, is a century ahead of our ti We may not realise the intrinsic worth of his econo ideals at present; but time will recognise Gandhiji the Prophet of future World Order.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

The Two-nations Theory of Mr. Jinnah—II

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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Fifthly, Mr. Jinnah has referred to the "history and traditions" of the Muslims of India. The only comment I should like to make here is—although it may not be palatable to many—that, as by far the largest proportion of the Muslims of India today are, historically speaking, the descendants of converts—willing or forced—from Hinduism and other religions existing in this country before the Muslim invasion, and not the descendants of the Muslim invaders of India, their past history and traditions, whatever they might be, are the same as those of the Hindus and the followers of other pre-existing indigenous religions. If there is anything of glory or pride in that history, it is as much theirs as of the Hindus, etc., today. And if there is anything disgraceful in that history, the disgrace also is as much theirs as of those Hindus, etc. It is no use disowning one's ancestry. History does not permit this.

Sixthly, in connexion with the question of the "names and nomenclature" of the Muslims of India referred to by Mr. Jinnah, it may, for example, be pointed out that the "names and nomenclature" of the Hindus of Bengal, the Hindus of Northern or Central India, and of the Hindus of South India do in many respects differ. That does not mean that these different groups of Hindus constitute different nations in In and are, therefore, entitled to have separate, independe sovereign States of their own. Again, the names nomenclature of the Muslims of India are in m respects identical with those of the Muslims of Ar or of many other Islamic countries outside of In That does not imply that all these Muslims consti one nation and are, therefore, entitled to form separate, sovereign State for themselves. Further, names and nomenclature of Anglo-Indians in India, even of many Indian Christians, are the same, in m cases, as those of Britishers in Great Britain. No will, therefore, contend that these Anglo-Indians, In Christians, and Britishers constitute one nation, must, therefore, have a separate, independent State themselves. Lastly, the names and nomenclature of m Britishers in Great Britain—and even their langu literature, and religion—are the same as those of m Americans in the U.S.A. No one will, therefore, ma tain that these Britishers and Americans constitute nation and, therefore, must have a separate, sovere independent State of their own.

On the other hand, the names and nomenclatur and also the religions—of the Germans, the French

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the Italians in Switzerland differ. Yet that has not prevented them from becoming a single nation, namely, the Swiss Nation. The names and nomenclature—and also the religions, languages and customs—of the French and the English in Canada differ. Still they constitute a single nation, namely, the Canadian Nation. The names and nomenclature of the members of the various nationalities in the U.S.A. differ. Yet that has not prevented these various nationalities from being welded into a single nation, namely, the American Nation. The question of names and nomenclature, therefore, does not establish anything.[33]

Seventhly, Mr. Jinnah has stated that the Muslims of India have distinctive legal (*sic*) laws, customs, and moral codes of their own. Perhaps the expression "legal laws" is a misprint for "personal laws"; otherwise it becomes an uncouth tautology. My comment is that the personal laws,[34] customs, and even moral codes of the Hindus of Bengal differ in many respects, for instance, from those of the Hindus of South India. This does not mean that the Hindus of Bengal and the Hindus of South India are separate nations. Secondly, the personal laws of the Sunni Muslims of Northern India are essentially the same as the personal laws of the Sunni Muslims of Arabia and of Egypt. No one will, therefore, contend that all these Muslims constitute one nation and must, therefore, have one independent, sovereign State of their own. On the other hand, it is often a fact that the customs and moral ideas of the Hindus and the Muslims living in the same area, are, as a result of their long, intimate association and cultural affinities, more or less identical; whereas the Sunnis and the Shias differ in many respects in regard to their customs and personal laws. And I also find that, even after the enactment of what is known as the Shariat Act of 1937, Khojas and Cutchi Memons in the Bombay Presidency are, in the absence of any proof of special usage to the contrary, *still* governed, in matters of succession and inheritance, at least to some extent, not by the Mahomedan, but by the Hindu law.[35] Further, according to the Census of India,[36] 1931, there are groups of people in India "who have drawn on both Hindu and Muslim sources for their religious tenets;" or "who worship the Christian Trinity plus a Hindu-Muslim Trinity consisting of Allah the Creator, Parameshwar the Preserver, and Khuda the Destroyer"; or "who share in equal degree the Muslim and Hindu religious beliefs, worshipping Ganesh as well as Allah, using Hindu names and dress and observing Hindu festivals"; or, again, who "take Muslim names and even utilise the services of mullahs" in one area, but who "follow Hindu customs and use Hindu names" in another area. "There is thus a very real difficulty sometimes in deciding whether a particular body is Muslim or Hindu."[37] The question of personal laws, etc., does not, therefore, establish anything.

Eighthly, the Hindus and the Muslims living in the same area often follow the same calendar; whereas the Hindus themselves in different parts of India do not follow the same calendar. And the same thing can be said also of the Muslims in different parts of India. Therefore, Mr. Jinnah's reference to the question of calendar in his statement does not also prove or establish anything.

Ninthly, in regard to the question of "aptitudes and ambitions" alluded to by Mr. Jinnah, it may be pointed out that these are purely personal matters, depending upon the mental and the physical constitution of individuals. They vary from person to person and also, sometimes, from one area to another. Much depends upon physical environment. There is nothing Hindu or Muslim in them.

Finally, with regard to the question of "outlook on life and of life" mentioned by Mr. Jinnah, it may, I believe, be enough to point out here that, although they differ in respect of their religion and some religious rites and ceremonies, yet the "outlook on life and of life" of, say, the Muslim peasantry and the Hindu peasantry in Bengal, or, for instance, of the Muslim labourers and Hindu labourers in an industry—and these peasantries and labourers, and not the parasitical classes who exploit them and their name, constitute the real backbone of the Indian people—is more or less identical because their interests and problems also are identical. And their "outlook on life and of life" is materially different from that of men who belong to the status and social position to which Mr. Jinnah himself belongs. As I have already stated, man is not merely a religious being. He has other interests, too, which no less vitally affect him than religion. Often these non-religious interests have a greater urgency and insistence than even religion itself. Any other view is sheer propaganda, and nothing else. It may be argued against this view why then Hindu-Muslim riots occur from time to time. As I have shown before[38] in another connexion, these riots are partly due to misrepresentations and misunderstandings, partly due to the machinations of designing men or communal fanatics on either side, and, often, largely due to the fact that law is not enforced, at their initial stage, with the utmost vigour and with the strictest impartiality. Sometimes local officials allow themselves to be guided by mean "political" considerations, and a wicked spirit of vendetta against one community or another. And Mr. Jinnah himself admitted, before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee, on 13th August,

33 It may be noted here that "the use of combined Muslim and Hindu names is not unusual in more than one part of Bengal." See the *Census of India*, 1931, *Volume V. Bengal and Sikkim*, Part I, Report, p. 390.

34 Take, for instance, the question of the law of inheritance.

35 The position was far different before the enactment of the Shariat Act of 1937. See Mulla, *Principles of Mahomedan Law*, 11th Edition, pp. 17-18.

36 Vol. I, India, Part I, Report, 1933, pp. 380-81.

37 I also find in the Census of Bengal and Sikkim, 1931,—

"In many parts of the country the Muslim peasant . . . . joins to some extent in Hindu worship . . . In Jessore, it is reported that the Muslims revere the *tulsi* plant and *bel* tree. In Dacca the Muslims observe the Hindu period of ceremonial uncleanness (*asauch*) on the death of parents and at its conclusion shave the head and beard; the women wear the vermilion mark of Hindu wives and the worship of Durga is frequent . . . It is even reported that there the *navanna* ceremony is universal . . . whilst at Mahasthan Muslims as well as Hindus mark their iron safes with vermilion on the Dasara day and perform the Satyapir *puja* with offerings of *sinni* . . . In Pabna, Manasa or Bisahari is often worshipped by them (Muslims) and they contribute towards the Kali puja particularly in time of epidemics, whilst the worship of Sitala, the goddess of small-pox, is almost universal and professing specialists of the disease, calling themselve *Kaviraj*, though Muslim, will admit to taking fees for the express purpose of propitiating the goddess. Practices such as the use of turmeric (*gaye halud*) at the marriage ceremony have also been borrowed from the Hindus."—See the *Census of India*, 1931, *Vol. 5, Bengal and Sikkim, Part I, Report*, p. 390; also see p. 380 thereof.

38 See *The Modern Review* of June, 1943, p. 460.

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1919, in reply to Question 3854 put to him by Mr. Bennet, a member of the Committee[39]: "If you ask me, very often these riots are based on some misunderstanding, and it is because the police have taken one side or the other, and that has enraged one side or the other. I know very well that in the Indian states you hardly ever hear of any Hindu-Mohammedan riots, etc."

IV

I have analysed above the grounds on which Mr. Jinnah has based his two-nations theory. These grounds cannot, as I have shown, stand the scrutiny of reason. And I have also shown that Mr. Jinnah held a different view in 1919. I do not deny that there are some differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of India. But we should not unduly emphasize and exaggerate those differences when Providence has brought us together and when we have *nolens volens* got to live together. That way does not lie the solution of the Indian problem. There are many differences, particularly in the religious sphere, between the English and the French in Canada; between the Germans, the French and the Italians in Switzerland; between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in Germany; and among the diverse nationalities in the United States of America. Yet, in each one of these cases a nation has emerged, thanks to the growth of the modern spirit of religious toleration. I do not see any reason why it should be otherwise in India. As Dr. Hutton, Census Commissioner for India, 1931-33, has rightly observed, after a very careful survey of the position of different religious communities in this country, "Generally speaking, there would seem to be no insuperable reason why the Muslim and the Hindu should not dwell together in harmony."[40] It is, therefore, very painful to see some responsible leaders of public opinion in India advancing with zeal and warmth the specious argument of "homelands". If that argument is seriously put forward, then it may be legitimately asked, who have lived longer in those areas which are proposed to be included in the State of Pakistan—the Hindus and the other indigenous non-Muslims, or the Muslims? The former had lived in those areas long, long before Mohammedanism itself was founded, not to speak of the Muslims of India; and they have been living there ever since. Have they not, therefore, a greater right to claim those areas as their "homelands"? The question is one of principle and not of numerical strength. Some people, however, appear to lay stress on the question of number. But they forget that the number is a variable factor, variation being due, apart from the questions of emigration and immigration, to the presence or absence of such causes in a community as "the practices of polygamy, of widow remarriage and, on the whole, of later consummation of marriage,"[41] etc. For instance, for every 10,000 of the total population of Bengal in 1881, the number of Hindus was 4882—the number might have been larger earlier—, and that of the Muslims 4969. Thus the number of Hindus was practically equal to that of the Muslims. But, largely owing to the causes mentioned above, the number of Hindus steadily declined from decade to decade and that of the Muslims gradually increased. As a result, the corresponding numbers of Hindus and Muslims were 4348 and 5444 in 1931.[42] Even then, the number of adults (aged 20 and over) in 1931 was 52 per cent in the case of Muslims and 46 per cent in the case of Hindus, although the general percentage (all ages being considered) in that year were 55 in the case of Muslims and 43 in that of Hindus.[43] And in democracy, the percentage of adults in a community is an important factor.

The only view, therefore, which can stand the scrutiny of logic, reason, and justice is that no part of India is the homeland of any particular community, India being the common motherland of all the communities that live within its boundary today, every part of it is the common homeland of all those communities. A contrary view is sure to lead to inter-communal bitterness and, ultimately, to a civil war in this country. A parrot-like repetition of an irrational view or slogan *ad nauseam* will not help anybody's cause, notwithstanding the philosophy of propaganda taught by Hitler and Goebbels. No one can befool all the people all the time.

It may also be pointed out here to the Muslim separationists that insistence on the view that the Muslims of India constitute a separate nation distinct from the rest of the population of India will ultimately act as a boomerang to themselves. Either the Muslims of India form a part of the population of India—and, therefore, form a part of the Indian people—or they do not. If they insist that they do not so form a part while living within the geographic boundary of India, then the rest of the people of India cannot be blamed if they begin to look upon the Muslims as foreigners and aliens in India—at best *domiciled aliens*, to use a term of International Law. And such a view on their part is sure to have far-reaching economic and political consequences. The question is not one of sentiment, but of logic and reason. These non-Muslim Indians have been fighting and suffering during the last sixty years for the ending of one alien rule, namely, the rule of the British people over them. The Muslim separationists would be in a dreamland if they thought now that these non-Muslims would ever agree or submit, having regard to the record of Muslim rule in the past in relation to their culture, religion, temples, deities, art, and architecture, etc., to the imposition over them of another *alien* rule, namely, the rule of the Muslims in the proposed State of Pakistan. It would be too much to expect it.

We have already in India many absurdities. We should not multiply them and make ourselves the laughing-stock of the whole civilized world, by creating a Hindu national State of India, a Muslim National State of India, a Sikh National State of India, etc.

In conclusion, I should like to say—although it may not be very palatable to many—that, not to speak of two or more nations in India today, there is as yet no nation in India today. The Indian nation is still in the making and Indian nationalism is passing through a period of travail. A community or group of people is not recognized by *modern* Political Science as a nation unless it has become politically organized, and unless it is free from foreign control. It is in this sense that

39 See the *Minutes of Evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill*, Vol. II. 1919, p. 227; also Ambedkar, Thoughts on Pakistan, 1941, p. 317.

40 See the *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Report, p. 381.

41 See the *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Report, p. 390.

42 See the *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. V, Part I, Report, p. [illegible]

43 See the *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, Report, p. [illegible]

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the British, the Americans (U.S.A.), the Swiss, and the Canadians, for instance, are each a nation. And a nation may comprize, if it is so lucky, only one nationality,[44] or, as is usually the case, more than one nationality. Unfortunately, in the past the two terms 'nation' and 'nationality' have often been used by many writers as synonyms, the reason being that they were both derived from the same root. This has naturally led to a confusion of thought and reasoning. But the term nation has since acquired, as I have indicated above, "both a scientific and a popular signification which is very different" from its etymological meaning. Professor J. Holland Rose,[45] for instance, has used the term nation to mean "a people which has attained to State organization", and the term nationality (in the concrete sense) to mean "a people which has not yet attained to it." No scientific writer today will apply the term nation to the different constituent elements, say, of the Swiss or of the American nation. The only term that can properly be applied to these elements is nationality[46] which is used nowadays to mean an ethnic, or a linguistic, or a religious, group of people who may "cherish common historical traditions, and who constitute or think they constitute a distinct cultural society." No political signification is now attached to this term nationality. At best, although it is very doubtful, the different religious communities in India may be regarded as constituting different nationalities in this country in the same way as there are, for example, different nationalities in Great Britain, Switzerland, Canada, South Africa, and in the United States of America. Given mutual goodwill, charity, toleration, and forbearance, and with a deepening sense of the essential unity of Indian life and economy, I see no valid reason why these different religious communities in India cannot be welded into a free, powerful Indian Nation. If, in spite of the memories of Bannockburn, Flodden Field, and Culloden Moor, Scotsmen and Englishmen could form, together with Welshmen, a strong, united British nation, then why should not, notwithstanding what might have happened in the past, the great religious communities of India be able to form a strong, free, united Indian Nation? This ideal can certainly be realized only through the mechanism of a properly devised All-India Federation. Any division of India will inevitably lead to a civil war and chaos, and, utimately, to the perpetuity of foreign rule in this country. We must, therefore, all banish from our minds counsels of unreason and ideas of power politics in the larger interests of our common Motherland.

44 In the concrete sense. In the abstract sense the term nationality is used "to indicate citizenship."

45 *Nationality in Modern History*, pp. viii-ix.

46 In the concrete sense.

ALDOUS HUXLEY

A Natural Historian of Humanity

By ALEXANDER HENDERSON*

Once a sceptic and materialist, but now a believer in principles derived from Indian religious philosophy, Aldous Huxley has, throughout his novels, essays and poems, displayed a subtle and complex personality, the conflicting tendencies of which are held in balance by a vigorous and speculative mind.

"If I had to define my position," he wrote 18 years ago in *Proper Studies* (1927), "I should say that I was a moderately extroverted intellectual . . . I understand the materialist interpretation of inward life."

But, in 1944, he stated as the basis of his belief: "That there is a Godhead, Ground, Brahman, Clear Light of the Void, which is the unmanifested principle of all manifestations. That the Ground is at once transcendent and immanent. That it is possible for human beings to love, know, and, from virtually, to become actually identical with the divine Ground. That to achieve this unitive knowledge of the Godhead is the final end and purpose of human existence."

Huxley has always been well aware of the contradictory strains in his own personality and, in the volume of essays entitled *Do What You Will* (1929), sketched out a philosophy of "life worship," of "balanced excess," which was based on the acceptance, as fundamental of the diversity within each individual.

Aldous Huxley's complex personality, the scientific cast of his mind and his clear and brilliant prose style, may well be considered as examples of inherited characteristics and ability, for he counts among his forbears some of the best intellects of 19th century England.

He was born on July 26, 1894, the third son of Leonard Huxley and Julia Arnold. His father, born in 1860, was the son of Thomas Henry Huxley, the scientist who did perhaps more than anyone else to make Darwinism understood by the general public. Aldous Huxley's mother was the niece of Matthew Arnold, the author of *Sohrab and Rustum* and many other poems, of *Culture and Anarchy* and several fine volumes of literary criticism. She was, too, the granddaughter of Thomas Arnold, the clergyman and famous Headmaster of Rugby High School who, by his example, stimulated many changes in the English Public School system.

The environment in which Aldous Huxley grew up as a child was as cultivated and intellectual as were his ancestors. His father, appointed assistant Professor of Greek at St. Andrews' University, Scotland, at the age of 23, subsequently became editor of *The Cornhill Magazine*, one of the most distinguished of English reviews—a post which he held for many years—and literary adviser to the publishing firm Smith, Elder and Co. His aunt, Mary Augusta Arnold, who, in 1872, married the critic and editor Thomas Humphry Ward, was the most eminent woman novelist of her time; her

*Author of *Aldous Huxley: An Interpretation.*

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Robert Elsmere published in 1888, was famous throughout Europe and U.S.A.

With this rich inheritance of science from his father's and literature from his mother's family, it is not surprising that Aldous Huxley should have become a man of letters, nor that his writing should, in many ways, exhibit the scientific temper. As a boy, indeed, he wanted to make his career in science—like his elder brother Julian, the distinguished biologist—but an affection of the eyes (which almost deprived him of sight for three years) made scientific work impossible. Those three years gave him that detached outlook on life which is noticeable in much of his work.

Aldous Huxley

Aldous Huxley was educated at Eton and, like his father, at Balliol College, Oxford. He enjoyed both. "I have the kind of mind," he says, "to which an academic training is thoroughly acceptable. Congenitally an intellectual, with a taste for ideas and an aversion from practical activities, I was always quite at home among the academic shades." Oxford especially he appreciated because there he was left at liberty to work in his own way which, for him, meant omnivorous reading rather than note-taking at lectures, "I myself," he says, "never attended more than, at the outside, two lectures a week."

At home he was brought up to admire the poetry and philosophy of Wordsworth, the aesthetics of Ruskin. Huxley's early sardonic and farcical stories—*Limbo* (1920), *Mortal Coils* (1922), and his first novel *Chrome Yellow* (1921), show how he reacted to the atmosphere of high moral seriousness in which he was brought up. As a young man he was intellectually cautious, sceptical, disinclined to moral enthusiasms. But underneath the ironic manner he has always retained an essential seriousness as grave as that of Matthew Arnold himself. "In my early stories," he told me once, "I am also reacting against the pedantic part of myself."

In the development of his early style the most important influences were the French writers of the latter part of the 19th century and the early 20th, especially Rimbaud, Laforgue and Anatole France. He was attracted, too, by the work of Remy de Gourmont, chiefly on account of the latter's interest in natural history, an interest which Huxley has always shared and which manifests itself most strongly in *Point Counter Point* (1928).

At Oxford, Huxley wrote a good deal of poetry; of minor importance in comparison with his prose work it is, none the less, interesting for the light it throws on his temperament. It reveals a romantic and idealistic sensibility, already preoccupied with the conflict between passion and reason, self-division's cause which he later developed in *Point Counter Point* and *Brave New World* (1932). The early poems show, too, a man shy of contact with other men and women, and glad to take refuge from the realities of the human struggle in the impalpable world of ideas.

His present investigations into mysticism and religious philosophy represent a return to this deep-rooted preference for the inner life which was for a time obscured, if we may judge by the sceptical works published during the decade of the 1920's—a period that, as it happened, was generally, in England, one of widespread cynicism and materialism.

For a few years one of the outstanding personal influences on Huxley's thought was that of the late D. H. Lawrence, the author of *Sons and Lovers* and many other striking novels. They first met in 1915, but did not see much of each other till the years from 1926 until Lawrence's death. "Laurence," wrote Huxley in 1932, "is one of the few people I feel real respect and admiration for. Of most other eminent people I have met I feel that, at any rate, I belong to the same species as they do. But this man has something different and superior in kind, not degree."

In 1919, Huxley married Maria Nys, a Belgian; he has one son. A good deal of his life has been spent outside England; he has lived in France and Italy and travelled widely in India and Burma, of which he wrote a fascinating account in *Jesting Pilate* (1926), in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and the West Indies (see *Beyond the Mexique Bay*, (1934). Since shortly before the war he has been living in the U.S.A., chiefly in California.

In appearance, Huxley is characteristically English: tall, grey-eyed, the thick hair brushed back from the forehead. He has great charm of manner. In his company one notices first of all his fine voice and long and supple hands; he is fond of clasping them round his knee as he sits and talks. Now and then his mouth softens into a quiet, ironic smile, but usually it has an expression of melancholy.

Haridwar

THE POISON OF CIVILIZATION

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By AUSTIN COATES

Is civilization, or an age of great culture, in spite of being a blessing to mankind, also a poison to the posterity of that country in which it has thrived? It is one of the problems which confronts one most forcibly from the pages of history. Else how the extraordinary decay which follows in the wake of culture, corrupting the leaders, producing effeminacy and ineffectualness among the menfolk, and gradually breaking the political structure upon which the great days had been lived? Does civilization so sap a country that it is reduced to impotence for hundreds of years? What of the pathetic history of Greece since the Age of Pericles, or of the recent terrible fall which France suffered after her great centuries of enlightenment? What of many another land, Italy or Spain or others, where only recently we have seen a puny band of militarists beating on their chests and sounding the drum of an imaginary renaissance, while around them lay the white bones of a glorious civilization? If indeed these things are caused by culture itself, then it were better, so it would seem, to ensure that civilization in its highest sense should not arise among us, if we think that our way of living is in the least worthy of permanence.

After the glories of Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis, when the Greek nation rose to its height as a military, political, and thus, in time, as an economic power (which is, after all, what a nation is—the rest is in the imagination of sentimentalists and builders of empires) there followed the age of Socrates, Plato, Aeschylus and Sophocles. As soon as the nation reached its highest point of power (what Aristotle would perhaps call its teleological conclusion) it entered into a decline. All nations do this; at first the decline is hidden, inconspicuous, undreamed-of, and then it rears its head; when you see it for the first time it is obvious to you that it has been going on for years, gradually gathering momentum. Upon the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians—their establishment as a free nation—and from the fruit of the decay which set in immediately upon the day of their greatest glory, grew the flower of the Periclean age of tolerance and enlightenment. And after it, the deluge! Greece rapidly declined as a power, and was swallowed up by the Romans, and later by the Turks. The Acropolis at Athens is a memorial, but it is also a burial-stone.

And what of another great age of European culture, the Renaissance of the Italian cities, in the days when Christendom was the power uniting Europe, and the supreme master of this Christendom was the Pope, before whom great emperors stood barefoot in the snow and begged admission to the house of him who the Christians believed to be the Vicegerent and spokesman of God? Today it is difficult to imagine what it must have been like for a Christian when he heard the news that there had been an uprising in Rome because of the Pope's continual absence in the beautiful French city of Avignon, and that as a result of this there were now two Popes, one in Avignon, one in Rome. What an unutterable catastrophe to the organized Christian religion which had built up its power so carefully and cleverly throughout the centuries, perverting the teachings of Jesus to suit its own ends! The whole fabric of Christendom rested in the descendant of Saint Peter, the Vicegerent of God. And now there were two Vicegerents! Although it was many years before the great Reformation, the fabric was decaying; dust was blowing off the stones of the great cathedrals of the West. And in the time of that decay, when the breath of freedom stirred again in Europe, there bloomed first of all, at the first puff of that sweet breath of decay, the primitive French art and music of Provence, with its centres at Avignon and Aix-en-Provence, and later the glory of Italy, the age of Botticelli, Michaelangelo, Giotto and Leonardo da Vinci, the cities of Verona, Firenze, Venice and Rome. With the summons to freedom of thought (which is what such great art always produces) the fabric of Christendom collapsed. Martin Luther finally shattered it, and since his day the organized Christian religion has dwindled until our time, when its power is solely economic—it owns land—and in some countries even this has been taken away from it.

The fall of France—and few great nations have had to suffer such a disaster as this was!—was the result of antiquated military leadership and the sapped morale of the people. France was the shadow of its former greatness, and over it, as over all countries of Europe, had fallen the strange reverence for the past—its teachers, artists and philosophers—which prevented the flowering of any future greatness, which damped the ardour of youth, and which made of great peoples nothing more than an idle mirror of the past. Still this feeling persists. It seems as if Western culture has created so much, in so many different forms, that the sheer weight of its past achievement has killed the creative spirit.

France arose as a nation from a collection of medieval states without any central unity, now that the power of Christendom was declining. And in the West, Christendom and the worship of God were replaced by Empire and the worship of a nation. No nation has ever been worshipped with more love and fervour than France. Joan of Arc awoke this spirit, and it fired apace, until the nation was consolidated by the strong hand of Richelieu and built into an international power. Mazarin added the finishing touches, and into this well-prepared throne stepped King Louis XIV, who by his strength of purpose, leadership and patronage of art raised France to its position as the cultural head of the Western world. Once again, as before in Greece and Italy, at the highest peak occurred a great epoch of culture which lasted unabated for two hundred years, while, through troubled times, the political power of France waned. When the twentieth century dawned it was apparent that the spirit was tired. Cultural thought had exhausted itself and resorted to inversion—as in the work of the surrealists and others. And then the deluge, withheld in 1918 by the mercy of God—till 1940, when the Germans for the second time marched down the Champs-Elysees.

Rome died without an age of culture; it died slowly and with no rebellion within itself. For hundreds of years before its fall, Rome contemplated oblivion. But in those countries which experience a great age of culture the fall is rapid and final. It would seem therefore that, although the attainment of a cultured civilization is *not* the cause of a nation's decline, *it immeasurably quickens that downfall.*

It is interesting to apply this interpretation to the empires of today. Judged simply by its culture, it is

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gradually becoming obvious that Europe is drawing to the end of its political leadership of the world. Its art—and art is the clearest mirror of interpretation—is sterile, turned in upon itself; and even though it may produce another age of greatness, this will be a sunset age, and will but hasten what seems to be an inevitable downfall.

Each man reads into history the pattern of his own ambition, and this which I have written is only a personal interpretation of something which we all see differently. But to any who will concur with me, surely the present day is one of hope and inspiration. The old world with its outworn traditions, its tyrannies and blindness, is collapsing slowly before our eyes. We *cannot* believe in the permanence of our way of living. We *desire* the law which decrees that only in the rise and fall of empires and peoples can the whole of mankind advance. We desire that civilization of tolerance and culture, when the artist and the philosopher are above kings, firstly because it will be a good age, but secondly because of our belief that such epochs have the destruction of ancient tyrannies.

If such an age dawns tomorrow in Europe we shall live to see great consequences. The old nations of the West will die, and in their death—and in that alone—a new age of concord can arise.*

* This is a condensed version of an address delivered before the President and Members of the Jana-Tathya Anusandhitsa Parishat, Calcutta on 1st October, 1944.

THE SALT AGENCIES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE PRESENT REVIVAL

By Prof. JITENDRA KUMAR NAG, M.SC., B.L

The Salt Industry of Bengal is still a problem for the people at large as well as the Government of the Presidency. The growth of this baby industry is stunted for two reasons, first, for the British rulers' apathy towards its development, and secondly, for the manufacturers' inadvertence. This industry could have been built successfully by this time on a commercial basis as the ban on the manufacture has long been raised. But unfortunately it has not yet got any foothold on account of the long prevailing pessimism about its success.

It is however gratifying to note that after a century of its ruination, Bengal has revived her cottage industry in salt along the coastal region on the bay, from Jaleswar to Cox Bazar due to the Central Government's relaxation under the memorable Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The villagers of Sunderbans, Contai, Noakhali and Chittagong now prepare salt in their homes by boiling concentrated brine, obtained from saliniferous earth, by a process of lixiviation. It will be shewn afterwards in this article, that the same method of filtering saline soil was followed by the 'molunghees' from time immemorial and also when special agencies were set up by Lord Clive or Warren Hastings in their monopoly trade in salt, during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Before describing the working of the Salt Agencies of the East India Company, I would like to write shortly about the present enterprise of the coastal people in reviving their cottage industry, which was once one of the main sources of the country's salt supply. In 1942, when acute dearth of common salt, as one of the important commodities of Bengal, was felt, the Local Government introduced, with the consent of the Central Government, several storehouses in salt producing areas, to collect this indigeneous salt. Although the villagers are permitted to sell their home-made salt in the nearest market as a duty-free salt in small quantities, I have seen many of them carrying baskets of salt to a neighbouring warehouse.

There are now warehouses at Kakdwip, Chimnaguri Bazar—24-Parganas, Garchakrabaria—Tamluk, Dadanpatra, Rasulpur—Contai at Tekhali, Pampua, etc., and at several places in Chittagong. The latest figures for the recent collections are very satisfactory. They are, according to the finding of the Salt Survey Sub-Committee of Bengal's Industrial Planning Committee:

District	*Area*	*Quantity in maunds*
Midnapore	Contai & Tamluk	About 2,50,000
Chittagong	Along the coast	„ 2,00,000
Khulna	Satkhira & Bagerhat	„ 1,70,000
24-Parganas	Barasat & Sadar	„ 1,50,000
Noakhali	Sadar	„ 1,00,000
	Total	„ 8,70,000

Thus about 9 lakhs of maunds of salt were collected from these people last year (1943-44). Very small quantities were produced by the manufacturing companies of Bengal. The amount of production by the villagers is expected to increase this year, but authorities establishing warehouses should see to it that adequate fuel supply is made to these people. And also they should be given some advance as *dadan* as had been done by the old Salt Agencies each year before the salt producing season began so that the ground work might be laid by the 'molunghees' in their salt farms.

Of the average dumping of 140 lakhs of maunds of salt every year into the ports of Bengal, Calcutta and Chittagong, Bengal's own requirement at present is 6 lakhs; 47 lakhs go to Assam and Behar. The huge quantity of 84 lakhs of maunds of salt is now coming from the west Indian ports, Karachi, Okha, Morvi, Porbander and Bombay and from Madras and Aden. Aden of course was dumping before the present war more than ninety per cent of our demand. Before the war we were also getting salt from Cheshire, Hamburg, Rumania, Mussowah, Port Said, etc.

As the manufacturing companies are lagging behind we should see, that every endeavour is made to increase the production from the revived cottage industry and I am certain that, if all sorts of facilities are offered to the coastal people, they would be able to meet in future at least one-third of our requirement. The Salt Agencies of Bengal in the past were producing annually 35 to 40 lakhs of maunds, the entire demand of the province at that time.

India's total yearly requirement is about 20 lakh tons of salt, whereas, she produces 15 lakh tons from

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her sea coasts and salt mines—the balance of 5 lakh tons is imported from the above-mentioned foreign countries. Most of this foreign export is dumped into Bengal. The earliest account of the working of these Salt Agencies can be found in Agent Hamilton's Report on the Tamluk Agency, 1852, and the Report on Manufacture and Sale of and Tax on Salt in British India by G. Plowden, 1856.

The Agencies were divided into several manufacturing districts—*Arungs*, which were as follows:

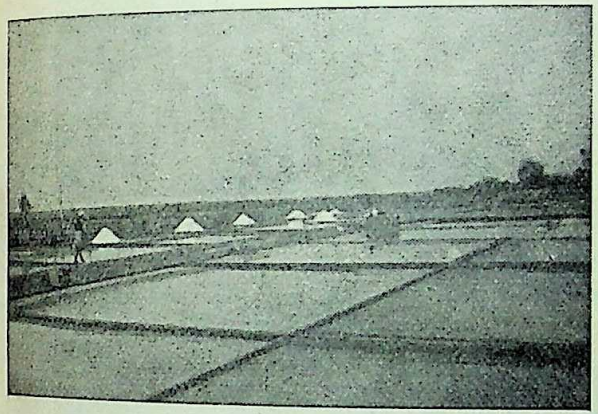
HIDGLEE—1 Beercool (Digha), 2 Bahireemootah, 3 Naranmootah, 4 Errinch, 5 Majuamootah, 6 Baghrai.

TAMLOOK—1 Tamlook. 2 Mahisadal, 3 Jellamootah, 4 Goomghur, 5 Aurungnagar.

24-PARGANAS—1 Desee, 2 Baheerbong, etc.

CHITTAGONG—1 Jooldeah, 2 Barchur, etc.

BALASORE—1 Ruttai, 2 Sartha, 3 Chenuna, 4 Dasmalang, 5 Panchmalang, 6 Ankura, 7 Churamoni, 8 Dhamara.



The salt-producing centre of the Bengal Salt Company

At Jessore (Khulna) salt was manufactured in Raimangal, Sibpur, Rampur, Malai and Jamira. According to Pargitter, salt manufacture in Jessore appears to have been given up in 1826*

The capacity of the principal Bengal Agencies were in favourable seasons, as follows:

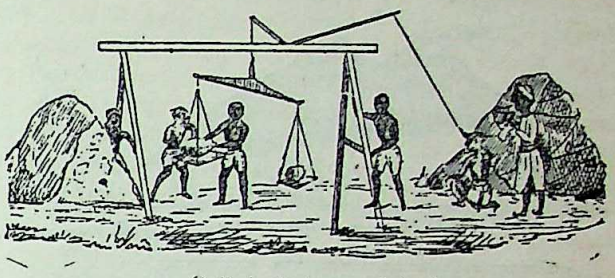
Hidglee	11	lacs	of mds.	of salt
Tamlook	9	"	"	"
Chittagong	9	"	"	"
24-Parganas	6	"	"	"
Noakhali	3	"	"	"
	38	"	"	"

The *Arungs* were also, for manufacturing convenience, subdivided into many 'Hoodahs' or independent jurisdictions. There were 83 Hoodahs in Hidglee, 37 in Tamluk, 8 in 24-Parganas and more than 50 in Chittagong.

An *Arung* was under the control of a Pokhtan or Manufacturing Darogah and a Hoodah was placed under the immediate charge of a Mohuri, who was assisted by a Zilladar, Anduldar, Barkandaj, peons and bearers. The Mohuris were nothing but Assistant Darogahs to look after the hoodahs. The number of the 'hoodahs' were 4 in Tamluk *arung*, 7 in Mahisadal, 9 in Jellamootah, 8 in Goomghar and 9 in Aurungnagar.

* Rai Saheb D. N. Mukherji's Report.

In a 'hoodah' there were several 'khalaris'—fields, appropriated by a 'molunghee' or manufacturer of salt for his salt preparing purposes. A khalari generally comprised one to three acres of land and it was divided like a paddy-field into several 'chatturs' or areas. To start with, the molunghees used to clear the khalaris,

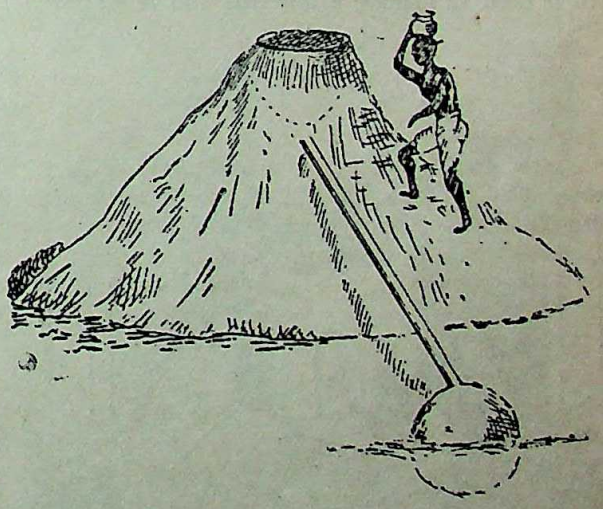


Salt is being weighed

after the rains, of every particle of jungle and grass and after weeding, used to remove the upper layer of the soil. Then he erected bund around and between chatturs, to confine in ebb-tide for several days the salt-water that entered the field. The land was ploughed and puddled by the coolies and finally levelled by a 'moye' or lump-crusher drawn by bullocks; and in the working season salt-water entering the chatturs repeatedly made the soil saliniferous.

The fields were left to the sun for 5/6 days, by which time the saline components of the earth used to rise on the surface and were easily visible to the practised eye of the molunghee in the shape of blisters—this was called to be the ripening of the crop.

Now-a-days the coastal villagers of Contai neither plough their salt farms, nor make the plot plain by a *moye* or ladder. They have not yet taken up the old practice for they do not know what procedure was followed by their forefathers.



Maidah (a primitive filter)

The saliniferous surface earth of the soil thus prepared was scraped and charged in quantities on the nearing filter plant for lixiviation. The primitive filter was called 'maidah,' it was a bit different from the construction of the plant, now made at Contai, although the working principle is the same. The present name current in Contai, is 'dabari.' The 'maidah' was larger than a 'dabari' and was, according to Hamilton's description, composed of a circular mud wall 4½ cubits high, 7½ cubits broad at the top, 12½ cubits at its base; at its summit was a basin; in the centre of the basin was

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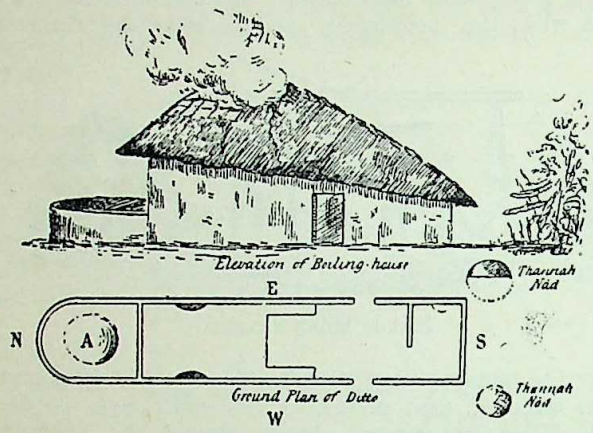
pierced a hole from which passed a hollow reed bamboo to connect the basin with a receiving vessel.

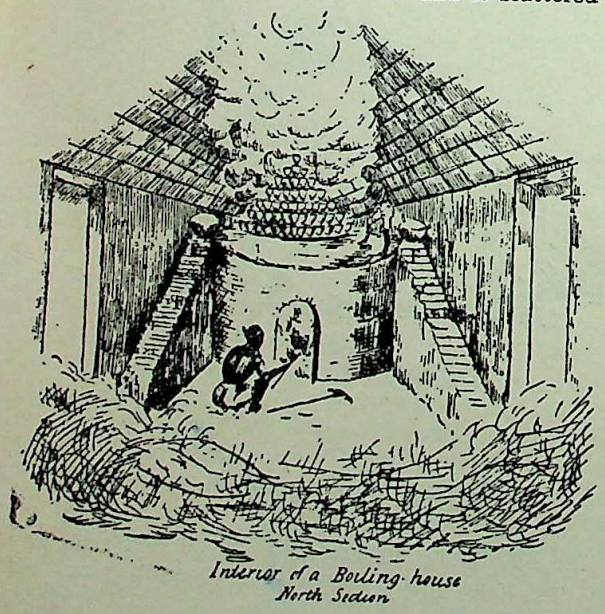
The modern filter measures 1½ cubits high, 2½ cubits broad (diameter) and the same at its base. In the



bottom of this pit several channels are cut to drain off the percolated brine to a pipe hole at a point of the wall and the brine collects in a small pit, 1 cubit lower in level, but whose depth is 2 ft. or more. The frame-work of the filter is made of date palm leaves, palm leaves, bamboo chips or twigs.

Not very far from Calcutta, near the rivers Piyali or Matla, people lixiviate the saline earth, placing it on an earthen pot, at whose base a puncture is made and on that hole twigs and leaves are laid. The pot is kept on a vessel for receiving the brine that drops. In each of the cases, water is poured on the saline earth to dissolve the salt-stuff existing in that earth.

"After the saline earth is deprived of the saline matters, the molunghee takes it out in his hands and throws outside, around the 'maidah' and this refuse earth is used as manure afterwards and is scattered by



the molunghee over his 'chattur' to increase its fecundity as a salt producing field."†

A boiling house or "bhoonree ghur" was generally situated close to the salt fields and was built North and South. It was usually 25/26 cubits long, 7 to 9 cubits broad, the South wall being 3½ cubits high and North or wall 6 cubits high so that the furnace may be built the Northern half of the building.

The panga salt, obtained by boiling the brine to be kept in baskets, which were placed on the of the choolah (just like what Cheshire manufactu do in placing the salt on hurdles attached to the bot pan on a side) to drive away the water remaining the salt and to dry it.

The baskets were brought out of the boiling ho and put on bamboo stands or frames about a cubit and kept for the whole day in sun for final drying.

After sufficient quantity of salt had been made was stored in the khutta golahs.

The process of preparing the panga salt, as marised by the writer, from the description left by Hamilton, was practically the same everywh but Rai Bahadur D. N. Mukherji says in

The land is levelled by a 'moye' or lump-crusher

report that kurkutch or solar salt was made in Chit gong. In 1827-28 an experimental manufacture of by solar heat for consumption in the districts of Chit gong and Bhoolooah, in lieu of Madras salt, was tempted in the Chittagong Agency. The experiment continued for five years (until 1831-32), when it abandoned as uneconomical. As regards the old prac of salt culture in the district of Noakhali, Mr. Dunc according to the District Gazetteer, states in his re on Sandwip, that down to 1728, salt was manufactu there for the benefit of the Chaudhuris, by the lo inhabitants; but it became, during Murshid Ku regime, a private monopoly of the Naib of Subah. 1765, the E. I. Co. created a monopoly trade in commodity along with betelnut and tobacco but th years later monopoly was withdrawn. From 1772 salt-producing areas of Sandwip came under the agen system of the E. I. Co. It is found in records that fr 1772 to 1776 over 1,30,000 mds. of salt were produc annually on the lands of Sandwip parganah. The N khali agency being the 5th agency of the E. I. Co. then in charge of an agent living at Bhulua. In 1780 t agency was controlling salt manufacturing of molunghees at Sandwip, Dakshin Sahabajpur, Hatia

† Hamilton's Report 1852, 44th paragraph.

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Bamni. "In the year 1819 Mr. Walters found the average annual production of salt to be a lakh of mds. in Hatia, rather more in Mankura, 20,000 mds. in Sandwip, 21,000 mds. in Mamni and 60,000 mds. in other islands of the Meghna. Altogether the production was over 3 lakhs of mds."—*District Gazetteer of Noakhali.*

All the Agencies worked up to about 1825, after which in 1826, the Jessore Agency stopped working and in 1848, the 24-Parganas Agency was closed for increase in expenses and falling in profit. The Chittagong agency was suspended in 1852. The other two agencies at Hidglee and Tamluk were abolished in 1863.

Foreign salt first imposed in 1818 gradually ousted the local product on account of its superior quality and cheapness; till about 1863, the national industry in salt (of Bengal) almost died. Queen Victoria's Government abandoned the monopoly trade in salt enjoyed by the E. I. Co. in 1863 and left manufacture free but subject to excise duty—which was hardly profitable as it could not compete with the imported Cheshire salt.

In 1897 local manufacture was prohibited altogether, the cost of production being higher than the selling price of the imported salt owing to the weakness of the brine supply, the lack of fuel and natural disadvantages.

THE ASTRONOMER-ROYAL AND GREENWICH OBSERVATORY

By ALAN HUNTER

Great Britain has had an Astronomer-Royal (and a Royal Observatory for him to work in) for the best part of 300 years—ever since, as a martime nation, our sailors first felt an urgent need to find their exact position at sea.

One of the most important functions of the Astronomer-Royal is still what it was in the days of King Charles II—who, in the Charter he drew up in 1675, called upon the newly created official stargazer to "find the so-much desired longitude at sea, for the perfecting of the art of navigation."

And so the history of the Astronomer-Royal is nothing more nor less than the history of Britain's ever-expanding navigation of the world.

The theory of finding a ship's position by the moon and the stars had, of course, been well understood for thousands of years.

The trouble was that this theory could not be put to practical use because the position of what might be called the guiding lights of the firmament could not be accurately plotted.

It was to compile this "stellar time-table" that the first Astronomer-Royal was appointed.

The honour fell to a young scientist, the 28-year-old Rev. John Flamsteed, and his name is perpetuated in the name of the Astronomer-Royal's official residence near the Observatory—Flamsteed House, Greenwich.

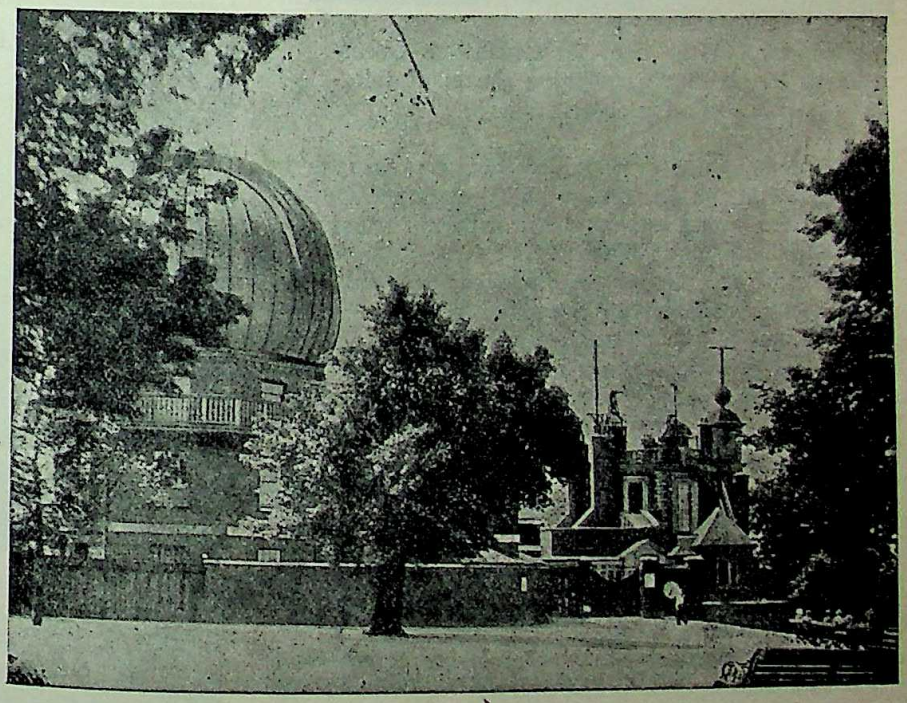
Greenwich—now a crowded part of London—was in those days a Thames-side hamlet in the country that then surrounded the capital.

It was the great architect of St. Paul's Cathedral—Sir Christopher Wren himself—who recommended the King to build the Observatory at Greenwich. Otherwise, it might well have been put up in one of central London's great parks—Hyde Park.

It so happened that the Crown owned a small building on a hill at Greenwich—and it was in the course of a year, that here the Observatory grew up.

Down the Thames to Greenwich they transported wood from an old gate-house in the Tower of London, as well as iron and lead from Tilbury Fort. Part of the cost was defrayed by selling some gunpowder that had been spoilt.

When King Charles and his advisers built their observatory at Greenwich, they little realised that London would spread to this little village, and that modern industrial developments would hamper accurate astronomical observation. Although Greenwich will always be the home of modern astronomy, after the war the observatory is to be moved to a more suitable site outside London where the air is clearer and where the observatory's delicate instruments will not be affected by the electrical fields of London's modern industries.



Greenwich Observatory, with the great dome which houses the astronomical telescopes, was founded in 1675 and completed in 1899

The first Astronomer-Royal took up his work in the newly built Observatory in July, 1676—just a year after the foundation stone had been laid.

Flamsteed was the right man for the job. He knew

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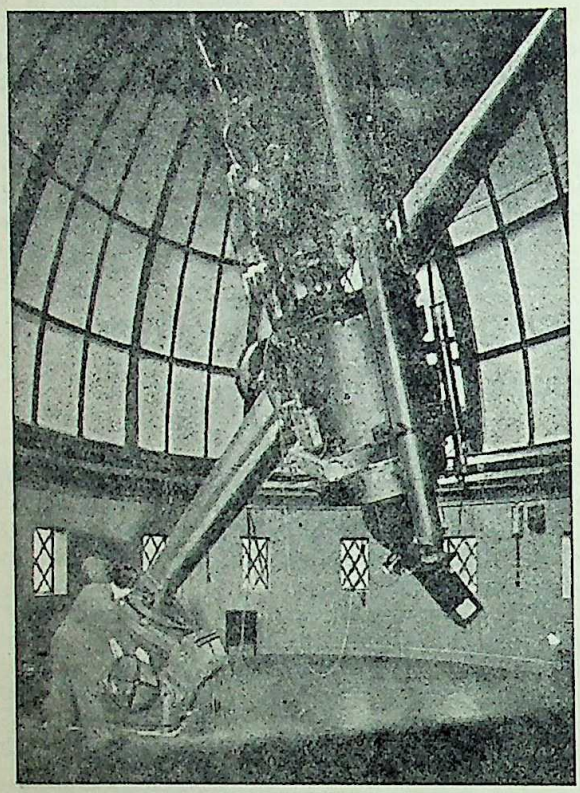
a great deal about astronomy, having already drawn up a catalogue of the stars, as well as having worked out tables of the motions of the moon and the planets.



The interior of the dome at Greenwich Observatory. An assistant is aligning the giant telescope for observations

It was fortunate, too, that Flamsteed was an expert mechanic. Although he was provided with an Observatory, he had himself to equip it with instruments—some of which he made himself.

In the next 12 years or so, Flamsteed painstakingly made no fewer than 20,000 observations—and alone revised the tables of the heavenly bodies then in use.

Flamsteed provided the great Sir Isaac Newton with much of the data that led to the discovery of the Law of Gravitation.

Flamsteed's successor Halley, persuaded Newton to publish the famous "Principia", which might otherwise never have seen the light of day.

When Halley became the second Astronomer-Royal, in 1720, he had to re-equip the Observatory entirely. Flamsteed's widow had, quite within her rights, removed all the instruments.

Halley will always be most popularly remembered for what might be called "his" Comet. He predicted the return of the comet that has ever since been known as Halley's Comet—perhaps the best known comet in the firmament.

But Halley—of whom it was said when young: "If a star were displaced in the globe he would find it out"—was over 60 when he began a far greater work than the prediction of a comet's return.

This was nothing less than the observation of the moon through an entire 18-year period—or Saros, as the Ancient Chaldeans had called it.

Succeeding Astronomers-Royal gradually raised the standard of the Royal Observatory's work until the fifth—Maskelyne—was able at long last to fulfil terms of the original Charter, which was to perfect art of navigation.

Maskelyne's greatest work was his Nav Almanac. But almost as important was his decision do the one thing those before him had been so reluc to do as to publish regular lists of observations.

It was in Maskelyne's time that an English named Harrison won an award of £20,000 for his T Keeper, a chronometer that would keep perfect tim sea.

The Royal Observatory itself is, of course, the h of what's now known all over the world as Green Mean Time.

Through Greenwich runs what, by internati consent in 1883, is known as Longitude Nought— fundamental line by which distances east and west measured, just as distances north and south are mea from that other imaginary line, the Equator.

The modern world's system of time—zones of t that is,—are all related to the fundamental or M Time of Greenwich.

In 1880, Greenwich Mean Time was first m legal time in Britain and in more recent years B. B. C. has vastly extended the time service with world-wide broadcasts of the six pips.

The mechanism that broadcasts these famous is directly connected with the clocks at Green where the present Astronomer-Royal, Sir Harold Spe Jones, had done a great deal of work to improve already high standard of accuracy.

The Astronomer-Royal, Doctor Harold Spence Jones, F.R.S., who has held his office since 1933

Sir Harold is an astronomer with a formidable of achievements. He has been Astronomer-Royal Greenwich for ten years, coming from a similar po the Royal Observatory, Cape of Good Hope. A

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his many contributions to the science of astronomy, he is responsible for the most precise determination yet obtained of the sun's distance from the earth, the fundamental unit of distances in astronomy, known as the Solar Parallax.

The sun, he found, was 93,005,000 miles from the earth, with what astronomers call a degree of uncertainty of some 10,000 miles.

It was for this work that our present Astronomer-Royal earned the coveted gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society.

This achievement serves to remind us that, throughout the long history of the Royal Observatory, one of its main tasks has always been the accurate plotting of the position of the sun, the moon, the planets and the fixed stars.

It has been long, hard and—to ordinary people—perhaps unexciting work, but there is not a single ship that sails the seven seas today that does not owe something of its safety to the painstaking observations of Britain's long and illustrious line of Astronomers-Royal.

Charles II built better than he knew—and, as a King who always took a keen interest in science, gave the lie to the cruelly untrue saying: "He never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one."

POLITICAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BENGAL AND CHINA

(Translated from Chinese Records)

By Prof. SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA and Prof. HSIAO LING WU,
Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

[In Chinese literature, we find many records of political intercourse between Bengal and China, which took place during 1408-38 A.D. In these records, we find descriptions of Bengal, of its social customs, its public life, its native productions—trade, wealth etc.

As those political officers who came from China, stayed only for a short time, and put up amongst high officials (who were Mohammedans), their descriptions of the social customs and public life of Bengal are not quite correct; nay, sometimes they are amusing; from these, however, we get glimpses of Bengal of the 15th century. Moreover, we find new materials for the history of Bengal.

A similar record was translated fifty years ago, by George Phillips, who published it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, pp. 529-33.]

Bengal is about 7,000 *li* (2333 1/3 miles) away from Nikobar and is situated north-west of it. It is also called Eastern India. It has got quite a large area.

If one starts from Sumatra, one has to go first towards "Cap-hill" (Pulo Weh) and Nikobar and then in a north-westerly direction. If the wind is favourable, then within twenty days, one arrives at Chittagong. From Chittagong, sailing in a small boat and after travelling 166 2/3 miles, one reaches Sonargaon. This port-town is surrounded with walls and fortified with ditches. It is a big town with streets and markets.

After passing twenty stations from this town, one reaches Pandua (in Malda), the Capital of Bengal. This city with its suburbs is grand and magnificent. The King has got a white-washed palace, large in size, and rectangular in shape. It is divided into nine sections and has got three gates. The pillars in the buildings are plated with brass and decorated with engravings of flowers and animals.

The crown and the dress of the king, as well as the caps and the clothes of the higher officials, are in Mohammedan style.

All are Muslims. Their marriage and funeral ceremonies are observed in accordance with the Mohammedan rites.

The people of Bengal are rich, honest and generous. They are well-acquainted with commerce. They shave their hair and put on a white turban on their heads. They wear a long gown with round collar, wrap the lower part of the body with a coloured cloth, and put on leather shoes. Women have a peg-like knot of plated hair on their head. They wear short garments on the upper part of the body and wrap the lower part with coloured clothes, made of cotton or silk. They put golden earrings with precious stones in their ears and precious necklaces round their necks. They put golden bracelets and anklets on their hands and feet and rings on their fingers and toes.

The climate of Bengal is constantly hot. The Calendar current there is of twelve months without any intercalary month (*malamas*). There the highest punishment to an accused is only transportation. All officials have their despatch-seals. The commander of the army is called *Sipasalar*.

There are physicians, astrologers, astronomers, and all kinds of artisans.

Everything is available in the market. The language of Bengal is Bengali. People are also well-versed in Persian. Musicians are called *ken hsiao* (*so*) *su lu nai* (.....*sura-nayaka?*). Early in the morning, in the houses of rich and high class people, they start music. One of them beats a small drum, the other beats a big one, while another plays on a flute. The time-beating begins slowly and afterwards becomes rapid. When it is finished, the musicians are given food and drink, as well as *tanka* (rupee) by the owner of the house.

Bengalees usually entertain guests with *pans*. During feasts, they engage music-girls to entertain the guests by singing and dancing. The dress of the music-girls, on the upper part of their body, is made of a light red coloured cloth with designs. Over the lower part they put on a coloured silk gown. Round the neck, they put on necklaces, made of precious stones, such as coral, amber, pearls, with various colours (lit. five colours). On the wrist, they put on bracelets, made of precious stones of red and green colour.

The Bengalees are accustomed to have tigers' play. The player pulls the tiger with an iron chain and walks. At the time of play, the chain is removed. The tiger squats and waits. The man undresses himself, in order to fight with the tiger. The tiger then roars and gets excited. Then they fight with each other. The man sometimes puts his arm into the mouth of the tiger. When the play is over, the tiger lies down on the ground. The family that enjoys the play, feeds the tiger with flesh and gives *tanka* to the player.

There are two kinds of exchanges in Bengal. One is a silver coin which is called *tanka*, the other is sea-shell which is known as *kari*. The weight of the silver coin, according to the standard weight, is three *fen*. Its diameter, according to the standard measurement, is one inch and two *f'en*. The silver coin is decorated on

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one side. The value of the sea-shell is counted by its weight.[1]

The chief merchandise of Bengal is cotton and silk. The soil is suitable for all kinds (lit., five kinds) of corn. There are two crops during the year. The climate is favourable for keeping all (lit., six) kinds of domestic animals.

There are four kinds of wine in Bengal. One is made from coconut, the other from rice, another from *madhuka* (Bassia Latifolia) and the fourth one from palm trees.

There are six kinds of cloth in Bengal. The first one is called *peip'o* (baf?). It is two feet broad and fifty-six feet long. It is white, fine and evenly made. The second one is yellow (or red?) in colour. It is called *man cho ti* (*manjistha*). It is four feet broad and fifty feet long. It is closely woven and is very strong. The third one is a gauze-cloth, named *sha na pa fu* (*sahan-baf?*). It is five feet broad and thirty feet long. Its shape is similar to the Chinese "raw plain gauze" (*sheng pu lo*). The fourth one is a crape called *hsin pai ch'n ta li* (*panch tolia, ch'int?*). It is three feet broad and sixty feet long. The cloth for dressing the head (turban cloth) is similar to "three shuttles" (*san suo*). It is called *sha tar* (*jutar* or *ch'utar*). It is two and half feet broad and forty feet long. The Chinese *to lo mien* is called *mal mal* in Bengal. It is four feet broad and twenty feet long. On the reverse side of it there are naps which are half an inch long.

In Bengal there are pearls, corals, crystals, cornelians, king-fishers' feathers, plenty of bananas, pine-apples, pomegranates, tamarinds (?) (lit., sour-seeds), sugar-canes, plenty of curds (or butter), plenty of gourds, cucumbers, melons, onions, gingers, mustards, brinjals, garlics.

Camels are also to be found there. There are papers made from the bark of mulberry trees. There is a tree with slender branches and green leaves which spread themselves in the morning and close at night. It is like the Chinese "night-closing" trees. Its fruits are like plums. It is called *amla* (*amlaki*). It is used for curing constipation (or purging).

On the day when they received our emperor's mandate more than a thousand armed troops on horse were assembled. They were posted on the left and right sides of the long verandah. Gigantic figures with shining armours, holding double-edged swords and bow and arrows, were in attendance. Hundred umbrellas made of peacock-feathers were put over the terrace of the palace. There were troops of a hundred elephants in the audience hall. The king sat on a throne, decorated with all (lit., eight) kinds of precious stones. He had a sword on his lap. Two men holding silver staffs in their hands, were leading us. Every five steps, they shouted (a slogan). When we came to the central place, they stopped. Then two men holding golden staffs in their hands were to lead us. We proceeded just as before. The king solemnly and politely saluted (putting the hand on the forehead) and received the imperial mandate. When the ambassador read out the list of gifts, a carpet was spread on the audience hall, to entertain him with a feast. There were different dishes of goats' flesh and beef. Sweet drinks of different kinds, some mixed with rose juice and others with various kinds of perfumes, were served to the party.

The kings of Bengal do not send ambassadors regularly to China. In 1408 A.D., in the sixth year of the emperor Yung-lo, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, king Giasuddin (Ajam Sah) sent an ambassador to China. In the 9th year (*i.e.*, after three years of this emperor of China, the ambassador reached Ts'ang (near Shanghai).[2] The emperor of China ordered the officer in the ministry of foreign affairs to receive (lit.. to give a feast and a place for rest) him there warmly. In the twelfth year of the same Chinese emperor (in 1414 A.D.) King Giasuddin sent his minister *Pa yi* (Bayazid?) and some others with gifts (lit., revenue) of Ch'i-lin *i.e.*, giraffe, and other things. Also in 14[illegible] A.D., in the time of emperor Cheng T'ong, gifts were sent from Bengal. Thin gold-plates were used for the official letters and for the list of presentation. The gifts were horses, saddles of horses, silver and gold ornaments, unwrought gold, furnitures made of cat's-eye gems, white porcelain, with designs of blue flowers, *sh ho* (shawl), *ch fu* (*kapu ?*), *he ta lai* (?), extremely white muslin—*malmal*, crystallized sugar, head of crane, horn of rhinoceros, peacock-feathers, parrots, frankincense, musk, manufactured incense, gray-incense, hemp, catechu, violet glue, gamboge, ebony wood, sapan wood, peppers.

Bengal is indeed a rich and generous country. Look at the gifts given to the Chinese ambassadors. A golden helmet, a golden belt with a pot and bottle in it all golden, were presented to the chief ambassador. A silver helmet, a silver belt with a pot and bottle in it all silver were given to the assistant ambassador. The interpreter (who was also a Chinese) was given the gifts of a golden bell and a long robe made of fine silk. Soldiers were given silver coins.

If Bengal were not a rich and generous country how could it do so ?

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1. Chinese measurement was of various kinds at various times. Now for international trade purposes it is fixed by the Treaty as follows :

Chin (Chinese pound) is equal to 1 1/3 libs. Sixteen *liang* (Chinese ounce) make one *chin*; ten *ch'ien* (mace) make one *liang*; ten *fen* make one *ch'ien*.

A Chinese foot is equal to 14·1 inches (English). Ten *f'en* make one inch (Chinese); ten inches (Chinese) make one foot (Chinese).

2. There is something wrong here. Regarding the dates of political intercourse between these two countries (*viz.*, Bengal and China), we have got very authentic records in the history of the Ming dynasty. We have translated such a record. We quote below a passage from it :—

In the sixth year of the emperor Yung-lo (*i.e.*, 1408 A.D.) king Giasuddin of Bengal sent an ambassador to China with tributes of native products. The Chinese emperor entertained him with feasts and gave him presents of various things. In the 7th year of the same emperor (in 1409 A.D.) an ambassador of Bengal came again. He was accompanied by 230 officers. Just at that time, the emperor Yung-lo was eager to establish relations with foreign countries. He presented them with many things. From this time every year ambassadors from Bengal came to pay tributes. In the tenth year of this emperor (in 1412) before the ambassador of Bengal came (to the capital) the emperor sent officers to Chen Chiang (near Yang-Chow) to receive him with feasts etc. When all such arrangements were ready, the ambassador announced the death of their king (*i.e.*, Giasuddin Ajam Sah). The emperor sent an officer to Bengal to offer the last offerings to the dead, as well as to coronate the prince Saifuddin. In the 12th year of Yung-lo (in 1414 A.D.) the second king (*i.e.*, Saifuddin) sent an ambassador with an official letter, expressing his thanks, with tributes of Ch'i-lin *i.e.*, giraffe, beautiful horses and some other native products..... The next year the emperor sent Hou Hsian, as an ambassador to Bengal with an official letter, as well as presents. The king, the queen, and the high officials all received presents. In the third year of the emperor Cheng T'ung (in 1438, *i.e.*, when Samsuddin Ahmad Sah was the king of Bengal) Bengal again paid tributes of Ch'i-lin (Giraffe) to the Chinese emperor. The next year also, tributes came from Bengal, after that they came no more.

3. The fleshy knob of a kind of crane's head which is used as strong poison.

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MENTAL HYGIENE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By BEJOYKETU BOSE, M.B., B.SC.

The movement of mental hygiene originated firstly in America. Its founder Mr. Clifford Beers has narrated the origin of the movement in a fascinating autobiography, *A Mind That Found Itself*. Mr. Beers, who was himself a victim of a severe type of mental sickness, vividly portrays his mental condition during the illness in this book and discloses the nature of treatment meted out to patients in mental hospitals at that time. Want of sympathy, which he felt so keenly as a patient in almost every person who came to take care of the mentally sick, moved him most. On his recovery, therefore, he was the most ardent and impatient worker to bring about a hygienic reform, from the mental standpoint, in the conditions of the American asylums and hospitals for mental patients. His efforts succeeded in founding the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene in New Haven on May 6, 1908. Mr. Adolph Meyers christened this young movement with the term Mental Hygiene. At the outset the movement had only two objectives :

(i) Improvement in the condition of patients in mental hospitals.

(ii) Improvement in the technique of treatment for the insane, epileptics and mentally defectives.

The mental hygiene movement gradually found worldwide encouragement. In its course of growth it developed into a great applied science and came to include a wide range of social and individual aspects of human life, *viz*,

(a) Study of psychopathic criminals and prevention of crime.

(b) Study of the pathology of mental disorders and the prevention of mental disorders.

(c) Mental welfare clinics for (i) Child guidance, (ii) College students, (iii) Industrial workers, (iv) General public, and (v) Parents' guidance.

(d) Training of physicians, nurses, attendants, social workers and teachers.

This movement spread to India in about 20 years' time.

The Indian Association for Mental Hygiene was founded in Simla in August 23, 1928, mainly through the efforts of Captain H. Stedman, M.C. Lieut.-Colonel Owen Berkeley-Hill was its first President. The Association was affiliated with the National Council for Mental Hygiene, Great Britain. The objects of the Association, as stated in the Memorandum, were :

(a) To encourage the study of the mental health of the community with a view to (i) removing those factors which militate against good mental health, (ii) combating the prevailing ignorance regarding mental disorders, and (iii) improving the psychological environment of both children and adults.

(b) We propose to employ ourselves and what funds we raise in the following ways : (i) holding of meetings in order to afford an opportunity for the exchange of ideas, (ii) the reading of papers by members, or by experts in any branch of mental hygiene, (iii) propaganda work by urging the needs for the establishment of special clinics and the provision of facilities for remedial measures for children and adults of abnormal mentality, (iv) the gradual formation, as funds permit, of a central library of mental hygiene, the books of which may be distributed by post to members wherever they are situated, (v) the arrangement, as circumstances permit, of popular lectures to the general public to be given under the auspices of the Association, either by members or by experts whose assistance can be obtained.

The pioneers of this movement in India were all Europeans although subsequently many Indians joined it. The Association had a short but very distinguished period of existence. Its progress towards the realization of its objects was fair and steady. Three months after its formation, it began publishing a quarterly Bulletin from Simla. Captain Stedman was its first editor. This Bulletin was richly contributed to by eminent workers in the field of psychiatry and social psychology in India.

In 1930 Lieut.-Colonel Berkeley-Hill took over the responsibilities of editing and publishing the bulletin from Captain Stedman. In March 1932 sub-committees under the Association existed in the following places : Delhi, Simla, Lahore, Calcutta, Southern India and Ceylon. The Calcutta Committee became an independent branch under the presidentship of Sir George Rankin, the then Chief Justice of Bengal, in 1931. On the 1st May 1933 a psychiatric Clinic was opened at Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Belgachia, under the patronage of the Calcutta Sub-Committee and under the guidance of Dr. G. Bose.

So far the progress of the Association was really gratifying. Unfortunately from the beginning of 1933 we find the editor sounding warning notes. In the bulletin of 1st March 1933 he comments, "During 1932 no reports were received from any sub-committee throughout India. This is disappointing." In spite of the repeated appeals by the editor, the response from the different sub-committees and members did not improve. In July 1939 the editorship of the bulletin was taken over from Lt.-Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill by Dr. Banarsi Das, Superintendent, Mental Hospital, Agra. In October 1937, he writes, "The editor regrets to say he received practically no response to his appeal for the renewal of subscription (a sum of Rs. 2, only) of old members and for the enrolment of new members. It will be a real pity if it is allowed to die out from apathy just when the whole country is pulsating with a new surge of enthusiasm for progress in all directions."

The last appeal also fell flat. A vestige of this humanitarian movement however, still persists in the psychiatric clinic at Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Belgachia. This clinic in its humble way has been doing valuable work in the field of mental hygiene for the last 11 years. It opens on Tuesday and Thursday of every week from 8 to 10 a.m. Besides diagnosis and treatment the clinic also provides for the training of medical practitioners and clinical lectures for advanced medical students and post-graduate students of psychology are held regularly.

Although the general movement as started by Captain Stedman closed down, still there were other workers whose persistent efforts would not die out so easily. One of them, Mr. Girija Bhusan Mukherji, founder of the Bodhana Samity, is still carrying on his special task. On the 1st of July 1933 the Bodhana Niketan or the home for the feeble-minded was started. It began with 4 pupils; at the end of a year it had 8

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pupils and the existing number in February 1944 was 14. There is, however, accommodation for about 50 pupils. It admits pupils of both sexes, irrespective of caste, creed or nationality. Enquiries for admission have come from different provinces of India. The site of this institution is Jhargram in the district of Midnapore. Raja Narsingh Deo Bahadur made a gift of about 80 acres of virgin land for establishing this home to the authorities of Bodhana Niketan.

There is another institution for feeble-minded children at Kurseong. European and Anglo-Indian children only are admitted. There is accommodation for about 20 pupils. It is managed by Miss Silvia de Laplace. It also receives Government aid.

The first mental indoor institution to be started in Bengal is the "Mental Hospital." It was started in 1931 in Calcutta. The male department of the hospital was shifted to Mankundu in Hooghly district in 1940, where Messrs Soorajmull Nagarmull made over to the Hospital authorities a spacious garden house with extensive compound as a gift. The hospital also has a female department and observation ward in Calcutta. It receives grants from both the Corporation of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal. The existing accommodation is for about 60 patients.

In the year 1940 Indian Psychoanalytical Society started under its auspices Lumbini Park Mental Hospital with only three beds. The institution has been very popular and at present it can accommodate 25 mental patients. It has an outdoor section also where patients receive advice free of charge. An important feature of this institution is that it aims at the training of technical personnel and the providing of facilities for research. Unfortunately it receives no support either from the Government of Bengal or from the Corporation of Calcutta by way of grants. It is registered under the Societies' Act of 1861 and aims at making, as many beds as possible, free as soon as funds permit. Up to now it has not received any donation big enough to enable it to have free beds for deserving patients. It practically depends entirely on the charges realised from the patients for its maintenance. Consequently the charges for treatment are high and beyond the reach of many. Mental diseases often require prolonged institutional treatment. So for even ordinary middle class people, not to speak of the poorer masses this form of treatment is beyond their means. Lumbini Hospital is fortunate however in one respect at least that its technical staff consists of many experts who render their services practically in honorary capacity. The reports of this hospital are regularly published in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis.

Besides these two hospitals Bengal has also at least two more mental hospitals run on Ayurvedic lines of treatment. There are also outdoor clinics for mental diseases at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital and Shambhunath Pandit Hospital maintained by Government. There is also an outdoor for mental patients in Madras. The Applied Section of the Department of Psychology, Calcutta University, also examines and gives free advice to persons presenting themselves for mental abnormalities. In the past, the Department of Psychology of Calcutta University used to organize educational stalls in the Health Exhibitions held annually at the Indian Museum building. This stall used to attract considerable interest from the public and contributed greatly towards creating mental health consciousness among the public. Bombay has got an institution for training psychiatric social workers and a child guidance clinic managed by Sir Dorabjee Tata Foundation. In Bombay under the able guidance of Dr. K. R. Masani the Indian Council of Mental Hygiene has recently been started. Among its aims and objects it mentions the following:

(1) Conservation and promotion of mental health among the public.

(2) Prevention and treatment of mental and nervous diseases and the early and scientific treatment of these diseases as also of the less well-defined character and personality maladjustments.

The Bombay University is the only University in India that has a diploma course in Psychological Medicine. Calcutta University is also alert to the current trends. It is at present considering a scheme for instituting a D.P.M. course and it is expected that the scheme to train technical personnel in the fields of Psychiatry will soon be given effect to. The latter scheme proposes to train (i) Teachers for the mentally deficients, (ii) Psychiatric social workers, (iii) Industrial Psychologists.

Training will be conducted by the Applied Section of the Department of Psychology.

Mental Health Survey

According to competent authorities, the incidence of mental diseases is comparable only to the total incidence of all the bodily diseases taken together. The actual number for India figures something like 1,500,000 cases requiring institutional treatment alone. In contrast with this figure the total accommodation for mental patients existing in the whole of India numbers only 12,680 beds for Government institutions only. There are 16 mental hospitals in British India, excluding Burma, managed by the Government, distributed in the following way :

Province		*Total accommodation*
Assam ..	1	748
Bengal ..	Nil	—
Bihar and Orissa	2	1781
Bombay and Sind	5	3733
C.P. ..	1	613
Madras ..	3	2920
Punjab ..	1	1299
U.P. ..	3	1550
	16	12680

It will thus be seen that in Bengal, where the number of mental patients is the largest, the facilities for their institutional treatment are practically nil. In India the consciousness of the public of the necessity of mental sanitation is alarmingly poor. The misery and suffering consequent on this backwardness is appalling but part of this misery is preventible and curable. Unfortunately our general economic backwardness usually masks the importance of all specific problems but it would be dangerous to let that happen in the field of mental health, too, for an indefinite period. Some efforts at least have been made for mitigating our sufferings from the diseases of our body in the different general hospitals for the treatment of medical and surgical affections. There are also special hospitals for tuberculosis, tropical diseases, obstetrical and gynaecological cases in Bengal but although the worst sufferer, Bengal has practically no provision for treatment of mental disorders. It is high time now that some national effort

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for the promotion of mental health were made. We know we are handicapped. Financial and legislative difficulties will stand on the way of our efforts apart from the resistance of an ignorant mass, still we can do much useful work and prepare the ground for our future social and individual happiness by starting nucleus institutions for the treatment of mental diseases, by making arrangements for the training of technical personnel and for research concerning the different aspects of mental diseases so that when the problem of finance is solved, these can be immediately expanded to meet our national needs adequately.

AGRICULTURAL PLANNING AND DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE TO THE CULTIVATORS

By S. DATTA, D.Sc. (London),

Principal, Rajshahi College and Administrative Controller, B. K. Agricultural Institute, Rajshahi.

These are the days of planning. Ever since the news of the bewildering success of Russian planning systems spread far and wide every country in the world has been speaking of long and short term plans. One such is the recently published plan for the improvement of agriculture in India by a special committee of the I.C.A.R., which aims at a Capital expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores at pre-war rates and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 20 crores annually. Well and good! If all that money could be released for the improvement of agriculture, then however the money may be mis-spent, some substantial improvement is bound to follow.

Of this big sum, it is not known how much will fall to Bengal's lot, but as Bengal is one of the major provinces of India, it is not unreasonable to assume that a tenth part of this sum, *i.e.*, 100 crores as Capital and 2 crores annually—will be spent for Bengal. In whatever form the expert committee may decide to spend this money—whether by making liberal grants to the University Professors for their 'fundamental' researches, or on 'Experts' at Regional or Provincial Research stations—for solution of special problems, there is no comment to offer. The object of the present article is, to lay stress upon the expenditure of a modest sum of 1 crore and 20 lacs recurring (*i.e.*, 1/100th of Bengal's quota) for the following purpose, which in my opinion is the most urgent step required for the education of the cultivator in agricultural methods on scientific lines, without which there will hardly be any practical development of improvement of crop production.

It is well-known, and the special committee itself has recognised it that there are big gaps between scientific knowledge and its dissemination. This is particularly so with the cultivators in India, who are uneducated, unreceptive, conservative in mental outlook and extremely suspicious due to ignorance. Every province has its department of agriculture; however lazily the department may have spent their times, it is not untrue that they have made many improvements of various seeds, achieved much success in their district demonstration farms. But how much benefit has the cultivator derived out of these improvements? Very little. Why? Because, the method of dissemination of knowledge has been extremely faulty. Because, the method has not taken into consideration the peculiar psychology of the Indian, particularly Bengali, cultivator. Hitherto the method in Bengal has been somewhat like this :—

1. For the dissemination of knowledge in each district of Bengal there are on average about five agricultural demonstrators who are given charge of one Union Board farm and three demonstration centres selected at random. The Union Board farm belongs to an ordinary cultivator but he is made to work under a cropping scheme laid down by the District Agricultural Officer and works like a seed multiplication centre. A demonstration centre has no such obligation of seed multiplications otherwise it works more or less like a Union Board farm according to a definite cropping scheme. The centre of demonstration in the village is kept fixed for three years but the cultivators are changed every year.

2. On paper the scheme is an excellent one but every one familiar with the condition of agriculture in Bengal knows that practically the scheme is a failure. Somehow the crop does not grow well, or the yield is not satisfactory, and the cultivator becomes shy and refuses to be persuaded next time. Not merely that; his fellow cultivators get the news of failure and as the proverbial bad coins gain in circulation so do the news of failure, and the conviction grows that the farm seeds are not so good or the methods suggested by the demonstrators are unsatisfactory. No improvement takes place, the cultivator sticks to his traditional method more firmly, and the money that is spent on the experimental farm is thereby wasted.

3. What are the causes of failures? They are chiefly three:—(i) the selection of seed, (ii) defective supervision of the demonstrator, (iii) conservatism on the part of the cultivator.

As regards (i), the seed is selected on the knowledge gained in the district experimental farm, the oil of which place can not be taken as a representative one; and as there are wide variations in the character of the soil within each district, it is hardly any wonder that the selected seed does not give proper response.

Regarding (ii), an ill-paid demonstrator, with little or no interest in the actual production of crops, can hardly be expected to work enthusiastically. Like the majority of paid officers he will surely do the minimum of work required for earning his pay. And as to (iii), the conservatism of illiterate cultivators is natural and can only be shaken off by giving him opportunities of seeing practical results of improved cultivation. The committee has suggested the training of workers by every village having a guide who will act as a "link between the technical experts and cultivators" . . . "The village guide will have to be in knowledge, status and equipment something more than the village chowkidar." Will the guide contemplated in the above recommendations be any better than the agricultural demonstrators? No. The guide will be a very weak link between the experts and cultivators and if the underlying causes of the present failures are not eradicated no real progress can be achieved. If it was possible to organise a scheme

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by which responsible pseudo-experts themselves would go round and give frequent advice to the cultivators it would have been very good, but such a scheme would be financially unworkable. Hence my suggestion is that instead of having any ill-paid, irresponsible intermediary, why not evolve a scheme in which, by rotation, every big cultivator will master the technique directly under the guidance of the farm experts and also increase the number of farms by locating them after a soil survey so that the soils of these experimental farms are closely representative of the soil in the neighbourhood? By this arrangement the cultivators themselves will have opportunities of acquiring the technique of scientific agriculture, of seeing for himself the wonderful results of improved cultivation. During the course of training they may also be given some ideas of agricultural marketing. He may also be given a knowledge of the selection of right kind of seeds which will be suitable for his own lands for he will be made to work for a reasonable period of time sufficient to master the technique of scientific agriculture including ideas of rotation of crops in an experimental farm where the soil condition is similar to that of his own. The cumulative effect of such a training will practically remove all the defects including his natural conservatism and will go a great way in achieving solid progress. For this a five-year plan somewhat on these lines is (tentatively) suggested:—

In Bengal there are 28 districts having a total of about 100 subdivisions. Each subdivision has on an average 50 large villages where a post office is situated. If another 50 villages are included in each subdivision, practically all the important villages will be reckoned with. Start an experimental farm in each of these subdivisions after a soil survey. Let stipends be given to 20 cultivating owners one from each village, for one full year for work in each of these experimental farms and learn all the techniques of agricultural production, such as raising of better seeds, rotation of crops, raising of more crop in a land, manuring, etc. The stipend should be large enough

(i) to maintain himself in the farm free of all cost;

(ii) to compensate the loss which he has to suffer for leaving his cultivation;

(iii) to meet with the cost of his travelling. At the end of one year 20 villages in each subdivision will have an expert cultivator who will be an active agent for dissemination of the latest scientific knowledge to his fellow cultivators, who again by their success will stimulate others to adopt these latest methods by abandoning the traditional ones. In the 2nd year another batch of 20 cultivators from new villages will have to be recruited and in this way in course of five years every important village in Bengal will have one expert cultivator sufficiently trained to be the guide and preceptor of others not by verbal lessons but by practical demonstration of the possibilities of improvement by scientific agriculture.

The incidence of the scheme may be worked out as follows:

Capital cost on subdivisional experimental farms—

(1) Land (100 acres @ 500/-)	50,000
(2) Building	40,000
(3) Equipment	10,000
	100,000

Total on 100 subdivisions=100×100,000=1 crore.

Recurring cost on maintenance of farms—

(1) One Asst. Supdt. in charge of the farm (average salary)	@ 150 = 18
(2) One skilled assistant	@ 60 = 7
(3) Two servants	@ 50 = 6
(4) Contingency	@ 23 = 2
	3,400

Total on 100 subdivisions=100×3,400=3·4 lacs.

Recurring cost for the stipend of the 20 cultivators in each farm—

Cost of fooding, etc., in the farm mess	@ 20 = 4,8
Cost of family allowance	@ 40 = 9,6
Cost of travelling expenses of the cultivators 10 × 20	= 2
	14,6

Total cost on 100 farms = 100 × 14,600=14·6 lacs.

Total recurring expenses = 14·6 + 3·4=18 lacs.

Add supervision cost of 30 inspectors, one for each district at a salary of Rs. 250 (average) = 90,000+7,000 = 1 lac.

No provision need be made for the purchase of seeds or employment of hired labour (if required) and other expenses of the farm as those may be easily met from the proceeds of the sale of farm products leaving a profit which can be capitalised for the expansion of the scheme.

If the committee really want to maintain a link between the technical experts and the cultivators, the scheme outlined above will be more effective than training a village guide and employing him permanently in guiding others. Having no interest in the land itself, in the first place he will never learn the technique more than superficially and in the second place he will hardly be able to inspire any confidence in the mind of the cultivators in general and thirdly like the average ill-paid service men will be far too lazy to be of any use to the cultivators.

It might be said, in criticism of the scheme here outlined that one year is too short a period for a farmer's training. But it must be noted that this scheme is suggested as only a part of a comprehensive agricultural planning which must, if it is to succeed, be co-ordinated with India's Industrial planning. Agricultural planning must include apart from higher scientific training and research, a detailed soil survey irrigation, cattle breeding and rearing, agricultural finance, marketing of crops, involving problems of transport, storage, warehouses, regulated markets, standardising and grading, etc. But this scheme, as a part of planning, lays stress only on the method of dissemination of knowledge about improved seed, quality of soil needed, the suitability of soils for different crops, the method of preparing the soil and also the rotation of crops suitable to his land; the kind of manure with which the different soils and crops should be treated, the method of tending cattle, remedies of some common diseases of cattle, the method of harvesting, processing and storage. Be it noted that a practical farmer of some experience is not entirely a novice in these matters. If carefully chosen, he will be found to possess already a fair degree of knowledge of the matters included in his course and ought to be able to finish his training in the course of a year.

Besides educating the cultivator in the use of improved methods of farming, these subdivisional experimental farms would be expected to provide improved varieties of seed, loan of implements, bullocks, etc., and be of general help to agriculturists.

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POST-WAR AIR TRANSPORTATION IN INDIA

By K. K. ROY, M.Sc., A.F.R.Ae.S. (Lond.)

No one can doubt that the return of peace will bring a tremendous expansion in worldwide air-transportation. The airplane has been the most dynamic instrument of the war and will surely be the most dynamic instrument of peace. The technical strides that have been made under the stimulus of this life and death struggle will be reflected in commercial planes of to-morrow, carrying passengers and cargo to far-off places over land and water. All the nations are now planning for the expansion of their Civil Aviation, because the thoughtful citizens realise that not only for reasons of increased trade but for vital reasons of security, they must have commercial airlines. A "Mercantile Marine of the Air" is necessary to-day for the same reasons as a "Merchant Marine" was needed in the past.

India lags in all forms of transportation—rail, road or water. There is not enough of railways, road system or water-ways to cater to the needs of a vast country like India. If the country is to be industrialised even in a small but decent scale, we must discard the primitive cart, construct more and more road systems, build more railways and make a tremendous effort to modernise and enlarge the sea and river transportation system. Above all we must try to build the most modern transportation of all, the Airline.

India and China are the two backward countries of vast distances where the airplane will play a big role in the forward march of the two nations. The long and strenuous hours of journey that are required to-day to reach a remote place will be reduced to a few comfortable hours by airplane. In the near future, it will be possible to travel from one extreme point to another, the longest distance within India, in a maximum time of four hours, which would normally take days and days of hardship by the present available modes of transportation. The airplane will thus, by reducing the distances, bring the provinces closer socially, economically and culturally.

It is often argued that the Indian public is not wealthy enough to take to expensive air-travel. But, I believe, in the course of a few years, say 7 or 8 years after the declaration of peace, air-travel can be brought within the reach of the middle-class public. There were many factors which contributed to the high rates of air-transportation in India. The costs of planes before the war were very high and hence the heavy initial outlay. The operating costs were high too, because of high prices of aviation gasoline and excessive salary rates of foreign technicians and pilots. The performance of planes was also not good enough in pre-war days to make air-transportation more economical.

To have an effective air-transport system, all the important places and industrial towns within India should be inter-connected by a network of feeder lines, running frequent non-stop flights from station to station. The big cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Rangoon, Ceylon, etc., will be served by trunk lines. Feeder lines will radiate in all directions from a few centres conveniently located all over India. All the airline companies should get together to build landing grounds and most up-to-date radio facilities at all places served by airplane. Meteorological stations should also be set up either by the Government or by the airline companies jointly.

It would not be within the scope of this article to [illegible] of the types of airplanes that can be used most economically on these routes. But, I believe, planes of the type of DC3, 21 seater for trunk lines and 6-10 seater planes with a fairly high cruising speed for feeder lines will be most suitable. Smaller types of planes on feeder lines will reduce the possibilities of running trips with partial loads. The volume of traffic between important stations, say Calcutta and Bombay, will be large, so a 21 seater will be the most economical size. Immediately after the war, the U.S.A. will probably be using 50-60 passenger De-luxe, 275 miles per hour liners of the DC4 and "Constellation" type in their overseas and on the long distance inland routes. In the post-war period, say after 10 years of peace, four-engined, 62½ ton, 100 passenger, 275 m.p.h. super-liners with a range of 3,000 to 3,500 miles and four-engined 35 ton, 275 m.p.h. with moderate range will be used. A 25-30 ton, four-engined type will probably be used as a "Flying Freight Car." The "Age of Flight" will see super-superliners with sleeping berths, private dressing rooms, toilet facilities, club room, cocktail-bar, ground to passenger telephone and television service and cooking facilities for long flights. But such grandiose plans and dreams will not be for us for a long time yet. The most effective and economical airplanes suitable to Indian conditions will be of the types mentioned above with higher cruising speeds and better overall performance that will definitely be available after the war.

To serve India efficiently, a fleet of about 150 planes, small and big, will be required. It will be to the advantage of Airline Companies to standardise their equipment so that the planes can be manufactured in England at a lower cost. The life of an airplane in service is about 15,000 hours, *i.e.*, say 5 years. A life of 20,000 hours has been utilised by some companies by running their flights frequently according to rigid schedule. It is obvious that with the growth of airlines in India, there will be a constant demand for planes. As the field of operations increases the demand will increase too. Initially the Indian 'Airlines' will have, I am afraid, no other alternative but to place a standing order for planes and equipment in England or America, preferably in England as the costs will be lower. But, the wisest thing for the companies, in my opinion, would be to pool their resources to start an aircraft manufacturing concern of their own. It should be the object of this concern to design and build the 6-10 seater planes that will be needed for the feeder lines. The larger planes will not be so many as to justify production in India and will no doubt have to be purchased from abroad. This manufacturing concern can also be utilised to supply the needs of the Indian Air Force. This war has definitely proved that an airforce is an absolute necessity, the most important branch of the armed forces for the safety and protection of any country. The Robot planes in this war have shown the dangerous possibilities of the airplane. With further progress and development in the aeronautical science, one can visualise long range rocket-propelled pilotless planes and jet-propelled planes flying through the stratosphere with terrific velocity, and working havoc and distruction in distant parts of the world, in future wars. To protect our country against any such dangerous possibilities, a fairly good-sized and well-equipped airforce will have to be maintained at any costs, if the Government have the good [illegible] of the people at heart. No nation can always sensibly

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depend on foreign supplies and equipment for the maintenance of its airforce and the armed forces in perfect trim. The army of fighting men must always have an army of scientific men behind them. Just as the ordnance factories are supplying the armed forces, the proposed aircraft factory will be in a position to supply the Indian Airforce. The technical personnel required for organising airlines as well as designing and manufacturing planes are available now amongst Indians. Of course, high class foreign experts in the line can be hired at the initial stages. Should our students feel that a big opportunity awaits them in the field of aeronautics, better and better brains will be forthcoming for training and can be very usefully utilised in the industry. The vast number of our youths that are now being trained in the war industries will also be available to the industry.

The major items of operating costs of an airline are fuel, oil, pay of flying crews, accidental damage to flight equipment, and insurance premiums. According to the statistics of American airlines, these items contribute to 28 per cent of the total costs. In India, due to the higher cost of aviation gasoline this expense will be about 40 per cent, even though the cost on flight crews be lower than American or British rates. Next to the above items will come ground operations expense, and flying equipment maintenance. The expense on flight crews, ground operators, service and maintenance crews, all with decent rates of pay according to our standard, will be far below that in America or Britain and can be kept low enough to reduce the total operating costs. But the costs of aviation gasoline will be a major obstacle in lowering the operations expenses substantially to enable a reduction of passenger or cargo rates.

Let us now examine the rates at which an airline can operate successfully. From personal investigations carried out, I believe, an average rate of 11 pice per mile is a reasonable figure at present. At this rate an airline can not only operate profitably but also bring the fares on feeder lines within the reach of the public who normally uses second class railway facilities. The actual fares on feeder lines will be between first and second class railway fares. On trunk routes the fares will be slightly higher than the railway first class but yet no dearer. Consider for example, the trip from Calcutta to Bombay. The first class rail fare is Rs. 150. Add to it the costs of food, etc. The total expense will work out to be Rs. 175 or so. A fare of Rs. 175 by air will be readily acceptable to the public because of the comforts and swiftness of air-travel. As regards feeder routes, let us examine a trip from Calcutta to Dacca. The air distance between the two stations is 150 miles. The fare at 11 pice per mile is Rs. 25-14. Even though this is slightly higher than the second class rail fare, I am sure, the service will be popular to the (railway) second class travelling public.

The type of planes proposed to be used on feeder lines is a 6-10 seater, twin-engined, each of 400 H.P., with a cruising speed of 220 miles per hour at 12,000 ft. Let us assume that each trip of one hour covers a distance of 150 miles and includes one take-off and one landing. The cost for such a trip for the type of plane considered will be as follows:—

Fuel and oil	Rs. 72
Pay of flight crews, maintenance, depreciation and other operating costs	Rs. 52
Total (per trip of one hour)	Rs. 124

The details of this analysis have not been shown here. At the rate of 11 pice per mile, the fare available for such a trip is Rs. 25-14 × 6 *i.e.*, Rs. 154-14 (a minimum of six passengers per trip is assumed). Assuming an yearly service of 2,000 hrs. instead of 3,000 as mentioned before, each plane will show an annual profit of Rs. 61,600. Here we see a big margin which will enable a substantial reduction in cost per mile after a few years of operations.

It has been mentioned before that for an efficient domestic service, 150 planes will be required. These planes will operate from five centres, Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Allahabad and Madras, carrying passengers, mail and perishable cargo such as fruits and vegetables. Should needs arise, some of these planes can be utilised as ambulance to bring patients needing expert medical aid to places where such facilities are available, as is being done in Russia and also to send relief to famine and flood stricken areas.

In order to reduce further the cost of air-travel to bring it within the means of the middle class people the following steps should be taken:

1. Manufacture of aviation gasoline in India.

The minimum consumption of fuel by the 150 commercial planes will average twelve million gallons per year. This consumption alone, not considering the needs of the airforce, will amply justify opening up a new industry. Gasoline being available in India and in neighbouring countries, it will be possible for an Indian manufacturing concern to supply aviation gasoline at a cheaper rate than the imported stuff within a few years. Thus by reducing the cost of fuel, the major obstacle to cheaper air-travel will be removed.

2. Manufacture of aircraft in India.

The requirements of commercial airlines, not to mention the Airforce, will be large enough to support a manufacturing factory. At the initial stage, it will not be possible to produce planes at lower costs than the imported ones, but in course of a few years it will be possible to reduce the costs of planes considerably. The existing Aluminium industry will be able to supply the materials required for the manufacture of aircrafts. It will probably be desirable to start manufacture with the help of designs from "Blue Prints" purchased from abroad but at the same time the Indian designers should work on the development of a better and modern plane suitable to Indian conditions. As I have said before that aircraft designers are available to-day amongst Indians who will compare very favourably with the best of foreign experts, should they be given proper opportunities.

A second advantage, and a very important one to be to have a manufacturing concern is that spare parts for regular maintenance of commercial planes will be obtainable locally at cheaper costs.

3. With the technical progress that has been made under the stress of war, faster planes and better engines that will be available during the post-war period will enable planes to fly more hours and more miles between periods of major overhaul. Better engines with lower fuel consumption will also be available. These factors will lower the maintenance and fuel costs.

4. All the Indian Airline Companies should joint start a central school for the training of pilots and crew, pilots, radio operators, service and maintenance crews under able and experienced teachers. Such a school will have to incorporate all the modern equipments and facilities to impart the best of training within India.

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Indian airlines should be manned entirely by Indian personnel and it will be the object of this school to produce and supply the best of flying and ground crews that will be needed by the industry for efficient operations.

Some mention should be made here of the safety record in air transportation. There is a strong fear in the mind of people that air-travel is very risky. It was. But, to-day, with the introduction of twin-engined commercial planes, the highly developed radio navigational facilities, instrument landing facilities and with modern airports with sufficient margins of safety, the chances of accidents have been considerably reduced. One example will suffice to convince. In the period of four years before the war, in U.S.A. there were 12 fatal accidents in 430 million miles flown. Of these 12, at least 6 could have been avoided if radio facilities and other safety methods were as advanced then as it is to-day. Two cases, which were due to pilot's error, could have been averted with a better *espirit de corps* between the pilot and co-pilot. Only in one case was there any structural failure involved.

It can be confidently asserted that, to-day with the high state of development of navigational and instrument flying facilities and their universal incorporation in modern airports with better and improved traffic control system, it is no more dangerous to travel by air than by car, rail or steamer.

The formulation of a sound national "Air Policy" will be the deciding factor in the promotion of the "Aviation Industry" in India. Today we hear a lot of talk about "Freedom of the Air." What does "Freedom of the Air" mean? It means internationalisation of all air-space by inter-national consent. It would in practice precisely mean that commercial planes of any nation can fly with impunity over land and water, harbour and airport installations of other countries. So long, the principle of the "Sovereignty of the Air" has been practised. Under this principle, planes of foreign nations were denied the right of passage over a nation's territory and also the use of its airports. Deviations from this policy have been made in the past for economic gain or in consideration of reciprocal air-service by unilateral or bi-lateral agreements. The abandonment of this policy in favour of the "Freedom of the Air" policy will not be detrimental to our interests provided certain stipulations are made to help our own industry. Commercial planes of foreign nations, en route to other ports beyond India, will be allowed to land on Indian soil for overhaul and refuelling purposes only. They shall not be allowed to carry passengers or cargo originating in India, from one station to another within India. On routes from India to America, Great Britain, China, Russia or any other country, the passenger and cargo traffic originating from or bound for India should be shared on a fifty fifty basis, should there be any Indian concern operating to those places. The meteorological and radio facilities will also be available on a reciprocal basis. We must by all means at our command resist the formation of an "International Aviation Control Board." If such a board is formed, the attempts of the smaller and less industrialised nations to build their own Civil Aviation will be crushed by the powerful interests that will dominate such a body. The planning and control of domestic air routes should be left in the hands of the nations concerned. The inter-national routes can be arranged by common consent on a reciprocal basis. An International Aviation Board can function only as a consultative body on safety measures, equipment, navigation, meteorology, rates, etc.

On our domestic field, the Government of India should not find a "chosen instrument" of their own. The Government should

(i) give equal privileges and facilities in matters of mail, airports, etc., to all Indian Airlines;

(ii) resist the Imperialistic tendencies of any company;

(iii) resist cut-throat competition but encourage healthy ones so that India can have an efficient air-transportation system;

(iv) acquire all the airports built by foreign nations in India, and properly maintain them; build more airports with modern facilities all over India;

(v) set up a "Technical Board" for research and development of airports, traffic control, aeronautical equipments, and safety measures.

We are on the eve of a tremendous development of the aviation industry—both transport and manufacturing. This industry, I am confident, will flourish in our country. The airplane will give mankind greater benefits of travel and intercourse between peoples. Should this great future of the airplane be built on the solid foundation of safety and economy, air travel will no doubt become popular in India, and will also provide employment for thousands of our youths.

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

By ROBINDRA MOHUN DATTA, M.SC.

The Indian Science Congress held its Thirty-second sittings at Nagpur in the first week of January, 1945. Of the numerous papers submitted and read, the following papers which were contributed and read by the women scientists of our country, are given below:—

In the Section of Chemistry :

1. Condensation of Sulph-anilamide with Urea and some Dibasic Acids and other derivatives by P. C. Guha and Miss R. J. Irani, Bangalore.

2. Active principles of *Skimmia Laureola*, Hook by P. K. Bose and Miss A. Mookerjee, Calcutta.

3. Chemical examination of *Datura fastuosa* L by P. V. Nair and Miss P. Saradamma, Trivandrum.

In the Section of Botany :

1. Ecological and morphological observations on *Salvadoraceae* by Miss Ganga, Kalyanpur and B. N. Mulay, Karachi.

In the Section of Psychology and Educational Science :

1. Certain tendencies in the rating of personality traits, by Shanta Devi and H. P. Maity, Calcutta.

In the Section of Zoology and Entomology :

1. Corpus luteum in *Chilo-scyllium griseum* (Mull and Henle) by Miss M. Samuel, Madras.

In the Section of Mathematics and Statistics :

1. Application of the "Generalised Distance" i.e., "D2-Statistic" on some varietal experiment of rice crop by Mrs. C. Bose, Calcutta.

2. Sampling error in the method of double sampling by Mrs. C. Bose, Calcutta.

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If the women scientists of our country get encouragement and proper facilities for researches from the hands of the Goevrnment and rich philanthropists in the form of special scholarships and fellowships they would not lag behind in competing with their sisters of the other parts of the globe. We appeal to Government, the Universities and the rich of country to unloose their purse strings for endowments so that they can do valuable researches enhance the prestige of our country.

"THE GANDHIAN PLAN"*

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

We have lately been presented with different "Plans" emanating from different groups dealing with the problem of raising the standard of living of the masses and to develop India, industrially and otherwise, in such a way as to enable her to be ranked amongst the foremost powers of the world. The Bombay Plan (two insltalments) and the Peoples Plan are complete so far as the public are concerned. The Government of India Plan is still in the stage of planning. All of these plans are based on the modern conception of what science, industry and even agriculture carried on with the help of the most up-to-date researches of science, mean in the scale of civilization and each of them involves thousands of crores of rupees for their execution. We regret that the Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress could not finish its labours for reasons that happen to be India's lot. And at such a time the 'Gandhian Plan' by Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal is welcome. It is more so because it tries to evolve a plan which has its foundation in ancient Indian traditions and ancient Indian economy. The attempt of Shri Agarwal is highly commendable because it gives in a nutshell the ideas of a man who is deemed to be of the greatest that the world has ever produced and who by his mode of living has conclusively proved that people, drunk with civilization, may, with much benefit, do away with many articles that go to form part of their being and still live in contentment. To people who have had the good fortune of going through the pages of *Young India* and Mahatmaji's other writings, the 'Plan' of Shri Agarwal will be something like re-told tales, but for that simple reason it has not lost its novelty of marshalling facts in a very attractive and presentable manner. In a short volume we get Gandhiji's views on machine, industry, distribution of wealth, exploitation and many other things related to future economic planning of India. For lay men a very lucid analysis of the Fascist and Soviet Plans, the 'New Deal' of America and England's 'planless economy' and the Beveridge Plan of the United Kingdom, is extremely helpful for understanding the modern trend of planning for a high standard of living which includes food, health, education, comforts, liesure, etc., for the people of their respective lands.

One feels inclined to agree with Shri Agarwal that 'economic values can no longer be divorced from human and cultural values of life, for man does not live by bread alone' and to be convinced by what he, on behalf of Mahatmaji, places before us in support of his case. He has also discussed, in the short compass of the book the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; and the author's interpretation of "Nationalism" as schemes 'based on the indigenous culture and civilization of the nation' which should 'promote the welfare and happiness of the whole nation,' of "Democracy" as a system necessitating 'the least amount of state control and coercion' and "Livelihood" as the right of 'every citizen of a nation to earn his or her livelihood by just and honourable means', is highly interesting. The Gandhian Plan advocates 'simplicity, decentralisation and co-operative industrialism' and as a corollary it desires 'to build an ideal economy on four corner-stones of Simplicity, Non-violence, Sanctity of Labour and Human Values.'

To the ordinary Indian it seems to be an ideal plan and there are hundreds of thousands in other lands great thinkers they, who completely agree with Mahatmaji's views on economic planning. But there is scope for disagreement. We know that Mahatmaji is against industrialism because in his view "the evils (of capitalism) are inherent in industrialism and no amount of socialism can eradicate them." Mahatmaji, we know, is not against all machinery, but his objection is directed to the 'craze for machinery' and 'its indiscriminate multiplication.' Today India cannot stand aloof from the rest of the world and willy-nilly has to gear up her resources, if not for anything else, to save herself from exploitation by powerful groups of foreigners. India has had her own industries the products of which reached the distant corners of the globe. But this was ruined by a well calculated plan supported by powerful arms. When every other nation tries to go ahead with further industrialisation, India cannot wait as a passive onlooker at the great march only to supply raw materials and cheap labour and to be content with village industrialism and to be flooded with imported articles. We have been told that "Gandhiji wants India to plan her national economy in terms of peace and self-sufficiency without entertaining any ambitions of world market for her manufactures." So far as it concerns India, under Mahatmaji's plan, it is understandable. But the point that raises its ugly head is that other nations won't respect our feelings and will go on with their object more merrily than hitherto. I am not without support from Gandhiji when he advises people not to neglect development of basic industries. The industries mentioned in the Plan (p. 79) require huge capital, great organisation with ample resources and the proper development of some of these industries will act as tonic to their promoters in expanding their activities further. The whole country will be as a result, led to industrialisation with all its baneful effects. It may be that to Mahatmaji and in view of his way of thinking "the . . . trend of world economic thought is towards decentralisation and 'cottage communism'," but to say that it is the 'general trend' is inferring a great deal.

We all agree that "India must evolve a Plan of economic organisation which shall be congenial to her genius and culture" but Gandhiji does not preclude the considerations of change, a practical man that he is when he says that the old plans "should be revived and revivified, of course with necessary changes to suit modern conditions." And this partly means, we should adjust ourselves to the changed world conditions of a dynamic world.

* *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development of India*, by Shriman Narayan Agarwal, Padma Publications Ltd., pp. . Price Rs. 2-8.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE HOUSE THAT JINNAH BUILT : *By B. G. Kaushik. Published by Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 148.*

The author, obviously a *pucca* nationalist, gives an account of the technique evolved by the communal-minded section of our Mussalman brethren of gradually extending its demand for a larger amount of political power culminating in the demand for Pakistan. While conceding that the Muslim League is justified in having as its objectives, the protection and promotion of the legitimate interests of the community it claims to represent, he deprecates the preference it has shown for political hatred as its principal weapon. He also maintains that the responsibility for the spread of Hindu-Muslim disunity and hatred lies with the leadership of the Muslim League.

Extensive quotations from the speeches of Mr. Jinnah and from the resolutions of the Muslim League are used to prove the viewpoint put forward. The position of the Congress is explained and sought to be justified and the hope expressed that "as education spreads wider and deeper and the middle class intelligentsia in the community grows in number and influence, the Muslims will refuse to be misled and will assert themselves." Contending that a very considerable proportion of members of the leftist parties in India are drawn from the best type of Muslim intellectuals as also that the Congress is "going left at a very fast pace," the author concludes that there is no reason to despair for the future of Indian nationalism for, with the disappearance of British imperialism which he regards as the main prop of communalism, communal organisations, whether Hindu or Muslim, will lose whatever appeal they have at present either for the classes or the masses.

In the last section except one of his book the author gives a tentative scheme of federation which he thinks should satisfy both the Congress and the Muslim League and that "without compromising the essence of their respective demands" still another proof, if proof is needed, of his genuine desire to see a rapproachment between these two political organisations.

Written in an attractive and brilliant style and with conclusions based on documentary evidence, there is present throughout the book an undercurrent of passionate love of our motherland. Even the most careless of readers must be impressed by the deep pain felt and expressed by the author at the disintegrating influence of communalism and how he would willingly pay almost any price to bring back harmony once he is convinced that it would mean the end of all differences instead of becoming the starting point for a fresh series of demands. It is altogether a most impressive work though it is probable that it would have appealed more to members of the Muslim League if Mr. Jinnah and his activities had been described in less outspoken language.

H. C. Mookerjee

SELECTIONS FROM SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : *Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Publication Department at 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta, 1944. Price Rs. 6.*

These selections from Swami Vivekananda's speeches and writings have an abiding place in the history of our thought, as Swamiji occupied an important, a most important place when he lived, and even now the inspired message he has left for us is full of vigour and significance. We cannot read his lines on the 4th of July, the day of American Independence, the day which was to be made memorable to all his readers by the event of his death—written in 1898—without being vividly reminded of their appositeness today, and joining in the prayer—

Move on, O Lord, in thy resistless path !
Till thy high noon o'erspreads the world,
Till every land reflects thy light,
Till men and women, with uplifted hand,
Behold their shackles broken, and
Know, in springing joy, their life renewed !

The bright future of India of which Swamiji had a vision—is still hidden from us. The conversations, the letters, the poems and the speeches strike responsive chords deep into the soul, and set the reader thinking. These selections have not dated and they will be prized by the reader of today, and they will offer him consolation in his distress and inspire him to soar higher and higher. The printing and the general get-up leave nothing to be desired, specially in these days of control on all fronts.

P. R. Sen

WHAT PRICE NEW ORDER ? : *By N. J. Nanporia. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 218. Price Rs. 4-4.*

At a time when the air is thick with an amazing variety of speculations regarding the future world order, the vision of a socialistic reconstruction of our chaotic and sorry world should but evoke little enthusiasm. This vision has already been blurred by the growing insistence on the imposition of a retributive peace on the vanquished and the emergence of what might be paradoxically termed National Bolshevism in Stalinist Russia. The vision of Socialist unity has receded far indeed, and although the prospects of lasting peace would seem to rest on the achievement of this unity and working-class solidarity throughout the world, the

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stage is being set for the revival of old national rivalries and jealousies which lead inevitably to war. The author appeals to British labour to accept the leadership in achieving international socialist unity and pleads for a re-orientation of the socialist's attitude towards Soviet Russia. He argues that the fear of a Stalinist dictatorship being imposed upon post-war Europe is unreal, and that the Soviet Union should "shed her sphinxy reserve, abandon her attitude of suspicious independence and realise that national socialist renovation within one's own border is never thoroughly possible in a hostile capitalist world ; . . . that national planning is incompatible with world chaos." I hope this appeal will not go unheeded. The author has put forward a convincing plan for world reconstruction on the basis of a socialist revolution, and it remains to be seen whether, as anticipated by the author, the foreign policy of Stalinist Russia is so transformed in post-war years as to facilitate its early achievement.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

WAR AND IMMORALITY : *By Sudhindra Lal Roy, M.A. Published by Kitab-Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 165. Price Rs. 4-8.*

While this global war is still going on and the United Nations are preparing for post-war reconstruction all round, a book of this nature is of special interest to those who are much affected by war conditions. The last Great War (1914-18) taught us many lessons which we can remember with profit and utilise its experiences to the best advantage at the present hour. Although war brings out many hidden qualities and merits of mankind, its evil effects on human morals should not be lost sight of. Nobody now accepts that war is a biological necessity. Evil effects of war on human morals,—individual, social and national, are tremendous and no amount of State control can stop these. Some writers even go so far as to tag war, wine and women together. Whether one agrees with such extreme views or not, it must be admitted that war conditions give a good-bye to ordinary things in life and bring about such changes which ordinarily we shall look down upon as degrading and immoral. Success in the war becomes the only motive of the belligerents and open prostitution is allowed to thrive or rather encouraged as a means to final victory, by keeping up the morale of the soldiers. Civilian morality deteriorates and even children succumb to the evil effects which polute national and international atmosphere. So, every attempt should be made to make war a thing of the past by all civilised nations, and as a matter of fact one of the war aims of the United Nations is to fight out the present war to a finish so as to end war altogether for the future.

The author in 14 chapters has described the evil effects of war from various points of view quoting profusely from military and medical authorities of the last Great War and also from prominent authors of Continental Europe. The book reads like a novel and is certainly a welcome addition to the present day war literature. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

A. B. DUTTA

COMMON SENSE ABOUT YOGA : *By Swami Pavitrananda. Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Pp. 107. Price Re. 1.*

The author, a learned monk of the Ramakrishna Order, is the President of Advaita Ashrama, that beautiful hermitage founded by Swami Vivekananda in the heart of the snow-clad Himalayas. In the book, under review, the Swami speaks about a subject for the study and practice of which he has dedicated his life. The interesting chapters into which this nice little book is divided are, as he acknowledges in the preface, "the outcome of a form of thinking aloud on the subject of yoga." The Swami discusses herein yoga in a very simple and rational way and debunks some of the nonsense that are current about it. He rightly contends that yoga is not mystery-mongering as is generally believed. He takes one after another the four principal schools of yoga—Karmayoga, Bhaktiyoga, Rajayoga, Jnanayoga and clarifies the false notions that are said and believed on this science. He rightly warns the aspirants to beware of pseudo-yoga that strides in the religious world and quotes Aldous Huxley who says : "Orthodox Christianity has always tended to overvalue supernatural occurrences, to identify the unusual with the divine, to confound the mere psychic with the spiritual . . . They are concerned less with the 'Kingdom of Heaven within' than with external 'signs', less with knowledge of eternity than with power in space-time. True religion, in a word, is not mystical but a kind of occultism." This is the case not only with Christianity but with all religions and particularly with yoga. Whatever therefore is misty and mysterious in yoga should be carefully discarded as it has a very weakening and enervating effect on the aspirants. True yoga is a spiritual science and has nothing to do with occultism. It eliminates the weaknesses of one who practises it and strengthens him in every way.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE MEDIEVAL BENGALI EPICS : *By Asutosh Bhattacharya, M.A., Lecturer in the Department of Bengali, University of Dacca. Calcutta Book House, 1/1, College Square, Calcutta. Royal 8vo., pp. 1-60. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book deals with the character and purport of the *mangalakavyas* which alone in the wide field of medieval Bengali literature fulfil, as the learned author thinks, the requirements of true epics. The *mangalakavyas* occupy a very important place in the history of Bengali literature. And an account of them will be highly welcome to all lovers of literature. To make it intelligible and interesting to readers outside Bengal a detailed description of the important works should precede a treatment of their characteristic features. But unfortunately the present work seems to ignore this aspect of the matter. As a result, though the Bengali reader may have no difficulty in following the book, a little elaboration here and a little explanatory note there would have been highly helpful to one not familiar with Bengal. As regards the origin and primitive nature of the deities glorified in these works there is room for legitimate controversy. There is also scope enough surmise about the religious and social conditions represented in them. But there can be no two opinions about the present position of the deities and so one fails to understand what led the learned author to conclude that they are not worshipped by high caste Hindus of the present day (p. 23).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A HAND BOOK OF TELUGU LITERATURE : *By K. Sitaramaiya, M.A., Nizam College, Hyderabad (Dn.). Published by Hyderabad Telugu Academy. Pp. 151. Price Rs. 1-8.*

The book under review gives in a nutshell a brief survey of the landmarks in the history of Telugu

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Literature. It may be said that Telugu literature is mainly Sanskritic though of Dravidian origin. The period of Krishnadevaraya marks the golden age. Even though the literature has suffered a good deal since then it is encouraging to find that some of the present-day tendencies point towards a bright future.

This handbook in English serves its purpose admirably well and is eminently suited to people of other provinces.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

SANSKRIT

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA, VOL. I: *Compiled by Raghavan Nambiyar Siromani, Nyayabhushana, Catalogue Assistant, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XCVII. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 9.*

This contains short notices (consisting of titles, names of authors, indication of the extent and occasionally of the script, material and age—all arranged in a tabular form) of more than 6,000 Sanskrit manuscripts,—*i.e.*, about half the collection of the Institute. Broadly speaking the manuscripts fall under four subjects—Veda, Dharmasastra, Darsana and Vyakarana. In the list they are arranged under 13 sections, some of which like *Vedalaksana* would appear to be rather unusual while a few like *Dharma* and *Smriti* a bit confusing. In his brief introduction Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the learned General Editor, has drawn attention to the absence of any standard, uniform system of classification, so that different types of classification are met with in different catalogues. He has therefore emphasised the need of what may be regarded as the National Scheme of Classification of MSS. This should be one of the functions of the central organisation for the study of MSS. as suggested elsewhere (*Modern Review*, Oct. 1941, p. 404) by the undersigned several years back.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

KRISHI-PRABANDHA : *By Baneswar Sinha. Published by Lakshmiswar Sinha, 13, Lansdowne Terrace, Po. Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta. Demy Octavo. Pp. 16 + 275. Price paper bound Rs. 3-8 and cloth bound Rs. 5-8.*

This valuable treatise on agriculture is the result of the author's painstaking study and research as well as his practical experience spreading over half a century. Bengal with her neighbouring districts is universally known as a very fertile country. Here in different seasons different sorts of crops grow. The author has given an account of most of them in this book in as many as fifteen chapters. While giving in detail accounts of crops needed for daily consumption he has not neglected the aesthetic side, and has devoted a separate chapter to the culture of flowers. He has given another chapter on the cultivation of wood, which is very useful for domestic purposes. The book will be of great use to those who will take up agriculture as a means of livelihood. If the contents of the book can be conveyed to our peasants, most of whom are innocent of general education, they will derive much benefit from it. In these days of "Grow More Food Campaign," the book should be highly appreciated by the Government. Printing is neat.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

BANGLA SAHITYER EK DIK (One Aspect of Bengali Literature) : *By Sasi Bhusan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Sri Guru Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.*

In this book the learned author has made a survey of the Essay Literature in Bengali. Though a pioneer work on the subject it is free from any sign of immaturity. The author has tried first to define what an 'essay' is and then traced its course of development in Bengali literature from the earliest attempts down to the works of Pramatha Chaudhuri and Abanindra Nath Tagore. The cautious eye of an historian and the aesthetic outlook of a literary critic have combined here to make it a remarkable treatise.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

AKASH KI KATHA : *By Girdharilal Sharma 'Garg'. Pustaka Bhandar, Patna. Pp. 146.*

This is a story of the heavens, written expressly for children. The writer's treatment of this rather abstruse scientific theme is both facile as well as facetious. The book is adequately illustrated. The study of the solar system, together with that of the phenomena associated with it and of the relative apparatus, has been presented with the sustained interest of a romantic story. *Akash Ki Katha* would be a valuable addition to every school library. The publishers are, indeed, to be congratulated on placing such a finely got-up publication in the hands of the little folks.

G. M.

DUNIYA KI SHASAN-PRNALIYAN (2 Vols) : *By Ram Chandra Varma. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, Pp. 187 + 219. Price Re. 1-8.*

This cheap handy book is a free translation of the 'Political System of the World'—portion of G. D. H. Cole's famous work, "Modern Politics." The translation is quite good and particular care has been taken to make it up-to-date in view of the post-war contingencies. We commend this book to the Hindi readers.

M. S. SENGAR

TELUGU

PRAJA YUDDHAM : *Adapted by P. Ramakotayya. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Perambur, Madras. Pp. 56. Price six annas.*

Needless to say that Russia's heroic stand in the present war won the admiration of the world. For those who want an inside story this translation is indispensable.

SOVIET RUSSYALO : *By K. Subbaramayya. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Perambur, Madras. Pp. 77. Price eight annas.*

With the help of available statistics the writer has given a comprehensive account of some of the vital aspects of Soviet Russia. Chapters on Education, Foreign Policy and Unemployment are highly instructive.

Students of politics will find it useful and educative.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

DAYARAM RAS SUDHA : *By Shankarprasad Chhaganlal Raval. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Princess Street, Bombay. Card Board. Illustrated. Pp. 64 + 189. Price Rs. 3. (1943).*

Dayaram, one of the greatest poets of old Gujarat, has written many works on the lines of Krishna and the Gopis, on the Vaishnava philosophy, and cognate subjects. He is most popular in Gujarat, specially with women, for his Garbis (Lyrics). They all find a place in this compilation of Dayaram's poems, divided into several sections. It is preceded by an Introduction from the pen of Mr. Raval, in which he has summarised the value of Dayaram's poetic work ably and well.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

De Valera: Eire's Man of Destiny

What is the secret of de Valera's hold on his conutrymen, which so often baffles the stranger and even puzzles many of his contemporaries in Ireland? R. M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path*:

De Valera shares with Gandhi an air of calm self-confidence, a simplicity of manner, a single-mindedness of purpose, that is undeflected by good or ill fortune.

No one since Parnell has evoked such a degree of loyalty and affection. Like Parnell he is by no means a consistently great orator. His speeches can be dull. But he always conveys the impression of passionate sincerity. Often he seems to be examining his conscience in public. He subjects everything to a moral as well as an intellectual test and does not rely on mere cleverness alone. In a country where eloquent spell-binders are three a penny, the tone of aloof authority and moral purpose will dominate.

To hear this tall, black-coated, spectacled ex-professor of mathematics talk of the national tradition is to get him in his right setting. For all his militant past he makes a conservative approach. Yet Eire is so undeveloped politically and economically that he is compelled to act as an innovator and a pioneer. He strives to bring about the inevitable changes in a way which will least disturb the detached mood of rural Ireland, always suspicious of the new and the strange.

De Valera joined the Irish Volunteers before the Easter Rising of 1916 and soon became a captain in that force. He commanded a rebel post at Bolands' Mill. One of his students described him at that time as "considerably over-six feet in height, a very serious-looking young man in his early thirties, with a long nose and spectacles and a strangely foreign complexion."

As Republican Commandant of Bolands' Mill he escaped execution after the surrender only because of his American birth and he received a life sentence instead. When he came out—the following year, on a general amnesty—he was on the rising Republican wave. Nominated for Clare, he was elected as a standard-bearer for the Sinn Fein movement and was soon recognised as its natural leader.

In America, where de Valera went after escaping from Lincoln Gaol—a key had been smuggled in to him concealed in a cake—he had wordy tussles with the old Fenian leader, John Devoy and his equally powerful ally, Judge Cohalan of the New York Supreme Court.

This conflict culminated in a stormy meeting at the Park Avenue Hotel in New York, called by the Devoy-Cohalan faction to down de Valera. The Irish leader had been announced to speak in another city hundreds of miles away. But he heard of this meeting and was unexpectedly present. He so turned the tide that his enemies apologised abjectly.

Back in Ireland at the time of the London Treaty of 1921—out of which came Eire's independence—de Valera had sharp divisions with close colleagues. While de Valera concentrated on exact, literal and dialectical utterances the country drifted into civil war. His side was defeated and broken in the civil war and he himself was imprisoned for eleven months, being arrested by the military on an election platform in Ennis, County Clare, where he was standing as Republican candidate. His steadifastness bore fruit when, in 1932, he led side that had been defeated in battle to political vic and he has held power in Eire ever since.

What India May Learn From Russia

Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh writes in *Indian Review*:

The example of Russia should give us confi in our ability to do likewise in India; in fact it was lost upon the Indain leaders. The Indian National C gress set up a Planning Committee in 1938 which sa the enthusiastic co-operation of some 300 experts collected a large amount of material and inform relevant for planning. But unfortunately the Comm became defunct when the Congress Ministries resi office. Two members of the Committee howeve association with six industrial and business mag of wide experience issued six months ago a rough ou of a 15 years' plan for the economic development of country.

The real and basic need of India is not so mu reconstruct as to construct. The average pre-war capita income is Rs. 65 and even if the well-to-do disappeared from the land, the average income w not have exceeded Rs. 70. "Here therefore," as Mr. R. D. Tata recently said, "we have to create e wealth to go round before we can ensure that e one gets a fair share of it. To-day that share for of our long-suffering people is a share of poverty misery."

The National Planning Committee aimed at s ing for our people certain bare requirements as h beings. This includes a balanced diet, which will pro 2800 calories per day and also the protective foods milk, vegetables, etc., clothing at 30 yards per p per year, housing of 100 square feet per person, sa and public health measures at Rs. 5 per head educational expenses at 2¼ rupees per head per which will liquidate illiteracy in 15 years. The mini per capita income which will be necessary for purpose will be Rs. 80 at pre-war prices. If to that add Rs. 20 as savings, Rs. 10 as cost of amenities, Rs. 20 as miscellaneous expenses such as social monies, travels, taxation, defence charges, etc., the

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per capita income that we should aim at is Rs. 130. Hence if the population were to remain stationary, we should aim at doubling the national income. If, however, the population increases as now at the rate of 1·2 per cent. per year, the national income will have to be trebled in 15 years, in order that per capita income may be doubled during that period. The authors believe that this can be done by well-planned investment of 1400 crores in the first five years, 2900 crores of rupees in the next five years, and 5,700 crores in the third period of five years—the grand total for the whole period being 10,000 crores of rupees.

This three-fold increase in the total national income will be realised according to Bombay Planning by increasing the income from Industries by 500 per cent., the income from agriculture by 130 per cent., and from services by 200 per cent.

It is intended to find 4,000 crores for saving, 3,500 crores by creating paper currency, and balance of Rs. 2,500 crores from existing and potential capital resources. The proposal to inflate currency by 3.500 crores, creates a good deal of uneasiness. It would be wiser to be more modest about the provisions of housing accommodation and bring down expenditure under that head from 2,200 crores to 1,200 crores; it would be also wise to demand an annual saving of 10 per cent as against the contemplated rate of 6 per cent, which would bring into the hands of the Planning Authority another Rs. 2,500 crores.

Amphibious Warfare

The New Review observes :

The repeated successes of the Allies in the Philippines culminating in the invasion of Luzon are ultimately due to the Allied truer intuition of a global war. The Nazi High Command visualised the war as mainly a land war; they fancied they could reduce Britain without invading her, and subsequently they were not given the opportunity to build up an invasion technique and an invading force. Japan herself, though an island, took her strategy from Berlin and overdeveloped her land power. Both were hypnotized by the fact that the last step to victory will necessarily be a land battle as long as men choose to live on *terra firma* ; but they failed to see that a country situated across the sea cannot be beaten unless it is first invaded and that, if its coasts are defended, it cannot be successfully invaded except in the process of a battle. It is a battle of a special type, half on sea and half on land : the amphibious battle. All this looks obvious enough, but occasionally the obvious is overlooked by intelligent people. On the other hand, conditions, geographical and military, forced British and American strategists to contemplate and prepare amphibious warfare.

This is a tactical development of the present war. In the last war and in the early months of the present one (British landings in France during 1939 and 1940, Japanese landings in China, Malaya, Dutch East Indies), troops were taken across the sea as Spartan tourists, and supplies were carried as ordinary cargo ; once landed, they were sorted out, convoyed to a base where they could be made ready for the front. The Normandy landing which had been prepared in commando rehearsals, and in the North Africa, Sicily and Italy operations, was an innovation in tactics which was still improved upon in Leyte and in Luzon.

Amphibious warfare implies beginning the land battle at sea, and its fundamental problem is to deploy in marching order close to the enemy sea-coast, to keep to battle-order when disembarking, and to articulate the supply land-base with the sea supply lines.

The problem was solved on the Allied side thanks to inventions suggested by the difficulties which were expected. Our engineers built special landing craft which permitted the passage to be made in tactical order (scouts, motorised groups, infantry, artillery). Transhipment from transport to lighters or to the shore was the crux of the problem : vehicles for troops and administrative personnel were waterproofed so that they could, on their own power, span the gap between the landing-craft and the shore ; finally the great innovation to solder sea and land supply lines (it was especially necessary on the Normandy coast and is said to be a Churchillian intuition), transportable harbours were prefabricated. In the Philippines the quay-craft was of smaller size and the innovation was rather the small-size motor-boat to land infantry squads. The Allies have mastered the art of amphibious warfare. Their inventiveness will stand them in good stead in this war, but it has also revolutionised sea warfare, and seriously diminished the defence value of all navies.

The Communal Problem in India

Good sense will, sooner or later, dawn upon us and we shall realise that, so long as ill-will and animosity pollute the atmosphere, nationalism cannot flourish. Sir Mirza Ismail observes in *The Indian Review* :

The Hindu-Muslim problem is our shameful trouble today. Judging from my own long experience, I do not regard it as by any means an insoluble problem, or one that need fill us with dismay, as, I confess, it is apt to do sometimes. Time and world-conditions are factors which will tell in the end and bring about a national and cultural fusion.

Let us not forget that the present times are vastly different from those of early British rule in India.

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Conditions have changed all over the world and men's ideas, too, have undergone a vast change. Adjustments are as inevitable as the change of seasons; and we have to make them, if we are to survive in such a world. English education had to come. The English language, which is fast becoming a world language, was bound to become the principal medium of communication between the educated classes.

We must see to it that the youth of the country receive the right kind of education that will make them worthy citizens of India, and which will make them think not in terms of their own community or religion, but of the country as their common motherland. Common schools, common hostels, common political ideals, common enterprises will bring the various groups of youth together.

I attach special importance to the association of members of different communities in common industrial enterprises. Nothing so surely brings people together and keeps them together as earning money together.

Religion need not be neglected, but it should not be allowed to dominate social and political life. Nationalism should do that.

It is a curious fact—but nothing strange in a land of inconsistencies and perplexities—that communalism and sectionalism should be rampant among the intelligentsia, the English educated classes, but not among the masses. It is the former who are trying to resurrect the dead past, and creating unnecessary trouble for themselves and others. The drum-beaters of the moment are only to be found in their ranks.

Hoshangabad Rock Paintings and Their Age

Rock paintings are found in a small hill near Adamgarh village about one and three-fourths of a mile to the south of Hoshangabad town in the Central Provinces. Manohar Misra writes in the *Journal of the Ben... Hindu University* :

The existence of red coloured paintings in the ... shelters near Hoshangabad was first recorded by ... (1920, 3, p. 187). *Ghosh* (1932, pp. 21-22) was the se... worker who after a lapse of 12 years described ... paintings in some details. In his opinion these ... paintings belong to the 9th or 10th century after C... In the year 1934, two years after the publication ... Ghosh's work, D'Abreu, (1934, pp. 1-7) gave a det... description of these paintings. He is of opinion tha... paintings can be divided into two distinct sets—one ... being separated by the other by thousands of y... According to him the first set, which consists of fi... in monochromes or in outlines, belongs to the Palæo... period, while the head-dresses and the other acce... ments of the figures of the second set suggest that ... of more recent date *ie.*, about the 9th or 10th cen... A.D. Major Gordon in his article on 'Rock Pain... from Mahadeo hills,' published in 1936 made a ... reference to these paintings. But in his more re... articles published in 1939-40 he has made bo... accusations against some of the previous workers ... have assigned an earlier date to such paintings and ... whom, naturally, his views have not concurred. ... assumes that it is their patriotic desire which has ... them to assign an earlier date just to be "able to ... of paintings ranking in antiquity with the Palæo... paintings of western Europe." He further adds that ... a desire "must not mar their work by theories which ... the outcome of subjective predilection." It is in... wrong to advance theories which are the outcome ... subjective predilection but it is equally wrong ... attempt to mar the work of others without adva... real scientific arguments. Under these circumstances ... is inclined to think that the above remarks made ...

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Gordon reflect his own mind as probably he finds himself in a position in which he is obliged to defend views which will deny the antiquity to a country. One of the two persons who have assigned an earlier date for these paintings under question is D'Abreu who is a European and who cannot be accused of basing his conclusions on 'Subjective Predilection' and 'Patriotic Desire' in the terms of Mr. Gordon.

The hill is composed of entirely ferruginous sand-stone of the Upper Vindhyan age and probably belongs to the Bhander series.

The drawings are found all over the cliff forming surfaces of the hill and abound in the figures of men, women, horses, elephants, bisons, stags, fishes, monkeys, fighting and hunting scenes and warriors in costumes. All these are drawn on different surfaces some of which present, really well preserved panels. Most of these figures are done in red colours but at places they are done in white also. Besides these red coloured paintings, these rock shelters have also yielded some palæolithic stone implements (1932, p. 22). The presence of these stone implements is enough proof of these rock shelters having been inhabited by human beings during the Palæolithic days. Amongst the drawings there are figures—especially those of bisons which bear a very close resemblance to those drawn at Cogul in Spain and figured by Sollas (1924, p. 405) and which have been proved to be of the Upper Palæolithic age. The fact that there is at least one set of paintings which is of the Palæolithic age is supported not only by the resemblance of these figures with those at Cogul but also due to the fact of their being "boldly drawn in thick outlines or in monochromes" and also that these figures underlie the figures which have been drawn afterwards and which are definitely of later date. Amongst these paintings there are also some elongated and depressed figures of certain animals. These figures form a separate set by themselves, and have no connection with those figures mentioned above. The elongated and depressed nature of the paintings of the animals is characteristic of some of the South Indian Neolithic paintings (1920, 3, p. 191). Thus judging from this characteristic feature it will not be too much to relegate such elongated and depressed figures, found depicted in the Hoshangabad rock paintings, to the Neolithic times. Then there are some figures of men and horses which have got head-dresses, weapons and riding equipments. Some of the men have sword-like weapons and the horses have gorgeous riding equipments. All these show the stage of advancement of knowledge of these men during the time these were drawn. These leave no doubt in assigning a more recent date to these paintings, *i.e.*, the 9th or 10th century after Christ. This classification into different sets is further supported, at places, by the superposition of one set over the other. Thus the differences in the style of drawings, differences in the colours used, the varying nature of weapons, the head gears of men, the superposition of one set over the other and lastly the presence of palæoliths in these rock shelters—all these—prove beyond any shadow of doubt that these rock shelters were resorted to by men at different periods, ranging from the Upper Palæolithic to about 10th century after Christ—and more probably at three different periods, the Upper Palæolithic, the Neolithic and the Historic. Therefore, the observations of the present author, except with a slight modification by the introduction of the Neolithic period, are in complete agreement with those of D'Abreu. Ghosh, without stating any reason, has assigned 9th or 10th century as the date for these entire paintings. D'Abreu, by his work, has questioned this dating and, on this issue, the present author fully supports D'Abreu.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India in 1944

In a yearly survey of different countries of the world in the *International Review of Missions*, the Editor observes under the heading of India :

Yet another year has passed without the discovery of any fundamental solution of the political deadlock. Not the least serious consequence is that the long continuance of the stalemate produces political weariness and blunts the sharp edge of concern which has hitherto been manifest in both countries. Perhaps a straw in the wind may be seen in a recently formed Madras Provincial Students Union Society, the first aim of which is to discourage students from entering politics. A well-informed observer records this as 'significant of the disillusionment that has come to much youthful zeal since 1942.' If political apathy and despair are to settle upon a large part of Indian life in so critical a year as 1945 the outlook is indeed grave.

There have been flickerings of hope during the year just closed. Lord Wavell has won much personal respect. His prompt handling of the worst features of the famine situation, the wisdom of his long-term economic and industrial policy and the general tone of his public utterances all justifiably win favour. Mr. Gandhi's release, though on medical, not political, grounds, made possible a renewal of contacts which gave rise to fresh hope. Spokesmen of the British government have continued to reiterate the fact that Britain is irrevocably committed to the terms of the Cripps declaration by which a self-governing India may, if she chooses, contract out of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and Lord Wavell has renewed the Government of India's wish that political progress might be achieved without waiting for the end of the war.

Yet these rays of light have only played upon the surface of a situation which is persistently stagnant. Neither word nor deed of truly creative quality has found expression. Important and encouraging as is the attention being given to economic and industrial questions by the Government of India, Provincial and State Governments, and through the Birla-Tata group, it is doubtful if the political problem can be thus by-passed and necessary reforms achieved while constitutional progress tarries. Mr. Gandhi's release has not so far fulfilled any of the hopes to which it gave rise. His conversations with Mr. Jinnah, though closed with some slight promise of resumption, have mainly disclosed the abyss which divides the Muslim League's interpretation of Pakistan from any accommodating alternative. And upon ears wearied by fruitless controversy, British re-affirmations of the Cripps declaration fall without any convincing power.

The Agrarian Situation in India

Under the above caption, Prof. P. J. Thomas writes in the *International Labour Review* about the problems of the primary producer in India :

There is, perhaps, no class of workers, in the national economy of India or in the whole range of world economy, with a smaller share of the benefits resulting from modern world economic organisation than the "ryots", or cultivators, who are the primary producers *par excellence* of India. The Indian ryot has supplied the country's needs in regard to food and raw materials and has also grown important primary products for other parts of the world. But while the trading classes of India and the trading nations of the world have grown wealthy on the exchange of commodities, he has failed to obtain a reasonable wage for his labour. The trader sometimes earns by a day's transaction as a commodity more than its producers can make in six months of hard toil in sun and rain. The middleman reaps what the ryot sows. Still the patient ryot, not knowing much of accounting, carries on. This is not merely a rhetorical statement. A noted statistician, the late Lord Stamp, expressed a simple truth when he wrote : "The world as a whole and over a given length of time has almost certainly been fed below cost price for the last hundred years, if one takes into account the proper elements of cost." While commerce and industry have steadily prospered, agriculturists in agricultural countries have remained poor. The Indian ryot is the prototype of this numerous class. Immersed in poverty and inextricably involved in debt and disease, he has been doing his work uncomplainingly and even the verbal compliments sometimes heaped on him by the more benevolent of his patrons do not reach his ears, as he is unable to read and has no radio to listen to.

The nemesis came in 1929. The prolonged world depression which began in that year was in no small measure due to the reduction of purchasing power in the densely populated Asiatic countries and the consequent unemployment in the economically highly developed

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loped countries of the West. Western Europe and North America could pile up goods by mass production, but it was necessary to find sufficiently large markets for the profitable disposal of those goods. The most populous countries of the world, China and India, which together account for half the world's population, lacked the purchasing power needed to acquire even ordinary consumption goods. This was the plight to which an unplanned economic system had led world economy. The result was prolonged unemployment and intense distress, from which even the wealthier industrialised countries and areas, which in the name of economic internationalism had taken to narrow specialisation, could not be spared.

The ultimate consequences of this process have been even more detrimental in the case of India. The present emergency has revealed the insufficiency of the local production of foodstuffs for the country's needs. In the province of Bengal, normally a surplus area, the scarcity of foodstuffs has been so acute as to result in the actual starvation of a large number of persons. Wide stretches of fertile territory are indeed to be found in that province as in other parts of the country, but a peasant economy operating under the existing land system could not bear the strain of the needs and uncertainties of a total war. The war has served to drive home the lesson that no economic or political progress is possible unless the lot of the ryot is improved.

Church in India

In the section of Foreign Periodicals in *The Catholic World*, the above-named article is partly extracted from the writing of Thomas Pothacamury, Bishop of Bangalore in *Studies* (Dublin), September, 1944, from which we quote the following extract :

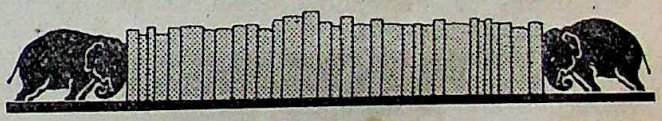
Missions, proselytism and propaganda are foreign to the conception of Mr. Gandhi and of the average Hindu. He cannot think in the terms of exclusiveness. To his way of thinking, if Christianity is true it does not follow that Hinduism is false. They are both aspects of truth. Absolute truth, in the sense that it excludes what is opposed to it, does not occur to his mind. "Religion is not a way of life or a creed, but an atmosphere that pervades and enfolds the diverse elements of existence," said one well-versed in Hindu modes of thinking and feeling. His own religion is not aggressive, not being a consciously missionary religion like Christianity. Change of religion, therefore, seems unnecessary and intolerant for him. He does not distinguish between Christianity and Western culture and identifies them in these days of strong nationalism. He reacts against the impact of the West and what he calls the religion of the white man, which he believes is inextricably bound up with the western type of civilization and European imperialism. Mr. Gandhi wrote in his weekly journal, the *Harijan* : "I regard all the great religions of the world as true, at any rate for people professing them, as mine is true for me."

Further, the very organisation of Hinduism presents a formidable obstacle to the spread of Christianity. In the course of long centuries, Hinduism has welded together religious practices and social customs. Caste and Hinduism are synonymous. Caste has stood the shock of centuries and, in spite of internal disruption and external aggression, it has more or less preserved its integrity and has a tremendous hold on the minds of the masses and even the educated classes. If, while the mightiest empires known to history—the Babylonian the Egyptian, the Roman—have perished and completely disappeared, India has carefully preserved her ancient civilization, it is because her social armature has successfully resisted all assaults from without. Even the Mohammedans, who dominated the country for five centuries, were unable to introduce a new way of life.

The very structure of Hinduism, both popular and philosophical, is a mighty citadel. It is the most perfectly systematised religion among the pagan religions. It has its theogony, its scriptures, its ritual, its mysticism, its monks and its saints. It has no official creed, approves all sects, accepts contradictory doctrines on one and the same subject and teaches the most puerile legends, unworthy of the Divine Being. Hinduism has no moral code and, as men are not generally led in their conduct by the principles of logic, it satisfies millions of souls, whose passions it in no way disturbs.

There is another cause which leads the Hindu to glorify his spiritual heritage and ancient culture. Pride in Hinduism has got into the patriotic consciousness of modern Hindus. Their philosophy and institutions have been eulogised by European scholars, who either abandoned Christianity or were agnostics. From Schopenhauer and Max Muller to Mr. H. G. Wells, comparisons have been made between Christianity and Hinduism—generally in favour of the latter. Anglican missionaries like the late C. F. Andrews and Dr. Verrier Elwin have opposed conversion work and have expressed their admiration for Hindu philosophy and teaching. The result is that the mental outlook of nationalist Hindus has been atrophied, and they do not believe in any genuine intellectual conversion to Christianity.

Despite hostility to conversion work, one of the most significant facts of modern India is the interest displayed by the educated Hindu in Christ. The interest has grown during the last three decades and has shown itself in much useful legislation for social reform. The Hindus read the New Testament, quote Christ and discuss Christian teachings and principles. Only recently,



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following the release of Mr. Gandhi from prison, Mrs. Labanya Prava Dutta, President of the Bengal Congress Committee, wrote to Mr. Gandhi as follows : "There is none in this world but your kind self to practise and preach, with undaunted moral courage, the religion of love and universal brotherhood for the spread of which the Lord Jesus lived, was crucified by unbelievers and still prayed for those very persecutors, 'Oh, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'." The Secretary of Mr. Gandhi wrote in reply : "For himself he lives in the hope that He who has sent the Cross will also give the strength to bear it" (*The Hindu*, June 15, 1944). The Hindus are willing to confess that the ethical teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ is the highest embodiment of moral perfection and the best that they know. But when it comes to organised religion, it is a different story. They will have nothing to do with Christianity as a religion.

"Time Must Have a Stop"

The following extract is taken from the Book Reviews section of the *East-West* about the latest novel of Aldous Huxley bearing the title mentioned above :

Aldous Huxley's newest novel owes its title to an oracular passage in Shakespeare :

But thought's the slave of life, and life's time's fool,
And time, that takes survey of all the world,
Must have a stop.

Mr. Huxley illuminates these lines, as follows : "It is only by taking the fact of eternity into account that we can deliver thought from its slavery to life. And it is only by deliberately paying our attention and our primary allegiance to eternity that we can prevent time from turning our lives into a pointless or diabolic foolery. The divine Ground is a timeless reality. Seek it first, and all the rest—everything from an adequate interpretation of life to a release from compulsory self-destruction—will be added."

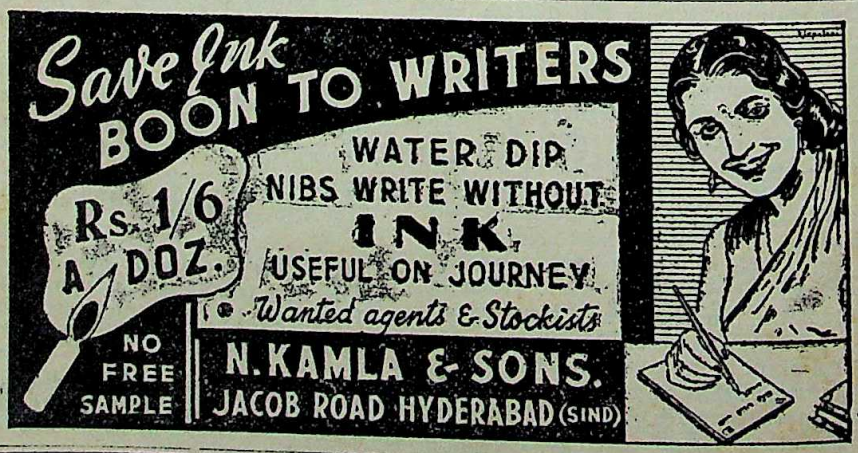
Mr. Huxley, whose undeniable gifts as a novelist serve to obscure his far greater powers as a philosopher, is well-acquainted with parts of India's vast religious literature. Comparing it with Western conceptions writes : "The difference between metaphysics now metaphysics in the past is the difference between spinning which makes no difference to anybody system of thought associated with a transform discipline. 'Short of the Absolute, God cannot rest having reached that goal He is lost and religion Him.' That is Bradley's view, the modern Sankara was as strenuously an Absolutist as Brad but with what an enormous difference! For him is not only discursive knowledge about the Abs but the possibility (and the final necessity) of a intellectual intuition, leading the liberated spir identification with the object of its knowledge. 'A all means of liberation, Bhakti or devotion is sup To seek earnestly to know one's real nature—this is to be devotion. In other words, devotion can be de as the search for the reality of one's own Atman the Atman, of course, is the spiritual principle which is identical with the Absolute. The older physicians did not lose religion; they found it in highest and purest of all possible forms."

Glycol Vapor Checks Diseases

Checking the spread of colds and other air-b diseases by sterilizing the air of living quarters wi invisible, odorless, non-irritating inexpensive vapo triethylene glycol is now more than a hope base laboratory experiments. It has become a practical me of disease-fighting that has passed rigorous tests in American military camp.

Specifically, it reduced the total bacterial co mination; practically eliminated hemolytic strepto from the air of glycol-treated dormitories; defi reduced cases of air-borne infections, such as colds, sillitis, pneumonia, measles and acute sinusitis; trolled a small epidemic of mumps and prevented spread of hemolytic streptococci from the throat of person to another.

Tests by the U. S. Office of Scientific Research Development and Northwestern University were in in two two-story barracks.—*USOWI*.



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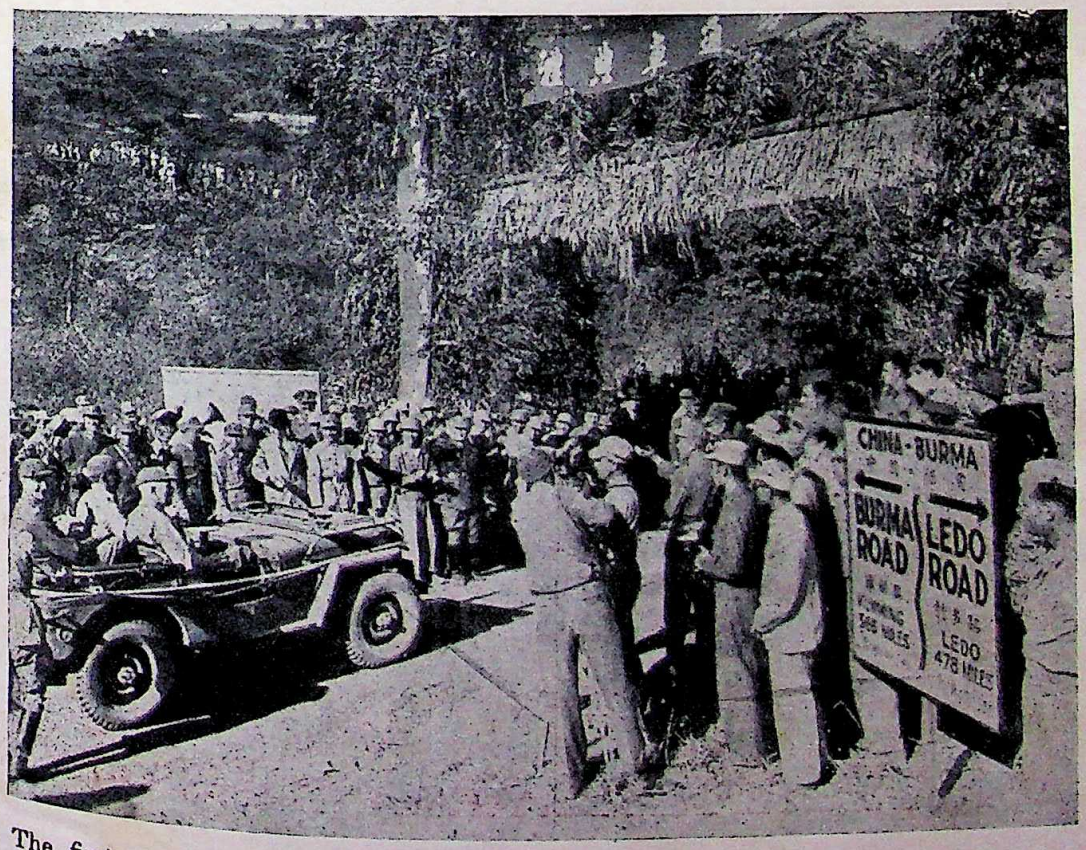
The first convoy to China passes the ruins of a Buddha temple at Namkham, Burma



The first truck convoy over the Stilwell Road across the China border at Wanting on January 28, after three years of Japanese land blockade of China

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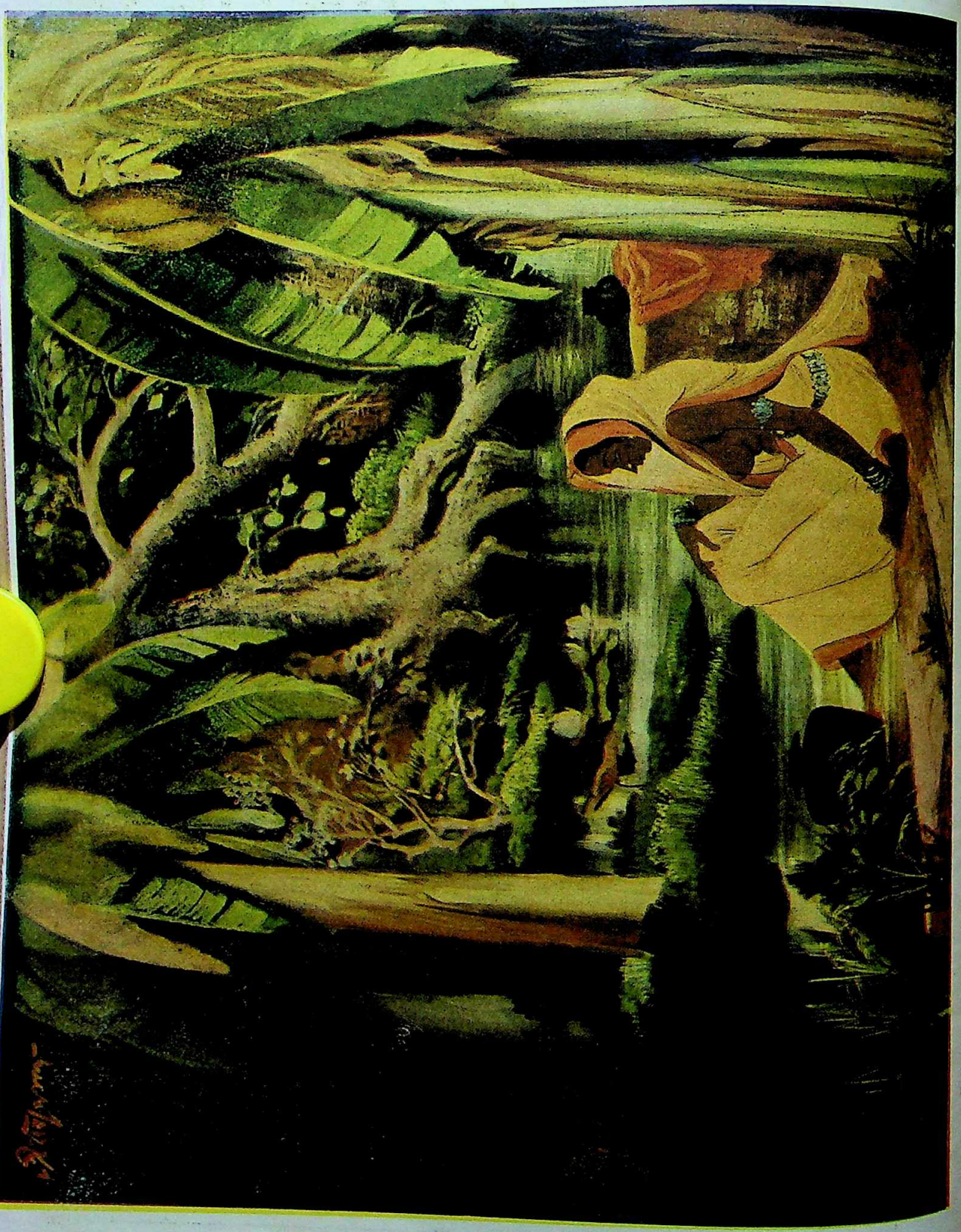

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Sir Jeremy Raisman's Last Budget

Sir Jeremy Raisman, in his Budget speech at the Central Legislative Assembly, has made important disclosures regarding decisions taken by him in respect of financial questions of vital importance to India. During his tenure of office he has functioned as a true representative of Imperialist Britain in India. He has manipulated Indian currency and Indian finances for the benefit of Britain. As a Britisher, he always placed British interest above everything else. During his tenure he has subordinated Indian interests and rendered valuable services to Britain at the cost of India. His accomplishments in these respects have been summed up by D.B.T. in the *Bharat Jyoti* as follows:

(1) Inflation of Indian paper currency from Rs. 186 crores to Rs. 1,063 crores.

(2) Increase in sterling balances from Rs. 56 crores to Rs. 1,400 crores which practically means a loan to Britain of Rs. 1,400 crores.

(3) Loan to Britain at about 1 per cent interest per year of the said sum of Rs. 1,400 crores when India is paying 3 per cent interest on loans floated by him during wartime.

(4) Hydari Mission:—An active step to sabotage Indian industry and to stimulate British exports to India at India's cost.

(5) a. The agreement to pay Rs. 20 crores to British Government for military pensions and gratuities.

b. Agreement to pay £1,350,000 or over two crores of rupees per year for the war period for similar charges after setting off India's claims for some, on behalf of Indian Military personnel in British service.

(6) Liability for distribution costs of petrol and aviation spirit was accepted on British dictation.

(7) Agreed to pay compensation to all evacuees Indian or otherwise.

(8) Agreed to pay Rs. 8 crores to U.N.R.R.A. for the benefit of Europe at India's cost.

(9) Agreement in respect of allocation of defence expenditure in favour of Britain and further acceptance of the decision of the Commander-in-Chief regarding ceiling forces.

(10) Agreement for dollar balances at 20 million dollars for India making a gift of the remaining India's balances to the British Government.

(11) Policy of no post-war industrial development for two years after the war comes to an end.

Under his management, Indian currency has been inflated by more than 450 per cent, while the British currency has expanded only by 144 per cent over its 1939 level. This inflation has been caused to pay for Britain's credit purchases in India and it still continues to the detriment of India's internal economy. From the very start of the war, Sir Jeremy maintained a stranglehold on Indian industry and trade and always maintained a check on the production of consumer goods in India. Now as soon as British industries are in a position to manufacture consumer goods, he has sent the Hydari mission. In his budget speech, he has explained the purpose of this mission in these words: "Government are vigilantly reviewing the scope for reducing the load on India's resources, constituted by the war efforts of India and the Allies, and the possibility of adding to the available supplies of goods required for public consumption." The real meaning of this apparently innocent utterance is well known to exploited India. She knows fully well that this mission was sent to London as an active step to sabotage Indian industry and to stimulate British exports to India at India's cost. Soon after the departure of this mission, Sir M. Visvesvaryya, the doyen of Indian Industry, warned that an avalanche of British consumer goods is coming. The result of this mission, according to Sir Akbar Hydari, has not been bad.

In addition to the big benefits earned for Britain, Sir Jeremy has also been quite lavish in his gifts as well. He says, "The system for financial assistance to evacuees and their families has been continued and extended. These measures cost little more than one crore." It is not disclosed whether the evacuees to whom relief is provided are Indians or non-Indians and whether such persons include Britishers, Burmans, and what is the amount that is disbursed for the benefit of such non-Indians. India's money cannot be disbursed for the benefit of Britishers in Burma and the Burmans

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without any tangible return of benefit to India in any manner whatsoever.

His gift to the U. N. R. R. A. has been far more lavish. He has contributed 8 crores of rupees to this organisation. The U.N.R.R.A. has been absolutely of no help to India and there is not the slightest justification for forcing us to make any contribution to it. Sir Jeremy is no fool, he certainly scented storm, and this agreement was made without the slightest knowledge of the Indian Legislature.

The Central Legislature has, however, maintained its dignity by throwing off the Finance Bill. The Budget will now have to be certified by the Governor-General, the head of a "Government" which does not resign even if it cannot see the budget through the Legislature.

India's National Government (!)

We have been told by no less an authority than Lord Wavell that India has her 'national government',—"a preponderantly Indian government which in spite of all the criticism and abuse heaped on it is doing an essential job of work for India, and is doing it on the whole extremely well." It is the Viceroy's tribute to His Excellency's Executive Council and it is a pity that the people do not share the sentiment of His Excellency. Their chosen representatives, in spite of many attempts to divide them in the Assembly Chamber, landed the broadside on the Government of India on February 9 and in the course of forty-eight days defeated the Government on twenty-one issues and caused a tie on another, only to be saved by the casting vote of the President. The Government were attacked from all sides, by all parties including the European and on every matter that affected the honour and interest of the people. On four items inclusive of a censure motion, the Government did not press for a division and suffered defeat silently. In seventeen tussles the popular side polled 935 against government's 757, *i.e.*, a difference of 178 votes. Considering that there are forty nominated, official and non-official, members and eight Europeans who, barring a single occasion on March 13 when some of them were obliged under force of circumstances to support Mr. Tyson's motion, support the government on all issues, it is a remarkably poor performance to muster the highest number of 53 votes on March 9, to save the prestige of the Executive Council of India's National Government and that even to be defeated by not less than 8 votes.

The issues cover all fields and on the very first division on February 9, the Government was censured (i) "on their failure to adopt economic and other sanctions against South Africa. The next adjournment motion (ii) discussed "the use of force and illegal and unfair means on the public of Bihar by the agents of the Government for the purchase of National Savings Certificates." A cut motion (iii) expressed "disapproval of the plan by which railways proposed to take part financially in the running of road services." The inconvenience (iv) of third class passengers, (v) Indianization of the higher grades of railway services, (vi) low rate of dearness allowance to the railway employees, (vii) reduction in the hours of work on railways, (viii) a motion urging that inland waterways services either link up with railway systems or be acquired by the railways were matters where the non-official members had their own way. On March 9, the demand (ix) under the head "Executive Council" reduced to Re. 1 only. (All credit to the Hon'ble Executive Councillors of the *National Government*). the next day the (x) "Post-war Planning and Development" was allotted Re. 1 to carry on. The failure of controls, the permit system and the supply of consumer goods was discussed in one motion and the cloth and yarn position in the next. The food Department was censured (xiii) for lack of supervision and control of work in the provinces. The need for economy generally and for more stringent control of expenditure on civil departments in particular (xiv) gave a vote to the Europeans in the Assembly. Mrs. Renuka R. urged (xv) for immediate reimposition of the ban on the employment of women underground in coal mines. The Assembly refused demanls under the head Information and Broadcasting Department (xvi), and "Immigration-External" (xvii), and to crown all the Assembly threw out the Finance Bill (xviii) on March 26 by 58 to 50 votes and were in no mood (xix) to accommodate the recommended bill on the next day. On the twentieth turn the Government was censured for declaring that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, the present holder of the office of India Representative with the Government of Burma may continue as a Member of the Assembly, and up to the time of going to the press the Government suffered its twenty-first defeat, by 58 to 42 votes, when the demand—"Emigration-External" was rejected.

This a notable record of the Indian National Government where the Executive is irremovable under the Constitution in a country where lessons in democracy are being imparted by a Government who have been fighting the world over and over again to make it safe for democracy. One or two Indian Members of the Executive Council have more sense in them and we are glad to hear Sir Ardeshir Dalal say on January 7 at a Madras meeting that, "Today we have not got a National Government" on the face of the Viceroy's statement on December 14, 1944, at a meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta.

K. C. G.

Lord Wavell's London Visit

Much speculation has been aroused by the sudden departure of the Viceroy on a flying visit to London. Some, perhaps unduly optimistic, have seen in this the first signs of a change in heart of the powers-that-be in London. The formation of a Congress Cabinet in the Frontier Province and that of a Coalition Cabinet in Assam have been linked up with this visit and various signs seen in the release of Congressmen in the above two provinces and in the rumours of a general release of all Congressmen. News stories have spoken about the probability of Lord Wavell being given another post more to his liking and another incumbent being placed on the *Baralat's gaddi* vacated by him. Mr. Amery, however, in his usual wooden manner has practically given the quietus to all these hopes. Indeed so long as Mr. Churchill is at the helm of the Empire with Mr. Amery as his obedient factotum at the India Office, one finds it hard to believe that any sane measure of statesmanship would be exercised in the case of India. What is more likely is that another attempt at "window dressing" will be made, to impress the "gullible yankees" on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, just as was made in the Cripps' adventure. The failure of

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attempt at uttering base coin is now a matter of history despite the perennial statements of Mr. Amery to the effect that that "offer" is "still open."

Greece and Poland have shown the world the bankruptcy of Mr. Churchill's Cabinet in statesmanship. Makeshift arrangements are the best that can be achieved by Britain's War-Cabinet, led by one who has been styled as "a mascot of toryism" by the *Daily Herald* of London, though now the apprehension seems to be general that though these arrangements may have the effect of surmounting immediate difficulties, their deferred reaction might vitally affect the future of the British Empire. If the story of the British Colonel who was acting as a secret *agent provocateur* under the guise of a U.N.R.R.A. official in Greece be even partially true, then one must say that the diplomatic stock of Britain has also sunk very low indeed in the hands of Churchill and Eden. Indeed the over-all picture of British statesmanship does not induce any optimism in us regarding a new orientation in the conservative view about the Empire. There the viewpoint is still Mid-Victorian and Beaconsfield's dictum that "The Key of India is London, the majesty of sovereignty, the spirit and vigour of your Parliament, the inexhaustible resources, the ingenuity and determination of your people—these are the keys of India", still obtains. It matters not that the Parliament has never shown any vigour and very little spirit—indeed on the contrary—and that the resources are all gone, it matters still less that without a willing and a prosperous India as a partner, the Empire is sure to be shipwrecked in the not-very-distant future. All that seems to matter is the illusion of an eternal Empire shaped along the fairy-tales of Kipling and others of his ilk.

Defeat of Bengal Ministry

The end of the Bengal Ministry has come as dramatically as it had managed to smuggle itself into power. It has thrived, with the support of the Europeans, on corruption, nepotism and bribery on a scale which has probably few parallels in human history.

During their tenure, Bengal had to pass through some of the worst famines on record, the food famine, the cloth famine, the coal famine, the mustard oil and kerosine oil famine and scarcity of commodities of daily necessity of almost every description. Inefficiency and dishonesty seem to have been rampant everywhere and the administration sank to the lowest possible level. The refusal of the Ministry to sit a few minutes longer than usual for the discussion of the supplementary budget betrayed a moral weakness in their administration. Even their British masters had hard words for the Ministers. At last the end came.

The Speaker Syed Nausher Ali has adjourned the Bengal Assembly *sine die*. In his opinion, refusal by the House of supplies demanded by the Ministry for a major department, which makes the administration impossible, is an unmistakable censure. The Speaker, therefore, declined to allow the Ministry to function as such in the Legislative Assembly and held: "The Ministry is a creature of the House which can make and unmake the Ministry and the Governor is but the registering authority of the decision of the House. Any other course would strike at the very root of demo-

A Calcutta daily which represents foreign interests in Bengal has found "it hard to understand by what authority he (Speaker) has acted thus," and says that the Speaker's action "looks remarkably like usurpation of the Governor's functions. Sec. 51 of the Government of India Act lays down that the Ministers shall hold office during the Governor's pleasure." The Speaker, however, has ample grounds for the action he has taken. Act VIII of the Instrument of Instructions issued to every Governor by His Majesty requires him to select his Ministers in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the Legislature and to appoint those persons who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the Legislature. In acting under Sec. 51, read with Act VIII of the Instrument of Instructions, the Governor is nothing more than the registering authority of the decision of the House.

With the prospective fall of the Ministry, cry for an All-party Ministry has again been raised. One must remember in this connection the fact that none but the present leader of Opposition, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, was more earnest in the formation of such a Ministry and in order to demonstrate his sincerity he had agreed to place his resignation letter in the hands of Sir John Herbert which however had been treacherously misused for getting rid of a progressive coalition and bringing in a Ministry on whom the Imperialist vested interests could safely depend. Let not this apparently innocent cry delude the politicians of Bengal once again.

Mr. Casey has a hard task before him. Apprehensions are already there, supported by the significant comments of the Calcutta organ of Imperialism, that the Harbertian tactics may be repeated over again for maintaining the present servants of British vested rights in power. Mr. Casey's love for democracy is on test.

Congress in Power

The emergence of the Congress in power once again may lead towards altering the whole course of Indian politics. Dr. Khan Saheb's *coup* has routed the Muslim League in the Frontier Province, one of the most strategic provinces in Inlia with a predominantly Muslim population. The League Premier Sardar Aurangzeb Khan gave in at the first onslaught and subsequently expressed his eagerness to co-operate with the Congress. With the going down of the Frontier League Ministry came the news of the League crash in Assam. The Saadullah Ministry has been reshuffled with the Congress as its supporter. On the two frontiers of India, two experiments have been made, in the North-West the Congress accepting office and in the North-East the Congress acting as a benevolent supporter of the party in power. The former finds Gandhiji as neutral, the latter receives his blessing. The vigour with which Dr. Khan Saheb's Ministry has started work may instil more confidence in the public mind than the Saadullah Ministry is likely to do. The vigorous step taken by Dr. Khan Saheb in releasing Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan and all other political prisoners immediately on their assumption of office has had repercussions all over the country, the reaction of which has shaken Assam as well. Dr. Khan Saheb has demonstrated that a strong provincial ministry can and does secure an immediate release of all political prisoners if it means business.

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Direct acceptance of responsibility and support of old diehards in a new garb has a good deal of difference between them. In Assam, Sir Md. Saadullah and his colleagues are not universally trusted and it is difficult to expect that they will become entirely new men overnight. It is doubtful how far it will be possible for a Congress party, itself remaining out of office, to maintain a set of reactionaries on the path of progress. Acceptance of direct responsibilities by the Congress might have had much better possibilities. However as things stand, it would be an interesting and educative experiment.

The Cloth Famine

The cloth famine continues unabated while the Central and Bengal Governments go on quarrelling over the calculation of quota allotted to Bengal. A recent cloth drive has succeeded in unearthing 11,000 bales of cloth from the custody of the Marwari middlemen alone, the Muslim wholesalers seemingly being left out of the drive. This cloth famine, like the last food famine, is essentially a man-made one. It has come according to calculation and one can trace definite steps through which it has come. While the cloth market was upset after the Japanese war, Government allowed the pandemonium to continue for a fairly long time. The control came at last and the price of cloth was fixed five or six times higher its normal level in spite of the fact that cost of production had not gone proportionately high. The price was beyond the reach of the poor, and the Government soon had to come in to their help. The mills were compelled to produce Standard Cloth to the extent of about 60 per cent of their total production. It was done ostensibly for helping the poor but in reality all the Standard Cloth produced were taken over by the Government for distribution and they remained locked up in their godowns. The poor did not get it, the middle and the richer classes ran the risk of finding a short supply. Thanks to Mr. K. C. Neogy's sincere efforts for eliciting relevant informations, we now know that the Government went further; they forced a large quantity of cloth out of India in spite of the protest of men like Sir Shri Ram, Sir N. Wadia and some other leading millowners. The Government action in regulating cloth supply inevitably led to acute shortage of production. This was the condition by the Pujas last year. Many will no doubt remember that by the Pujas last year, mill cloth could hardly be seen but handloom cloth practically flooded the market. Immediately the Government developed a sympathy for the handloom cloth and came down upon the weaver with their yarn control measure. The result was just as one would expect, disaster for the weavers and a total stoppage of handloom cloth.

The ground was thus being prepared for the entry of Lancashire textiles into India. Nature abhors vacuum. It was only to be expected that if the present scarcity of cloth can be maintained, Government will certainly develop sympathy for the unclothed and Manchester and Lancashire goods will pour in. Sir Akbar Hydari's visit to England coincided with an important instruction issued by the Textile Commissioner of the Government of India to the cotton mills to stop production for some time due to coal shortage. The country will remain grateful to Mr. K. C. Neogy for eliciting this important information that a number of mills in Ahmedabad, Indore and Bengal remained closed in January for want of coal and the total of production in January alone amounted to 2 crores 37 lakh yards. Pressed hard by Mr. Neogy Sir Abdul Huq admitted that no other mills, jute or other, were asked by the Government to stop production for some days for want of coal. One must also remember in this connection that the coal mines have been already locked up by the British vested interests and discrimination in coal supply between British and Indian factories continues uninterrupted.

Thus with the creation of a complete vacuum in cloth supply comes the news that British textiles are on their way to India. Cloth rationing will and has come as the last step in the chain for overcoming the patriotic sentiment of the people against British textiles. Rationing will serve two ends—people will prefer any kind of cloth to nudity and at the ration counter they would have no choice as regards the quality or make.

Police Zulum in C. P.

The following is an extract taken from the report of the Inquiry Committee appointed by the Kolhapur Praja Parishad to investigate into the Pangire case published in the *Independent*, Nagpur, dated March last :

> Kashibai, her husband, her children and other persons were taken by the police to the residence of the police patil of Chikbalval on the morning of October 19, 1944. They were produced before the Sub-Inspector of Police, Mr. Ingle, who first asked Kashibai whether she was Mr. Ingle's wife or mother. Then he caught hold of her hair and dragged her to her feet and asked his man to strip her naked. Kashibai's *sari* was pulled off and she was then beaten with a leather strap. Water was thrown on her body, presumably with the object of hiding the marks of the straps. The members of the committee saw that Kashibai had smothered marks on her body.
>
> On the evidence of four Sanadis (village servants enjoying Inami lands) who were present when the incident took place, the committee learnt that the Sub-Inspector threatened to insert chilly powder in the private parts of Kashibai, and the subsequent evidence given by another witness goes to show that this threat was carried out either by him or his men. The beating and stripping were repeated on Friday morning, Kashibai's husband, her two sons and the other two men were also beaten by the police. One of them was pushed against the wall so violently that some of the bricks of the wall were dislocated by the impact. The members of the committee themselves saw this wall.
>
> The beating was carried out in the house of the police patil and one of the witnesses stated that the cries of the victims were heard during this period and at night when they were locked up in the house without food or water. The victims were allowed to leave the place after the police party had left the village.

It is not yet known what action, if any, has been taken against this police party. It has however been announced that the Governor of the Central Provinces under whose direct rule the province is being governed at present, has been granted an extension of office to his tenure of office which expires this year. Confidence in the Government is likely to be

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undermined unless the truth of such allegations is tested without a single moment's delay and speedy action is taken against the offenders.

Members for San Francisco

The Government of India have chosen two members of the Viceroy's Executive Council to "represent" India at the San Francisco Conference. Giving reason for their selection, Sir Olaf Caroe is reported to have said that all those who are to attend it are of Ministerial level. But of what level are the two delegates selected by Sir Olaf Caroe's government? Viceroy's Executive Council is sought to be passed off as a duly constituted government under a constitution drawn up in Britain by the Britishers without the participation of Indians themselves. Under this constitution, the "Government of India" has no responsibility to the Legislature, and members of it are chosen and appointed by the Governor-General who is the representative of a foreign power in this country. They have no responsibility in the matter of having the budget passed, they can stand any number of cut motions and are not called upon to resign when the entire budget demands are thrown out. The representation of the foreign government certifies the expenditure of hundreds of crores of rupees and the members of his Council merrily carry on. Nobody would have had any objection if members of this Council were sent to San Francisco as representatives of the Foreign power in India. We object to their having been chosen as representatives of the people of this country.

Objection may not have been raised if the Legislative Assembly was called upon to elect two members for San Francisco. Non-official Indians attending a War Conference is nothing new. The Imperial War Conference of 1917 was attended by Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner. In many subsequent Imperial Conferences attended by the British and the Dominion Prime Ministers, India was represented by non-officials like Sir Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others.

The hollowness of Sir Olaf Caroe's statement has been demonstrated by Britain herself. It now appears that Britain's representatives to San Francisco will be composed mostly of Parliamentary Secretaries who are certainly below the Ministerial level. There is of course a level in India to which the demi-gods of New Delhi must conform, only it is not the ministerial but the safety level.

Death Duty

It is lamentable that some members of the Central legislature oppose the introduction of Death Duty on the ground that it should not be imposed unless we have National Government. Surely their idea is that while the poor man's salt can be taxed in present conditions, the rich man's wealth can not. All countries in Europe, several countries in America and most of the countries in Asia including Ceylon have got this measure of taxation. The Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1925 recommended it and but for the vested interests in the legislature the heavy burden of taxation on the poor might have been partially relieved during these 20 years. Since the beginning of British rule the system of taxation has been so devised that the poor masses have to bear the brunt and economists like Rainesh Chandra Dutt pleaded for the reduction of taxes falling upon the poor as the remedy for checking progressive economic deterioration. With the introduction of the policy of protection of industries, obviously at the consumer's expense, the need for the revision of the policy was imperative but nothing was done with the result that India is now the capitalists' and rich men's paradise. The Excess Profits Tax here is the lowest in the empire and no step has been taken for limitation of dividends as in Australia, Sweden and other countries or of emoluments of higher staff in industries which may be better described as plunder. It should be remembered that the higher staff in British establishments is composed of Europeans and in Indian concerns largely of the do-nothing relatives of proprietors. The pre-war Japanese model of about Rs. 500 as the maximum salary in industry should have been followed at least in protected industries like cloth, steel, paper and sugar. The cotton mills have during this war made fabulous profits and one of the contributory causes of Bengal famine has been the drain from the countryside on account of cloth increased from 12 crores of rupees per annum to 60 crores. We were the first to protest against the inequity in these columns and it is a pity that Mahatma Gandhi before his imprisonment let off the capitalists with the light sentence that "the mills may not be relied on in these times."

The Finance Member was perfectly right when he said in presenting the budget last year that the war had given rise to great inequality of wealth and that Death Duty would reduce it. Before the war the average national income per capita was Rs. 65 and the average income of an agriculturist was Rs. 22. This disparity has been vastly accentuated by war profits earned secretly between dishonest officials and military contractors and suppliers and openly by industrialists already referred to. Accumulation of much wealth in a few hands is bound to corrode society and with the disappearance of large-scale charity as of old the young sons of self-centred millionaire parents are a menace to social purity in cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Rs. 5,000 as the lowest limit of taxation recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Committee should be adhered to and agricultural property exempted as proposed by the Finance Member last year. The tax should be graduated as in Britain where a maximum of 65 per cent is imposed on property exceeding two million pounds in value. Only the limit for maximum taxation should be fixed much lower here in proportion to the average national income per capita here as compared with its British equivalent. We are opposed to any State planning in India at present but unemployment relief should be immediately undertaken and for that money will be necessary. Death duty may be used to abolish the salt tax, too. Distribution of the proceeds of the duty to the provinces according to collection in each area will be unjust as, for example, the cotton mill-owners of Bombay make money out of all provinces. Any genuine charity (which has been well defined by the Indian Income Tax Act) done by the deceased should be treated as part payment made of Estate Duty due.

S. C.

Asia—the Testing Ground

Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, in a nationwide broadcast in America, asserted: "Asia will be the testing ground of all the theories advanced by the United

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Nations but the continuation of colonial empires will be a constant danger to world peace and the progress of humanity."

Discussing the subject: 'Are colonial empires a threat to world peace'. Mrs. Pandit declared, 'the question of colonial empires is linked up with the whole question of civilisation and the fate of the world. There must be a new concept in which all people can share. In the post-war world there will be comparatively few opportunities for external aggression but the danger from movements of internal active resistance, which are growing in dependent countries as a result of denial of self-government, will be a very real one and will have to be dealt with. Military standards of security by themselves will not be a sufficient assurance of lasting peace. Political thought must change and outworn methods be discarded.'

Mr. Robert Boothley, a British Member of Parliament, who opposed Mrs. Pandit, in the discussion said that it was a fallacy to suppose that the creation of colonial empires in the past constituted a threat to world peace. His main line of arguments were as follows:

'If the British Empire had dissolved, Hitler would have imposed his own form of integration, first on Europe and then on the world. For after the fall of France, we in Britain could not have hoped to stand up to him alone. In the event, the British Empire managed by the skin of its teeth to save civilisation from destruction and humanity from another dark age. Let those who now seek to abolish it reflect on this.'

Argumentum ad absurdio is quite common in Imperialist parlance. Propagandists for Imperialism even these days are blissfully oblivious of the important historical role the U.S.A. has played in saving Britain from disaster in this Hitlerite war. The U.S.A. came to play a decisive role in favour of Britain probably because of the sole fact that she had severed herself from colonial domination and was free to build her own destiny. A free India would similarly have been the greatest powerful ally of Great Britain in the Asiatic Continent.

Lattimore's "Solution in Asia"

A former adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Owen Lattimore, in his new book *Solution in Asia* says no durable arrangement in the Far East will be achieved simply "by dividing or redistributing Asia and the Pacific."

According to a *United Press* of America message, he says the only way to give an adequate safeguard against war is to provide for inevitable Asiatic developments, and do it in such a way as to make future "power conflicts" unnecessary. Besides, America must carefully calculate her part by "freeing" former colonial areas. following the attitude of Allied colonial nations. The United States should keep her record clear by not being a party to placing freed territories back under domination of America's war Allies.

The Western Colonial Powers, he thinks, may fight not only to drive out the Japanese but restore their own rule. But the United States should take no part in any such unfortunate later chapter.

The prospects of America taking an independent stand for freedom and democracy in the world is the U. S. magazine *PM*, *viz.*, (1) What is progressive gradually receding to the background. The danger of Britain's attitude to Churchill's European policy and the United States playing a second fiddle to British Imperialism is quietly gaining ground. The culminating of the Phillips episode in the resignation of the President's *Personal* Representative for India unmistakably points out to the triumph of British diplomacy even in American politics.

Not only ourselves, but thought-leaders of England like Harold Laski are also bewildered at the contradictions in American policies. He writes:

I, frankly, do not profess to understand why a liberal democrat like President Roosevelt uses men like Mr. Robert Murphy as vital links in the chain he is building. I do not understand why he should now that he has entered upon his fourth term, show so tender a concern for the policies of the Vatican policies which go hand in hand with those of big business for the simple reason that they have the kindred aim of stopping the advance of the common man.

To many of us in Britain, America is almost a contradiction in terms. We were glad to see the emergence of the PAC. We think the America of Sidney Hillman and Hugo Black represents a resurgence of the forces which have made the United States, a legend in European countries. But we cannot easily reconcile that America with an America in which Jesse Jones and Donald Nelson, Leo Crowley and Henry Morgenthau remain important symbols.

European progressives have already begun to ask themselves what kind of America is going to emerge from this war.

Will America Go Imperialist?

Prof. Laski continues:

There seem to be three possibilities before the American people: a redistribution of its wealth, a long-term investment in the Middle and Far East, economic imperialism backed by the greatest military and naval power the world has so far known.

It looks as though it is the third possibility that America will choose. There is little point in attempting to conceal the fact that such a choice would mean within a generation a third world war. I cannot but emphasize my own unhappy surprise that a President like Mr. Roosevelt, who knows as no President has known since Abraham Lincoln the needs of the common people, should be prepared to abdicate the high function to which he has been called.

There is no disguising the fact that many of us who care deeply for America and owe to it a debt we can never hope to repay are alarmed and disturbed at the tendencies—economic and social—which are emerging among the class which directs its destiny.

The Americans in Paris, in Rome, in London speak and act as though the world was theirs for the taking.

I cannot avoid the conviction that Mr. Roosevelt might usefully leave the strategy to the generals and admirals and concentrate his attention upon the conflict of ideas which he can do more than any living person to resolve.

For if we lose his passion for justice in these critical months, we shall have made a holocaust of the youth of the world without a proportionate hope in the years to come.

Prof. Laski, the intellectual dynamo of the British Labour Party, writes in reply to two questions put by

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(2) Is there any tendency to ascribe this policy to a fear of U.S. predatory economic power? Laski has clearly expressed the impression that progressive Britishers are disturbed by Churchill's policy to save "Traditional Europe". They see in it strategic Imperialism to safeguard the Middle East and India against the growing prestige of Soviet Russia. The worst feature is that America is following Churchill closely and is heading for an economic imperialism backed by military power which would mean a third world war within a generation.

Progressive Britain suspects that what Mr. Churchill has in view is the relation of the new Palestine and the new Iraq, together with Egypt to India; that King George of the Hellenes is merely a facade behind which much vaster issues are being decided. By aiding the rightists in Greece Mr. Churchill probably hopes that the debt they will owe to Tory England will enable him to safeguard the Middle East against the rising prestige of Soviet Russia. At the back of Mr. Churchill's mind is the determination at all costs to maintain 'traditional' Europe and to set the four freedoms in this context. He has killed the Atlantic Charter with his own hand. He made up his mind that no reorganisation of Europe shall be carried on which endangers the kind of "democracy" to which he has been accustomed. It is not at all an exaggeration to say that Churchill has lowered British prestige to a point hardly less than the evil reputation it acquired at Munich. Mr. Churchill shows every day more clearly that he belongs to the world that is dying and not to the world that is struggling to be born. The greatest tragedy of the twentieth century is that Roosevelt, the people's man and the leader of the New World, is following the leader of an Imperialism which is fast disintegrating in spite of the latter's strenuous efforts to save it from disruption.

Bertrand Russell on Indian Freedom

Bertrand Russell recently addressed a group of Indian students at Cambridge. The meeting was organised by the Cambridge University India Majlis and Russell was invited to address the gathering because of his love for the oppressed. Expressing his hope that there will be new departure of British policy toward India in the near future, specially after the next general elections. Russell said :

We are all agreed that it is impossible to keep up our position in India. Even if it is possible it is neither justified nor desirable. As soon as we have got a Government of the people with liberal-mindedness, we can demand that we want a change for the better in India and set to work for that change. I know of the Cripps offer. I know it is still there. I know the offer of Dominion Status as soon as the war is over. But it is not what we want to do. The question is what Indians want. At any rate it is felt by a vast majority of Indians and by many other people, especially by the people of the United States, that our promise is not honest that we do not mean to keep up undertaking to Indians. Many people in the United States want an unequivocal, definite and unambiguous declaration for India. Therefore, if I were to take part in the Government, I should announce immediately at a certain date a day 12 months after the end of the Japanese war that we British shall wash our hands off India. I should announce that now, so that Indians may have plenty of time to get together and see how best they can work together.

Continuing Russell said :

I do not think we should be too much hampered by differences in India. After all they are there, everywhere, as they are among our own people. But because we have differences nobody here wants foreigners to settle our own differences. That applies to India. It is for Indians themselves to settle their differences. It is not any of our business. I should, therefore, announce that 12 months after the Japanese war we shall abandon our responsibilities for India. I do not think we ought to insist on Dominion Status. The idea that India should become a dominion is futile and quite contrary to her geographical necessity. Other dominions had historical affinity with us, but India culturally has not and will not belong to us. Her affinity will be with Asiatic countries. Her history and culture are contrary to ours.

Summing up, Russell emphatically declared :

India belongs naturally to other Asiatic countries rather than western. Her ties with Britain are more artificial than her ties with China. The dominion of the White Man over the rest of the world since the sixteenth century is coming to an end. It will not go on any more in Asia which is awake. I am convinced of that. Our domination came into being as a result partly of our voyages, partly by a skilful use of commerce and partly as a result of science. As India develops industrially she will also develop as a military power. The era of White domination will not last. It cannot be revived. White domination has made it impossible for a stable world. You cannot have peace in the world secured as long as some people want to keep themselves in power. There will be hundred and one injustices in the world as a result of this domination. The other side has a feeling of hatred and comtempt for those who dominate. Until you get approximately an equal standard in East and West you cannot go on.

The British think that they can remain in India only by the application of brute force. Indians know that but they believe that subordination of 400 millions of human beings will be a physical impossibility as soon as the people of India will be determined, with or without the sympathies of the other peoples of the world, to make an end of her political subjugation.

Kashmir Leader Overcomes Communalism

A gigantic mass movement communal in the beginning but popular and nationalistic during the latter phase of its development has gained great momentum in Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah is her undisputed leader. It has revolutionised the entire outlook of the people and brought about a complete change in their social and political outlook. It has presented a new and progressive aspect of life and made people conscious of their rights and privileges. More than anything else the movement awakened the present masses of Kashmir to a new sense of right and wrong and has made them aware of their inherent strength and unity of interests.

A staunch Muslim himself, Sheikh Abdullah takes equal delight and pride in the religion and religious festivities of other communities. On all Hindu festivals, be it the birthday ceremony of Lord Krishna or any other important occasion, he attends the public gatherings convened on the occasion and delivers

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learned discourses on the teachings of the Hindus. His is an unbiassed and robust nationalism and his love of human liberties and sentiments makes him a stout nationalist and a humanitarian.

Naturally Sheikh Abdullah became an eyesore to Mr. Jinnah. Several attempts were made to set up a communal organisation to destroy Abdullah's Kashmir National Conference, but none of them were successful. Abdullah's movement is not only a force in Kashmir, but it constitutes a great landmark in the progress of the Indian States Movement itself. Mr. Jinnah's latest move to start a Muslim communal organisation in Kashmir has also miserably failed.

After his reverses in the Punjab, Mr. Jinnah entered Kashmir as the self-appointed guardian of the political rights of the Muslims there and deceived himself by taking Sheikh Abdullah's hospitality and courtesy to mean his acceptance of the League position. His calculation proved wrong and he had in consequence to face a very ugly situation. Sheikh Abdullah told Mr. Jinnah that he was nobody in Kashmir politics and further reiterated the position of the Kashmir National Conference by stating that Kashmir politics had long ago evolved into a higher stage of progressive nationalism and had thus passed Mr. Jinnah's "milestone of to-day over five years ago."

He further accused Mr. Jinnah of trying to disrupt the progressive forces in Kashmir and charged him with attempting to attack the National Conference "with the same weapons with which he attacks the Indian National Congress," that is that the "National Congress is an Hindu attempt to cheat the Indian minorities and the Kashmir National Conference is a Muslim attempt to cheat the Kashmir minorities." The Kashmir masses, the faithful followers of Abdullah, expressed their indignation against Mr. Jinnah by making it impossible for him to address any meeting. From one meeting he had to retire under police escort. Mr. Jinnah has therefore beat a retreat from Kashmir politics and Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference has won a final victory over the forces of reaction and communalism.

Jinnah Gets a Price for Dropping Pakistan ?

The genesis of the Desai-Liaqat formula of 40: 40: 20 for the centre and Mr. Jinnah's association with it, has been revealed by the *Bharat Jyoti*. Talking to pressmen in December last, and quoting some unnamed Muslim friends said to have good influence with Mr. Jinnah, Dr. G. S. Arundale had made the startling suggestion that the Muslim leader would abandon Pakistan in favour of 40 per cent representation at the centre. Dr. Arundale's formula wanted representation of 40 per cent for Hindus, 40 per cent for Muslims and 20 per cent for other minorities for the Central National Government. Dr. Arundale's solution for the Indian deadlock was "Hindus must sacrifice majority and Mr. Jinnah must sacrifice Pakistan."

The Muslim League Fund Finding Drive

The special correspondent of the *Leader* reports that in order to strengthen the financial position of the All-India Muslim League, a fund finding drive has been launched in every province under the auspices of the Provincial Muslim Leagues. The All-India Muslim League hopes to build up substantial funds by the h of this fund finding drive. The correspondent adds th the League is anxious to give a fillip to its organisatio activities and consolidating its hold on the Mus masses, who, according to the League, are in th danger of being allured by the tactics of the All-Ind Muslim Majlis and the super-tactics of some power Muslim aristocrats subscribing to the Agha Kha School of politics.

The correspondent then continues :

> Under the instructions of the All-India Mus League council, Nawab Aizaz Rasul, general secre tary, U. P. Muslim League, it is understood, h issued a circular letter to all district and city leag of the United Provinces asking them to furn information regarding the number of such Mus residents as are financially in such a position th they can dispense with a portion of their income charity (zakat). The number of such Muslims as a already giving in charity and of those who will willing to place their contributions for zakat at th disposal of the Muslim League in case they can b given an assurance that their money will be spent the manner they prescribe and the annual total es mate of these contributions have also been called fo Other provincial Leagues have also been asked furnish similar information by the All-India Mus League, which, it is added, is planning to make su use of this institution of zakat that the Indian Mu lims can derive the maximum possible benefit fro it.

Some time ago Mr. Jinnah had appealed for a fi crore fund but the actual amount of collections are n yet known. In Bengal, the leaders of the League a said to be much better off. The amounts of their zak will be watched with interest.

Sir Norman Angell on Robot Bombs and Robot Minds

Writing in the *Free World*, Sir Norman Angell sa that the most important development in recent yea in the field of military technology is the robot bo Although it has not succeeded in altering the course the present war, it gives a dark warning of what might become. It gives a forecaste of the predic that ultimately the machines which man had made serve him would turn round and destroy him. It become literally so. Both sides can no doubt use weapon which means that each could destroy the oth with immense margin of advantage to the side wh gets its blow in first. Sir Norman says that in the fo in which we know them, the robot bomb is, of cours a mere beginning. The London experience is just foretaste of what the 10-ton, or 100-ton rocket shell the future, travelling through the stratosphere, ha store. Add to this the possibility of explosives ba on the release of atomic energy (which reputa physicists have declared to be perhaps round corner) and one can see that the stratospheric ro bombing of a New York or a Chicago into so mu bloody rubble is something more than a possibility the future.

Of course, this development is going to affect peace-making. Every one of these developments ma geography, regional considerations, of less and importance. It is no longer a Wellsian fantasy to see the time when robot or rocket bombs, trave through the stratosphere, can be launched from a

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any spot on the earth to any other spot, delivering loads of explosives which can destroy all life within a radius of several miles.

Sir Norman then goes on to explain his ideas about the methods of controlling the human mind. He says that the problem is not merely one of creating a central power; it is to see that this power is not abused, does not itself become the enemy of freedom; that its function is limited to the prevention of violence. He emphasises that before we learn to control the robot bomb we must learn to control the human mind, its fallacies, blind spots, the passions which arise out of nationalism and doctrinal fanaticism. He then says: "We speak commonly as though it sufficed to take power from the hands of Germans and Japanese and give it into the hands of the British, the Americans, Russians, French, Africans, Chinese, Irish, Indians, Arabs, Jews; that these latter could never disagree as to the use of power, never abuse it. Which means that we take over, holus-bolus the "superiority" doctrine of the Nazis, except that we become the superior people and they the inferior. All of which, of course, is nonsense. Biologically—in blood, glands, hormones, gray matter, muscular tissue—we are exactly like the Germans. The difference is in certain ideas which, for reasons we do not know much about, infected them more than their immediate neighbours. Education and "learning" did not protect them against the infection, for the Germans are among the most learned, the most scientific people in the world, having produced great philosophers, musicians, religious teachers, from Luther to Karl Marx; and very brave and efficient soldiers."

Failure of the United Nations to Control Criminal Violence

According to Sir Norman Angell, the supreme failure of the German people as a whole is the failure to control their own criminal minorities. To say that the German people as a whole have no responsibility for the crimes of the Nazis means that they did not know how to control their criminals. Such an excuse indicts the German people as incapable of the first function of civilised governments which is precisely to restrain criminal violence.

Discussing the corresponding responsibility of the United Nations, Sir Norman says:

"But if we bring this charge with justice, as we must against the German people, it is incumbent on us to face the fact that as nations we have been guilty, in our international relationship, of a similar failure, a similar incapacity to restrain criminal violence in international affairs.

"The power of Germany and Japan represented a quite small fraction of the civilized world. Had their victims—thirty-four (at present) United Nations—been capable of uniting for mutual defence, the aggressors would never have been tempted to commit aggression, and if they tried would have been promptly stopped. But the non-German, non-Japanese world did not have that capacity for unity. It had sufficient potential power to defend itself; it could not unite for the use of that power for common defence."

Next he asks: Will it be able to unite to make impossible the use of a perfected robot bomb? To banish its terrors from mankind? But we believe that no such unity is possible unless and until all the countries of the world meet on the same platform as free and equal partners in a common world order. International criminal violence cannot be stopped so long as colonial exploitation and empire grubbing is allowed to continue.

World No Longer Dominated by European Powers

Mr. W. G. Mackay, a progressive British writer writes in an article that the Governments of Britain and America in resisting Nazi aggression, are trying to bolster up a European system which, if it worked during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, certainly does not work in the twentieth. He points out that the world is no longer dominated by European Powers. The people of Russia, China, India and America are going to play a much larger part in world politics in the twentieth century than they played in the eighteenth and nineteenth. Although the Nazis will be overthrown and the United Nations' victory will be secured, it will be a defeat both for France and for Britain, if one conceive those two countries in nineteenth century terms. Mr. Mackay clearly states that India must be granted independence; so also the colonial people of Africa. The following passage is quoted to illustrate the breadth of his thought:

> The war of 1914-1918 was a defeat for the France of 1914. By 1918 she had become dependent on Britain, America and Russia for her independence and freedom, and she had lost so much in manpower and investments overseas that she was no longer the first-class Power she had been according to the standards and traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
>
> The British Empire will meet a similar fate at the end of this war. Mr. Churchill is trying to perpetuate a geographical and political entity which, however great it may have been (again according to the standards and traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and their conceptions of world politics), is bound to come to an end in the near future. India must have its independence; the colonial peoples of Africa must be given their freedom and a democratic government for Africa established; the other colonial peoples must be treated in the same way. This has to be made clear to the British and the French, and, for that matter, to the Belgians, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Spaniards.

Mr. Mackay believes, and so do we, that an attempt to perpetuate the nineteenth century set up of European domination of the world is to try to put a roof on a house which has lost its foundations and has not got any walls.

Indian Art Collections in Moscow Museum

There are several collections of Indian objects of art in the USSR, the biggest and most interesting being those of the museums of the Academy of Sciences and of the Hermitage in Leningrad. The collection of Indian art treasures brought from the "Indian Circle" in East Turkestan by the expedition of the late Academician Sergei Oldenburg and from the dead city of Khara-Khota by the famous Russian explorer Peter Kozlov are of world-wide significance. There is, however, also an Indian Art Collection in Moscow and it forms part of the State Museum of Oriental Culture.

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One of the most valuable sections of the collection is the miniatures from the Persian manuscript version of Sultan Babur's Memoirs. There are about 70 of them and they are in an excellent state of preservation. They were painted at the end of the 16th century in the Emperor Akbar's palace workshop and are typical examples of the Moghul school of Indian painting.

Another series of miniatures in this collection dates back to the 17th century and constitutes a whole gallery of representatives of the Moghul aristocracy. The museum possesses the famous 16th Century miniature, already published, signed by the artist Baljid (also read as Balchand) which shows an acrobatic wrestling scene.

Indian applied arts are very extensively represented. There is a series of sculptured details from the Car of Jagan-Nath (Juggernaut) of the 17th Century. There are also some beautifully decorated specimens of lacquer work—cases for mirrors and for reed pens. There is one pen case of the middle of the 17th Century which deserves deeper study. The artist depicts a number of Europeans in addition to the local people. Lastly there are some Indian silks embroidered with gold and silver threads.

Imperial Library Books Sent Out of Calcutta

In reply to a question, Mr. J. D. Tyson told Mr. K. C. Neogy that the most valuable publications of the Imperial Library, numbering about ten thousand were removed from Calcutta in February 1942 as a precautionary measure and deposited with the Aligarh Muslim University for safe custody. No proper inspection of the books seems to have been carried out by opening the boxes. If the boxes are not sufficiently air-tight, there is a likelihood for the deterioration of the books. Now that the danger of bombing in Calcutta has passed off, the Imperial Library ought to bring the books back. The Calcutta University had brought back all their books sent outside for safe custody. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has also sent a number of books out of the city and it is high time they should be brought back as well.

Give Women 50-50 Share in Politics—G. B. S.

Writing in the British weekly *Leader*, Bernard Shaw pleads for giving women a 50-50 share in politics. He says, "I advocate human government by women and men in equal numbers because I want the enormous power at present exercised by women to be made public, responsible and continually under fire from public criticism. If public affairs could be managed by one sex alone, I should vote for leaving them to women. Having always had to feed and manage men they are trained to it until it has become an instinct with them, whereas men have never been able to manage women. Matriarchy is the law of nature; and now that it is no longer necessary for men to hunt and fight every day to feed and protect their squaws and piccaninnies the natural man is a pampered drone. I have been dependent on women all my life, and am quite conscious of it, and keenly aware of the fact that if I do nothing to make me worth their care, they may wake up to the situation like the bees and kill me when they have no further use for me. The danger in an exclusively female Government is that women, who love power more than men do, would jealously disfranchise and dronify men at whatever cost of pampering, dressing-up and glorifying him."

To Shaw the need for human government and the dangers of sexually unilateral rule are plain enough. He believes that they are obscured merely less by male vanity than by men's subconscious dread of women leading them to a conviction that they must either enslave women or be themselves enslaved by them, which they very largely are.

Burning for Purification

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai told the Central Assembly that he had heard the B. B. C. announces saying that Berlin was burning for purification. If Berlin desired to purify herself for her sin in attempting to take away Britain's freedom, Britain in her turn would have to purify herself in respect of many other similar sins. The time had come for penitence to be expressed in the form of action."

Dinabandhu Andrews

On the 5th of April next falls the fifth death anniversary of Dinabandhu Andrews. There was never a time when there was so little confidence and trust as between Indians and Britishers as now nor was ever there so much want of a man in whom both could trust. The passing of the Dinabandhu was a calamity for the British and Indians alike though only the Indians seem to be partially aware of it. There was never a British official in the history of British India who did one-tenth as much for Indians as did this true servant of the Lord. The Indian estimate of his worth could perhaps be best summed up by a translation of a part of a radio broadcast in Bengali by the late Ramananda Chatterjee, on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death, given below:

. . . The name *Dinabandhu* given to Mr. Andrews was literally true. To the last moment of his life he had endeavoured to preach the Christ-ideal which he cherished in his heart, not by words but by his life.

We never thought that his death would come so soon. For I remember that up to only a few days before he came to Calcutta for medical treatment I used to see him coming to Santiniketan from Sriniketan on foot and go back walking—covering a distance of about four miles. But it is vain to grieve over what has happened.

He lived his noble life in such a manner as if he was atoning for the sins of his nation in relation to India. But *we* ought not to think of his life and service in that way. We should specially consider in how many ways and to what a great extent we are indebted to him. I am not now referring to my personal debt of gratitude to him. The ardous labours which he went through for India, particularly for the oppressed and humble Indians who live in the Colonies, no Indian ever went through;—only Mahatma Gandhi did similar and greater things for the Indians in South Africa. But he could not do so much for those in other colonies. He was so large-hearted and so liberal that among his intimate friends there were Hindus, there were Muslims, there were Jainas, there were Buddhists, there

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were Jews and there were Christians and Parsis. Persons belonging to all the various religious communities in Calcutta joined in his funeral service today and perhaps, if the public had received previous intimation, so many would have been eager to join that the gathering would have reached unmanageable proportions. He has now been blest with the peace which he longed for. He has not been able to see that amity between independent India and independent Britain which was the desire of his life, established during his life-time. But whenever this friendship between a free India and a free British becomes a reality, then undoubtedly his soul in heaven will enjoy supreme bliss and peace ineffable.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The War in Europe has entered into its climax. At the time of writing the Allied assault on the Western front has mounted to its peak. According to all reports received (up till 29. 3. 45) the German defence in the West has crumpled up and General Eisenhower has gone further in stating that the Germans have no further chances of staging another defensive battle in the West. London reports go still further in claiming that the Wehrmacht has little hope for regrouping its forces for another stand. Regarding the Eastern front no definite break-through has been reported so far, though two new offensives are said to be in progress. In the U.S.A. people started celebrating the end of the War until they were stopped by official warnings that the war is not yet over. In general the picture that has been conveyed by the news-correspondents is that the dim shape of victory can already be seen to be looming through the smoke and fog of war, though it cannot be gauged as yet as to how near it has come.

Judging from the actual reports in so far as they convey definite news, which are scanty in the extreme due to news-blackouts, one can make out two facts. The first is that the Allies have been able to surmount the obstacles of positional warfare that were imposed upon them by the German defence plan and that now they are throwing in all their armour, artillery and man-power in the battle so as to deliver a knock-out to the German defending forces. Mobile warfare on a very large scale is, therefore, indicated, where the five-fold supremacy of the Allies in armament and man-power will be allowed to use its full weight for the first time since the landings on the coast of Normandy. The second is that the Germans now face for the second time in three months, a total disruption of their defence plans through the wholesale breach of their positional defences over a very wide area. The great arsenals of the Ruhr and the Saar are now threatened, as happened in the case of Silesia a few months back.

Judging again purely from the nature of fighting, the Allied advance has differed a great deal from the Russian break-through of a few months back. That was a spectacular assault and the break-through that followed was purely on the lines of the blitz-krieg methods followed by the Germans in their French and Russian campaigns at the outset of the war. In this Russian blitz too the armoured spear-heads raced ahead of the supporting infantry and artillery, changing direction as needed to avoid hedgehogs or to bye-pass great concentrations of enemy forces, thus penetrating deep into the rear-communications and threatening to disrupt the whole defence organisation without giving the defenders the chance to regroup or to organise a concerted defence along a continuous line. It failed to achieve the finale desired because the Germans had replied with the Russian answer to the blitz problem and could improve on it because of their immensely superior organisations of supply and communication. But all the same this Russian blitz had bitten deep into the vitals of the German defence, depleting their reserves and straining their resources to the extreme in supporting their forces that had been bye-passed and isolated far behind the Russian spear-heads. It is doubtful indeed if the Allied successes on the Rhine would have been attained so early and at that cost, if the Russian blitz had not torn up the German defence plan in the East in that fashion. The Allied advance has been achieved mainly by the weight of arms and preponderance in numbers. It has delivered its assaults step by step and as the weight of arms and men told had widened the breaches and had thus pushed back the line until it broke in places due to the extreme tension. It is through these breaches that armour is pushing through now, and probably para-troops are also being employed to break up enemy resistance at strategic points. The problem that the Wehrmacht faces is the repair of these breaches and the replenishment of depleted fighting strength of the defence.

The question is whether Germany has any substantial reserves left with which to obtain a condition of liquid stability as was done on the Eastern front a month back. It is well-known that of the Axis forces actually in the field, by far the greater portion are in the East, engaged in an attempt at holding up the Russian armies. What reserves there are in Germany's central pool is unknown, but judging from General Eisenhower's statement, they are not expected to be very substantial. Of natural defences in the West, the most difficult have either been surmounted or are being subjected to assault at the present moment. The rest, according to news reports, do not seem to be of much account since London reports claim that "all Germany lies open" before the Allies. The picture, therefore, as presented by the news reports, is one of Germany on the immediate eve of collapse, with its defences shattered in the West, while in the East they are being rapidly reduced; with its fighting forces being over-

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whelmed and torn up in the West while in the East the process of attrition is rapidly lowering its strength, and with its central pool of reserves being depleted to the vanishing point. The Wehrmacht is said to be at the end of its tether, which does not call for any stretch of imagination in view of the picture presented. All that is left to complete the picture is the chaotic condition of desertion by fighting forces and frantic fleeing of civilians out of the battle zones, clogging up the arteries of troop movements, and the closing down of the arsenals. The question now being asked is not so much as to when the end will come but as to how?

The answer to that question should be known to the world within the first fortnight of April, if the Allied estimates are correct. The Allied armies on the West and the Russian forces in the East are now working in full concert and both are now exerting the maximum pressure that they can deliver by the weight of arms and by the manifold superiority in numbers. The battles on the East have raged with unabated fury for some months now at the last defences before the very vitals of the Reich, and are now showing distinct signs of pulsating in intensity—which means prolonged warfare. In the West they have mounted to extreme violence, on a scale never hitherto attained on this front, and if there be a lull or lack of resistance from the Germans, it can only mean either total collapse or an attempt by the Wehrmacht to regroup all the forces at its command for a mobile battle on a gigantic scale to fight the Allied armies to a halt. If General Eisenhower succeeds in preventing this regrouping, then indeed the end is in sight. The turn of events within a few days —at most a very few weeks—will give the waiting world the answer.

In Asia the war is approaching the mainland of Japan in a steady progression and the fury of the battle is increasing with the approach. The latest reports are rather indefinite and confused but there can be no doubt now that Admiral Nimitz is pushing forward relentlessly with his schedule for the Pacific War. It is being progressively revealed that the Japanese navy is no longer in a position to challenge the American supremacy on the waters of the Pacific. But on the other hand the Japanese air-force is now definitely attempting a show-down as between land-based 'planes and carrier-borne craft. This new development will probably soon show the possibility—or otherwise—of a sea-borne invasion of Japan along the very thin island-route across the vast stretches of the Pacific. In any case the consolidation of the American hold on these islands of the Pacific is essential for the final assault, be that delivered straight across the waters of the Western Ocean or be that launched from the coast of China. The strategy of this island warfare across the Pacific is not yet fully revealed, that is to say it is not yet clear whether these stages are merely means to an end, or whether they are actual progressive steps of the final assault. There are many gaps left as yet in this most extraordinary chain of communication lines, and until the final wiping out of the Japanese resistance takes place on the Philippines, the Bonins and the islands further out, the channel for the vast flow of arms and armed forces, requisite for the final assault on Japan, cannot be said to be quite clear. Until that stage reached it would be futile to speculate on the ma plans of the Allied Supreme War-Council regarding battle of Asia. Meanwhile the aerial assault on J is being intensified, but as yet it has merely ass the preventive stage, that is to say it is now act obstructing the Japanese attempt at stepping up production of armaments. It is premature to say the actual "softening" process is in action, as would entail far more intensive raids on a greater scale.

The question of a direct sea-borne invasion Japan across the Pacific is a gigantic and extre complicated problem in logistics. Japan seems to come to the conclusion that it is impossible of solu and that even with complete mastery over the P the American Pacific Command will not be able mount a major offensive direct on to Japan wi any considerable bases on the coast-line of China. Japanese are no doubt apprehensive of major atte on the part of the U.S.A. Pacific Command at l ings in force on the mainland of Japan. But it seem be certain that such attempts would be co-ordin with operations on the south-coast of China might precede or immediately follow such action. latest Japanese drive from Hankow can have no m ing otherwise. This drive clearly shows that the J nese are aware that the sands are running out fast they have to consolidate their hold on the Pei Hankow railway soon or else it might be too late.

This Japanese bid for the consolidation of great continental rail-artery is being pressed on such force that it leaves no doubt that it is a part of Japan's defence plan. With a land-route to raw-material sources firmly in their hand, Japan to be able to carry on with a long war of attrition the main-land of China. For even if the sea-lanes cut by the U.S.A. Navy, sufficient supplies ca carried by the rail-route to enable Japan to carry the vaster resources of the Allies being co balanced by the immense difficulties of their s route. It is premature however to speculate on all since it is not yet clear as to which of the three to Tokyo would be taken by the Allies. The fig that is going on now in Burma has not up to date any hopes of Burma being made into a major bas Allied operations against the Japanese. Indeed problem of maintaining great armies fighting in C by means of air-borne and land-borne supplies seem be unsurmountable for the present judging by extreme difficulties of the aerial route across the and the tortuous and difficult intricacies of the B Road. Therefore, the sea-route to China has t cleared up to Singapore and Saigon before the against Japan from this side of the world can much weight. This route, therefore, will take some time, whereas the Burma-Kunming route is like remain constricted for all time so far as the p war is concerned. The third route is the Pacific of which the possibilities are as yet not fully rev There has been some speculation on that point bu also has not been of a very convincing nature.

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MY MOTHER

Reminiscences*

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By C. F. ANDREWS

[Five years ago Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews passed away on April 5th, 1940, but he will be missed by his innumerable friends and admirers for many a year to come. We reproduce here the compliments that were paid to him by Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet Tagore as forewords to a Hindi biography.

"C. F. Andrews, who to me is dear Charlie, is a living embodiment of Christian principles. But by the singular purity of his life and his never-failing service to the poor and the lost, he has ceased to belong to any particular sect or nation; he has become one of the world.

"He is too near to me by bonds of co-operation and love to allow me to say anything about him in a detatched spirit of criticism. Pandit Benarasi Das has worked with him closely for a number of years and it is quite appropriate that he should write a biography of Andrews. In these days of destructive class-struggle and of blatant nationalism his life has a special lesson for the world. May it not pass away unheeded!"

"Uttarayan" *Rabindranath Tagore*
Santiniketan, 29-3-34

"It is not an easy thing for me to write a foreword to a life sketch of C. F. Andrews between whom and me there exists a tie closer than between blood brothers. But if I may say without presumption, I would like to note down my conviction that there does not exist in India a more truthful, more humble, and more devoted servant of hers than C. F. Andrews.

"May the lesson of his life prove to the youth of India an encouragement for greater devotion to the motherland."

Santiniketan, 17-9-20. *M. K. Gandhi*]

This time that I have had in England, after so many years' absence, has brought back to me the memory of my mother as nothing else has ever done before. It was nearly twenty-five years ago since I left England for India on one bitterly cold morning in February 1904 with the snow coming down and the sky dark and threatening. I had just left my mother on the previous evening after I had knelt at her side in prayer as I used to do every morning and evening as a little child. My heart was chilled through and through at the thought of parting from her and I must confess that I looked back and repented for a brief moment that I had set out on such a distant voyage. She was failing in health and I wondered whether I should ever be able to see her again. It seemed cruel on my part to leave her. The whole scene of our parting came back to me while I was alone in the railway carriage, shivering with cold and trying to collect my thoughts. No journey in my life was sadder to me. Again and again in thought I turned back and wondered whether I had taken the right step.

Two things sustained me during that inner struggle. The former was that God's voice had been calling me and I could not disobey. The second was that my mother had always put 'duty' first in every thing she taught us and even when she had shed silent tears on the night before when we had said 'good-bye', she had never for a moment ceased to encourage me in what I was about to do. From the very first moment, when I had broken the news to her that I was going out in Christ's name to India, she had encouraged me to go. So great was her faith and so complete was her self-sacrifice of love!

It was not, after all, to be the last time that I should see her on this earth. That was to come in 1912 and I shall write about it later. But when the heart is very deeply touched with grief, fears often loom large and I confess that the hardest part of all in the determination which had come to me to go out to India as a Christian missionary was the anxiety, bordering on fear, that I shall never be able to see my mother again.

Let me go on a little with that story as I remember it vividly still. The snow-storm still descended while the train left Victoria Station in London. A small group of friends had collected to bid me farewell and then I was all alone. It was then at last that the pain came most, and it has always been possible for me to sympathise with the loneliness of home—sick Indian students on their way to England because of that personal experience of my own. If I had not suffered myself, I should not have been able to suffer with them.

The crossing of the English Channel was rough and the cold was still intense. Somehow the physical misery for a time was almost welcome, because it took my mind from the spiritual agony, which I was passing through. The night in the train, sitting up and cramped for room, was spent almost sleeplessly. Then at Basle, in Switzerland, the train stopped for nearly an hour in the very early morning, between 5 a.m. and 6 a.m. I was able to get a cup of steaming coffee, filled up with boiling milk and a Swiss roll of bread with butter. Somehow this revived me and made me cheerful again as nothing else could have done at such a time.

I must make another confession. On my way to Geneva from Marburg in Germany during the present tour I passed through Basle. Two German friends were with me and they wished to entertain me with a full meal. We had fasted all day. But when they asked me what I would have, I asked them to provide hot steaming coffee with boiling milk and a Swiss roll of bread with butter simply in order that I might be able to recapture that incident, which happened nearly twenty-five years ago, when I had left my mother for the first time in all my life to go abroad and was heart-sick and home-sick, beyond all words, on that early morning, in that same railway station of Basle and had found some comfort in hot coffee and milk and butter and a roll of bread!

II

It has been a very strange and deeply moving experience to me to visit one by one the places where I used to live as a little boy and bringing back to memory the days that are no more. In every place it has been the picture of my mother that has come back to me most vividly of all and that is why I have felt the desire to write about it.

I can realise now more clearly how very great the actual poverty must have been in which I was brought up. There were two different streets where my father took us to live in turn in Birmingham in two very small houses which could hardly contain his ever-increasing family. This happened after his removal from Newcastle. Both of these houses were so small that it is hard to realise how a family of thirteen children could have found room in them! In former of the two houses there was literally no garden at all and the street was our only play-ground. Certainly this was a great

* These reminiscences were contributed by Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews to the *Vishal-Bharat* in 1929 with instruction that they should be published in *The Modern Review* afterwards.—B. Das Chaturvedi.

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deprivation, which I shared with millions of other town children. It was very good for me to have this experience of complete poverty, but at the same time it had a rather stunting effect on some of the finer instincts in me, which were ready to blossom forth if a congenial soil had been provided.

I can be fairly certain of this, because I can remember still today the almost mad joy which used to come to me as a child when my father took me into the country. My mother rarely came, because her household duties were overwhelming and she could not neglect them for a single moment. She was so self-sacrificing that she never even thought of herself or her own pleasure.

Up to this day I can remember with a vividness that is almost photographic in its clearness of detail two incidents connected with my mother, which seem to show what kind of child I was.

The first of these was when a fowl was being killed on the opposite side of the road near the open street. I did not see anything of the dying agonies of the fowl. It was only the sound that I heard. At first I did not know what it was. Then one of my playmates told me. I heard the sound die down and the horror of the cruelty of it all forced itself upon my young imagination. When I went into the house, I sat in misery by my mother's side and told her all about it. Then I tried to bury my thought in a story-book, but that cry of the fowl's dying pain would never leave my imagination. For days and days it haunted me! Since then I have forgotten thousands of other things. But when I went to see that street, where we used to live, again once more the strange thing was this that the one memory which came back to me was that fowl's cry of pain and how I could not bear it but ran into the house to my mother and then tried to bury my horror in my story-book. The very place where I heard the cry was known to me as I stood once more in the street. All sorts of changes had gone on. The house we lived in has been turned into a workshop. But just that one turn of the street had remained unchanged amid all other alterations and as I stood at that point in the road, the memory of what happened more than fifty years ago came back with a vivid flash to my mind.

The last house into which we moved was bigger than the former I have mentioned. It had one inestimable advantage for us in our childhood. It had a back-garden in which we could play all day long when we were not at school. What games we had! The favourite game, into which I used to coax my younger sisters to take a part, was 'Swiss Family Robinson'. This story book used to live with me as my one dearest possession. It was illustrated. We used to act every part of it in that garden. It was not very easy to manage the ship-wreck, where there was no water. But a child's vivid imagination very easily gets over trifling difficulties of that kind. I must, however, tell the whole of that story at another time. It is too long to tell here.

What remained most vividly in my mind when I went back to this second house, where I had lived in my early childhood, was the memory of one day when I had come back to my mother in eager excitement from Sutton Coldfield. There was a park there with four or five long pools. Nature had been allowed to continue in its wild state. The incident I am about to mention must have happened when I was about twelve years old. One day I had walked over with my elder brother to Sutton Park by road. The walk was a long one for boy of my age. It was over seven miles and I was somewhat weak child when I was young. There was pool, close to the park entrance, on the far side of park, which was first approached when we walked o My brother and I had gone across some treacher marshy soil eagerly seeking some adventure amid wild natural scenery. We were playing together 'Swiss Family Robinson.' Then I discovered a wild b nest with three eggs in it, whose colour was light with little dark spots. I had never seen such a before in such a wild place. In my excite I took the eggs in my cap and on my re home when I was tired almost to death the long walk and all my excitement was o I showed my mother all the three eggs, expecting to admire them. She said to me, "Oh, Charlie, have you done? Just think of that poor mother bird coming back and finding all her beautiful eggs st Even now, perhaps, she is flying and flying round deserted nest making a sound of pain. Could you have taken only one, and left her two behind,— was necessary to take one at all? Oh, Charlie, my little boy, what have you done?"

Before she had finished, the picture of that mother-bird flying round and round the deserted crying with pain, gripped my imagination. All night I could hardly sleep at all, though I was tired. Then my memory is not quite clear what pened next, but I feel almost certain that it was next morning that I went back to Sutton Park with three blue speckled eggs. What happened later was that I did not find the nest and so my conscience not get the relief it needed, but had to bear the bur until the child's habit of forgetfulness blotted out memory of my conscious mind. All the agony I suffered sank down into the sub-conscious.

Let me end this picture, therefore, with the port of my dear mother, as she drew me to her side said to me, with her tender chiding voice, which the greatest punishment I could possibly receive, Charlie, what have you done?"

III

One of the most beautiful things to witness in own childhood was the absolute devotion which father had towards my mother. There are always married life differences of temperament and dispos My father was at all times impulsive, warm-hea generous to an almost extravagant degree, and ready believe any one who came to him with a pitiable of distress. He was also exceedingly chivalrous always wished to take up the cause of the oppressed the afflicted.

My mother understood all these sentiments shared them, but she always had the better judg As a mother of a very large family, she had to con her own children and their needs. Therefore, thou one could be more open-hearted and open-ha towards real distress, she was not taken in, as my fa not seldom was, by those who merely came to because they were unwilling to do honest work. T as years went by, my father used to rely more and upon my mother's judgment. Indeed— shall I dare it without any irreverence to his dear memory? became almost, as it were, a mother to him as w a devoted wife. While the authority of our large h

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hold was entirely in his hands, he often would unconsciously delegate that authority to her in forming his decisions and would act upon her judgment rather than upon his own.

This made the loss all the harder to bear for my father when my mother died, after an ideal married life of nearly fifty years as husband and wife. He literally pined away after she was gone from him and the terrible days of European war hastened his own death. It would be difficult to find a more perfect example of a wedded love which was all in all.

It happened that while I have been in England this summer, I came across a bundle of my father's letters written after the death of my mother. They were so pathetic in their patient fortitude and tender longing for my mother's presence that it was difficult to read them without tears. He tells the story, which my sisters had corroborated, how he had turned in his distress and solitude to the composition of poetry. Never in his whole life had he written a line of poetry before and now at the age of eighty-five he would spend day after day in writing down his thoughts in verse and giving them a very simple poetic form. It touched him very deeply indeed when anyone wrote to him and said that these simple verses had given them comfort in sorrow. He wrote not only to assuage his own grief, but also to help others to bear theirs.

One of the most touching of these simple poems is before me in his own handwriting. It runs as follows:

When we think of those years so long passed, dear
When we both were so happy and gay,
We knew that their joy could not last, dear
That its gladness must soon pass away.

But there's one thing that never can change, dear
A gift that has come from above,
Which has welded our hearts into one, dear
The gift of unfaltering love.

Though our life here on earth fade away, dear
Though our bodies be laid in the dust,
Even then, this shall never decay, dear
For it liveth in Him, whom we trust.

Now alas! You are taken away, dear
And I'm left to linger below,
But the stream of my love does not stay, dear
Its fountain shall never cease to flow.

C. F. Andrews (*standing on the left*) and his father, mother, brothers and sisters

In those heavenly mansions above, dear
Where all shall be glory and peace,
We shall still live the life of that love, dear
In fulness that never shall cease.

It is quite possible to criticise this poem from the point of view of literature and to fail to appreciate it as such. But my own criterion is a simpler one. For I can realise in it how every word, that he wrote about my mother in this poem, was written with tears and how those tears were able in a slight measure to assuage his own grief.

We, who were her children, joined with our father himself in giving this honour and reverence to my mother. Whenever we went over the wide world, it was to our mother that we always wrote those long letters of ours that were handed round to all the family circle.

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There was not a single week in which I did not send by the steamer from Bombay a long letter to my mother. Not seldom I would write to my father also, but my mother always had my longest letters. Once when I had some doubt whether my letter had actually gone by the main steamer, I sent a cable to explain. For I could not bear the thought that my mother in her weakness, during her declining years, should have the least anxiety on my account. Again and again, I used to warn her that the mail delivery was not infallible and it was well I did so, because inquisitive eyes sometimes were wont to scan my letters just before they departed from the Indian shores and at one period their delivery became irregular. That episode could not be avoided, but what I could avoid was to fail, by my own fault, to catch the mail. Therefore practically I never missed the mail during all those years before she died.

IV

I cannot remember where I left off in my reminiscences about my mother and I shall run the risk of repeating myself. Here where I am living among the Hindustani exiles from the United Provinces, who came out to British Guiana, more than ten thousand miles away from India, under the indenture system, wherever I sit down in company with them, they always ask me two questions. The former is, "Mr. Andrews, are you married?" When I tell them that I have been all my life a bachelor, they express surprise and tell me that they thought that I had many children in India. The second question is this: "Is your mother still living?" I tell them, "No. She died when I was in South Africa with Mahatma Gandhi." Then they ask for the story of my mother's death, which has reached some of the educated Indians of this country and I tell it to them as I shall tell it in due course in these reminiscences. It is true to say that nothing brings our hearts more closely together than these stories about my own mother.

I cannot remember whether I told the story of those very early days in my life when we were still living in the North of England. There were already very many children born in our family and I came in the middle of them all—with brothers and sisters who were older than myself and many also who were younger. When I state the fact that we were fourteen in all, of whom only one died in infancy, I can imagine the surprise of my readers. But no greater blessing ever came to me in life than to have such a mother and to belong to uch a large family. Truly I pity very much indeed the spoilt children today, who are either the only children of their parents, or who belong to a very small family of two or three children. We were a supremely happy family circle, with delightful companionship within the same home. In India the joint family system gives some happy relationships such as we had in our family and the fact that all through my childhood I had so many brothers and sisters has made perhaps the home-life in India more easy for me to understand than if I had been an only child in my own home in England.

But the story I wanted to tell was this—will you forgive me if I have told it already and listen to it again?—One day when I was quite young, probably not more than five years old, I was with my brothers and sisters in our play-room, when suddenly I felt burning hot and ill. My knees began to pain me so much that I sat down on the floor in the middle of our game and began to cry. I can remember vividly just how I sat on the floor and looked at my knees and saw how red and swollen they had become. My brothers wa[illegible] me to go on with the game and said, "Charlie, get up[illegible] But I could not rise.

At that moment my mother came in and I [illegible] picture her tender, beautiful face, while I write d[illegible] these words. Without an instant's delay she knelt d[illegible] on the floor by my side and kissed me on my fore[illegible] and looked at both my knees as I pointed towards th[illegible] through my tears. She saw at once that I was v[illegible] feverish. She then carried me in her arms to my [illegible] and called the doctor.

When he came he shook his head sadly and s[illegible] that the illness was rheumatic fever in an acute fo[illegible] and that my life would be in danger. He wrapped [illegible] knees in bandages made of flannel. That night I lay [illegible] delirium with very high fever indeed.

My mother has often told me how the high fe[illegible] kept up, month after month, till my body had becom[illegible] a mere shadow and my life was despaired of. All th[illegible] I can remember of those months of suffering was m[illegible] mother's face looking down on me with wonderful l[illegible] and tenderness. She prayed for me by my bed-si[illegible] night and day and God in His great mercy heard [illegible] mother's prayers and restored me to her arms in love.

By far the greater part of all that suffering [illegible] merely one blank to me to-day. Probably I passed m[illegible] days and weeks almost unconscious just hover[illegible] between life and death. The crisis at last came and ev[illegible] one thought that I was going to die. Then one da[illegible] opened my eyes after a long period of unconsciousn[illegible] and saw a flower on a little table close to my bed. [illegible] I remember aright, it was a white flower. It looked [illegible] beautiful that I seemed to wake into consciousness [illegible] life again and to wish to live. Of one thing I am s[illegible] It was that flower which gave me the first impulse [illegible] life, just at the very time when my spirit was flickeri[illegible] between life and death. From that day onwards [illegible] rapidly recovered.

We all have very curious memories of our earl[illegible] childhood. So much is absolutely forgotten. Yet ot[illegible] things are as clear and vivid as if they had happe[illegible] yesterday. It will easily be imagined what a weak [illegible] tiny child I remained for some time after that terr[illegible] illness. We have a proverb in English: 'Troubles n[illegible] come singly.' This was true with me. One day I w[illegible] standing outside the drawing-room door listening [illegible] my father singing inside the room. My mother [illegible] playing the piano. So far my memory is uncertain, b[illegible] what follows could never be forgotten. In a fo[illegible] childish way I had put my finger into the crack [illegible] hinge of the door, which was half open. My fath[illegible] paused in his song and shut the door sharply, while [illegible] finger was still in this crack or hinge. When the scre[illegible] I gave told him what had happened my poor fin[illegible] on my right hand was smashed to a pulp right up to [illegible] first joint. Fortunately I was so young at the time [illegible] there was no bone yet fully formed but only soft tiss[illegible] Yet so severe was the accident that for six months, w[illegible] I was still weak with my former illness, I had to [illegible] my hand in a string until the finger recovered. It [illegible] easy to see on my right hand the place where [illegible] accident was even today. But the long strain of reco[illegible] always afterwards made my right hand weaker than [illegible] left. Therefore when I began to play games, I fo[illegible] I had become left-handed. It was this accident wh[illegible] in this peculiar way made me left-handed all the [illegible] of my life.

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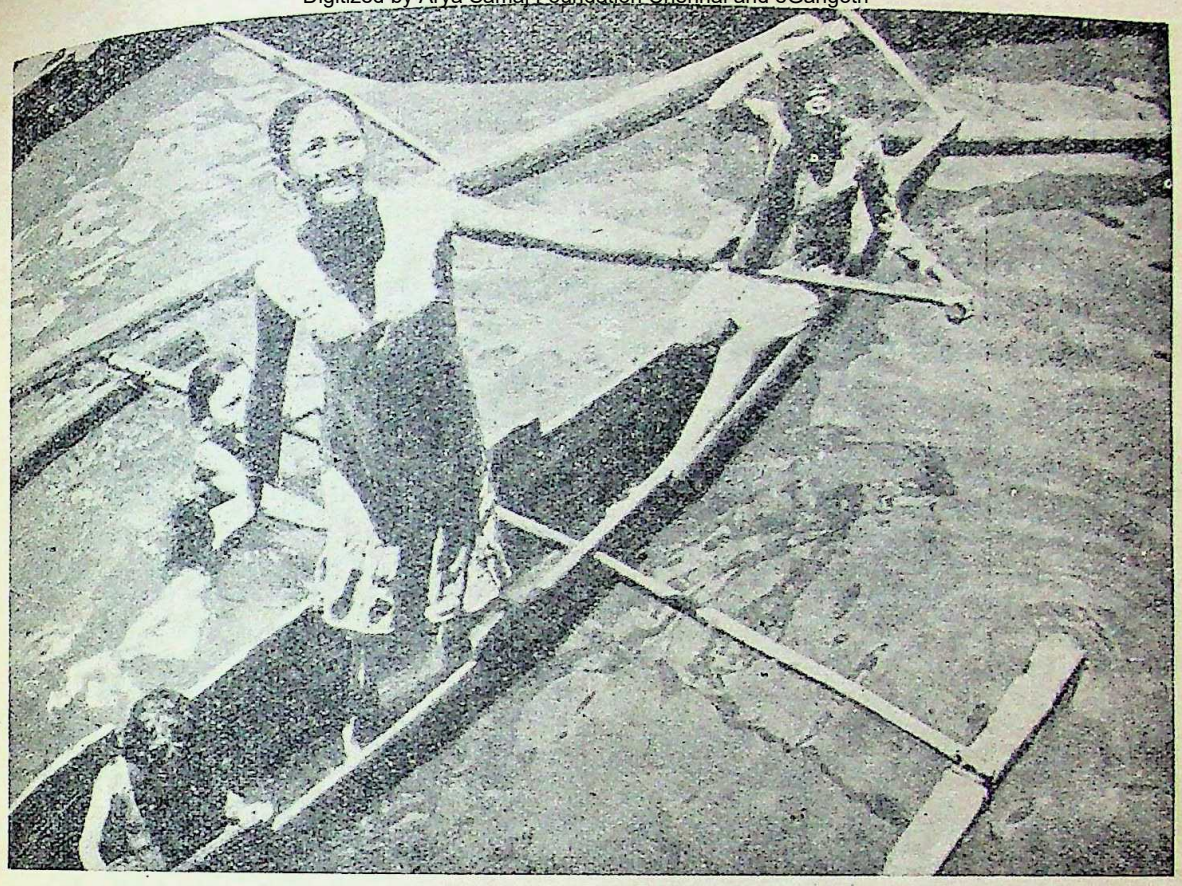

The Filipino girls are diving for coins flung from steamers that ply between the islands

Sampans carry American Red Cross supplies for China

Courtesy : USOWI

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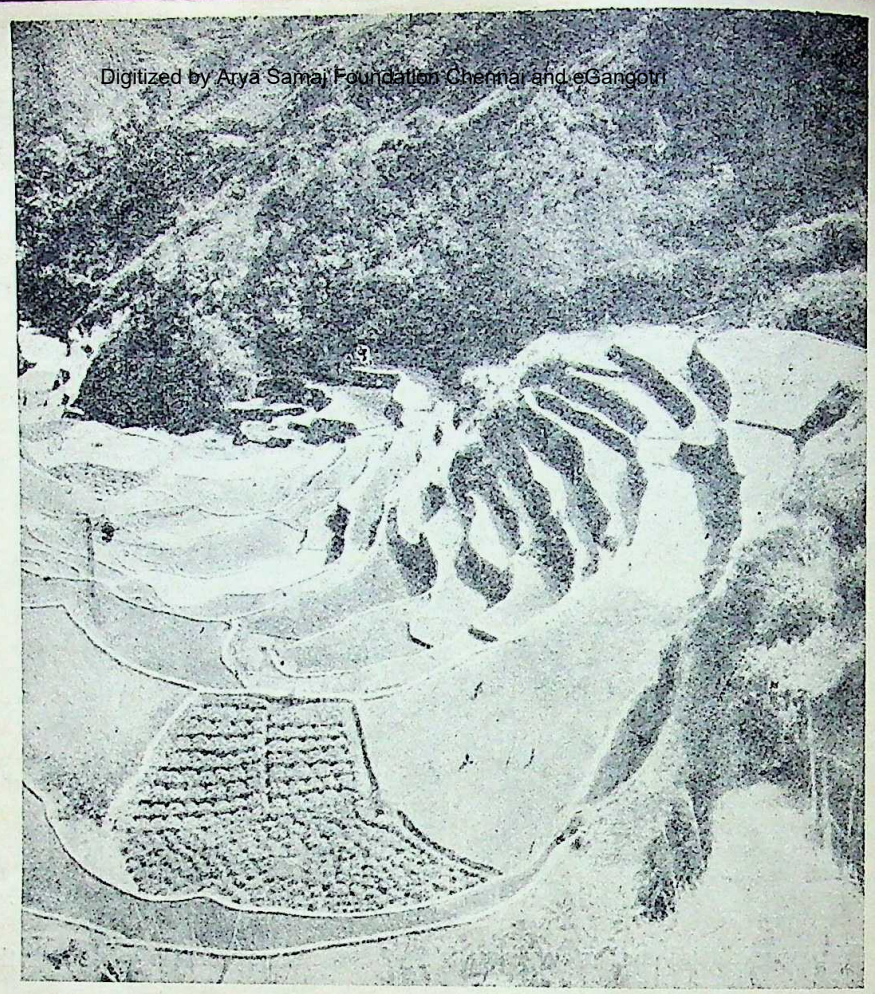
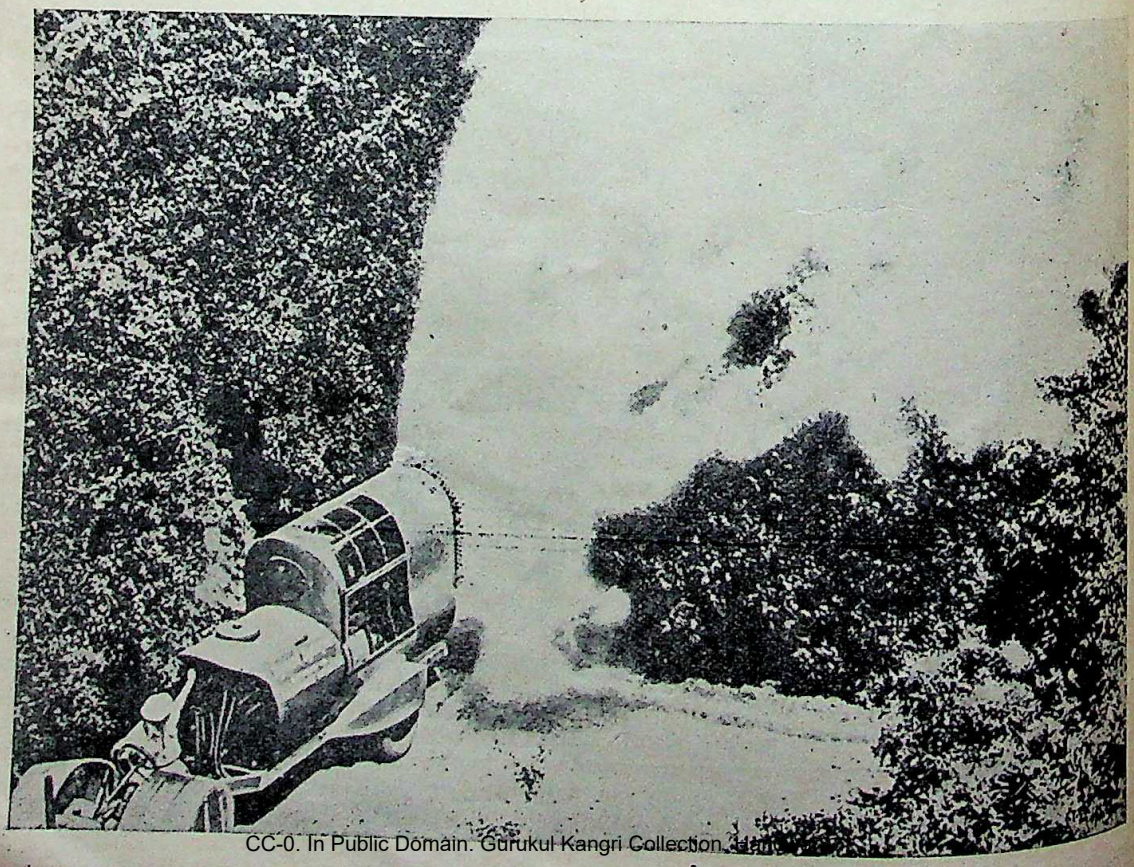


Rice terraces in the Philippines cut out of the mountainside and strongly reinforced with timber



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A new power sprayer developed in the Southern U.S. throws a germ and insect killing spray into a citrus fruit orchard

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During all these childish illnesses and troubles, my mother seemed to come nearer and nearer to my heart. Probably on account of the fact that she had almost seen me die, my mother had a fondness for me that perhaps she did not have in the same degree for her other more robust and healthy children. At any rate I seemed to think so and the love which she gave me was returned superabundantly from my side. There has never been anyone throughout all my life, who could compare with my mother in my heart for the depth of my affection. For though I have had many friends whom I have loved closer than my brother, their love for me and my love for them cannot compare even for one moment with love which I had for my mother and my mother had for me.

V

I would like to tell some more incidents in my mother's life which I can never forget. They will help at the present time to sweeten our thoughts when there is so much bitterness on every side owing to the critical struggle in which India is engaged. For it is not a good thing to dwell entirely on the harsher sides of life without any relief.

My mother was one of those who believed in bringing up her own children herself with as little help from outside as possible. She would get up very early indeed every morning and was at work in the house preparing for the duties of the day long before we ourselves came down from our rooms. She was very devout in her own life and when we were children we would never miss a single morning or evening saying our prayers beside her. She would sit in her chair and each one of us in turn would kneel down and close our eyes and then repeat after her a simple prayer to God for protection and blessing through the day or through the night as the case might be. It is quite impossible for me even to forget her own reverence on such occasions. The time was never hurried, however busy she might be. It was sacred to God.

We had a sweet custom of getting up very early indeed on my mother's birthday, which came on May 25th every year, and singing outside her door. She would wait in her room that morning, because she knew what was going to happen. Then at the end of our song she would come out with a radiantly happy face and greet us all. We will then give her our little presents, which we had kept in store for that special occasion. She would be intensely delighted with them, however insignificant they might be, and there would be a great joy in her face all day long. Her birthday came at a very beautiful time of the year, when all the spring flowers were in blossom and we used to deck her room with flowers. One such birthday I can remember when we were all quite young. The sun was shining all day long in a blue cloudless sky. It remained for me for many years afterwards an ideal recollection. I would recall my mother's face radiant with pure happiness in the knowledge of her children's love for her and the love which my father had for her and for us his children crowning our home. I remember how the tears were in her eyes often on the morning, but they were tears of happiness in her deep emotion, not tears of sorrow.

We were always discovering something which she had silently done for us out of her endless store of love—some little gift she had prepared with her own hand, some happiness which she had devised. We have often wondered with pity since at solitary families, where there is only one child or perhaps two children. We were a big family and we had to learn the art of living together. It was our mother who was the real teacher. For her own unselfishness was contagious and we became unconsciously like her in little things. In this manner we were ready to give way to one another instead of thinking only of ourselves. Sometimes I think that the joint family system in India has some of the advantages which we had in our own home. I am sure a great deal is lost in these solitary homes in the West, where there are hardly any children at all.

When in later years we had to scatter and some of us were living in distant parts of the world, it was a wonderful bond between us that our mother was always there at the centre uniting us together. We used to get her letters as regularly as possible. She would know exactly when to post them and she never missed the post. During all my years in India, I cannot remember once having missed her letters by the weekly mail, until at a certain time I came under the observation of the C.I.D. Then I found my mother's letters becoming erratic. They would not arrive when the mail came, but a few days later. It was hard to keep from bitter thoughts when this happened. I have no doubt in my own mind as to the culprit, though when I publicly protested, it was told me that such an interference with my letters had never happened. But this was by no means convincing. It was, however, some recompense to know that I was receiving the very same treatment that hundreds of educated Indians have received from that secret and inhuman society, the Criminal Investigation Department. What really troubled me was to find that my own mother had not received at the proper time my own letters and that this had caused her very great anxiety indeed. This to me was almost unbearable and I used to chafe under it. What happened at a later period I must leave over for another issue.

[Unfortunately Mr. Andrews could not continue these reminiscences any further. The following extracts have been taken from his notes dictated to me in 1920 for his biography.—*Benarsi Das Chaturvedi*].

VI

At that time when I was nine years old, there came about an event of my life. The chief trustee of my mother's property proved to be a scoundrel. He was a great friend of the family and my father trusted and loved him as a brother. Then one day my father suddenly discovered that he had speculated and robbed my mother of all the money she had. This was discovered in the afternoon by telegram by my father asking the manager of the Bank if there was any money in my mother's account and the reply came that there was none. And I shall never forget the great shock that it was to my father. I think he felt it most because it was my mother's money and also because the friend whom he loved most had so deceived him. My father was very silent and my mother told me all about it. She was more anxious about my father than about the loss of money. Then the evening time came and we had our evening prayers together. That evening my father read a passage of the Bible in which the words came, *If it had been an enemy then I could have borne it, but it was thou my familiar friend in whom I trusted.* After reading the passage he remained quite quiet and I could see that he was trying to keep back his tears. Then we knelt down to pray and I shall never forget how his whole prayer was on behalf of his friend that

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he might be forgiven for the wrong he had done and that he might be brought to repentance and to a better life. He used to speak to us and tell us that we must not feel any bitterness against his friend, because although he had done that great wrong still he hoped that he would, in time, come to see the wrong. When people urged my father to prosecute him, he indignantly refused and those who suggested never asked him a second time. This incident had a very great effect indeed on my life. It made me love my father as I never loved him before and my mother also who was entirely of one mind with my father in this matter. It seemed to bind the whole family together in love and was in this way a great blessing. But the greatest blessing of all was that we became exceedingly poor—so poor that we children often had to eat dry bread and nothing else for our meal and we were obliged to live in a very small house with the poor people of the town. Thus from being fairly rich we were reduced to poverty and the struggle that my father and mother had to make to educate us during the next few years was very great indeed.

VII

On the way down from Johannesburg to Durban I had fever in the train. It was a touch of the old malarial fever and I was quite exhausted by the time we reached Durban. There we met the Indian ladies who had just come out of jail. It was the first time I had seen Mrs. Gandhi. But at that moment I was quite upset because Mr. Pearson put into my hands a letter stating that my mother was not expected to live showed it to Mr. Gandhi and he told the ladies selves. The next morning was a terrible ordeal, I certain that my mother must have died and was for a second cable in answer to my own. There was immense gathering of Indians waiting to be told the settlement and I had to speak. It was very hard indeed to speak at such a time. In the after the cable came to say that my mother was dead sent the cable to Mr. Gandhi and soon afterwards Gandhi accompanied by all the Indian ladies came see me. That was the greatest comfort that I received at that time. It seemed to me that they were mothers and I felt in a strange way that those ladies were to be my mother in future. Often and I have felt this to be literally true and I am sure my mother's love for India has been returned to the affection which I have had from Indian mothers wherever I have met them.

["Go and help the Indian cause in South Africa do not come back till your work is done." These the words that Mr. Andrews' mother wrote back to when he asked her whether he should be by her during her illness in England or proceed to South Africa to help Mahatma Gandhi there.—*Benarsi Das Chaturvedi*].

* Died on 9th of January 1912.

A REVIVALIST*

Our Debt To The Swami Shradananda

PART II

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

XII

A shock was awaiting me—a psychological shock. With the turn of the century I had ceased to be a provincial—at least, to be so in my own sight. I had become a metropolitan (not, of course, in the Church of England sense). Lahore—the capital of the region of my birth, not yet hacked by George Nathaniel (later the Earl and later still the Marquis) Curzon (of Kedleston)—had become my home, temporarily.

"Home" was only a cubicle. That word I had to learn. Now I would describe it as a poky little place—bare and ugly. Then, however, it spelled to me independence. Thanks to my father's generosity—and father, as I was later to understand, was not wealthy—I was not one of the common herd, as so many of my fellows (to my notions) were, who dwelt in dormitories.

Nor had he sent me to one of the cheaper colleges maintained by private agency. No. The institution I had entered was the first of its kind in Lahore. The initiative for it had come from the State. The Government still ran it.

How soon I was to sicken of all this officialdom! That, however, is "another story," as Rudyard Kipling would put it. He, I had just discovered, had lived and laboured for a time not far from the Government College Hostel, and not so many years before. I was to meet him in the course of the travels upon which I was to embark somewhat later.

Whether one lived in a cubicle or in the dormitory there was precious little privacy. That I learnt almost immediately after I had taken up residence at Lahore.

Of a bookish turn of mind and something of a prig I was not a little irked by the gregarious sense in the Punjabis fast emerging towards manhood. It was active—aggressive—undeniable. Since there was no avoiding it, I had soon to come to terms with my neighbours.

What the professors and assistant professors tried to ram into my mind, already cluttered with miscellaneous pickings from books and periodicals, was to me, educationally, of little value compared with what my compeers taught me. This teaching went mostly at night. It took place in a sort of open forum.

This forum was the unpaved oblong on all sides of which the hostel and college offices had been built. As the gloom gathered, cots (*charpais*) were carried out of the cubicles and halls into it. At first, with rolled-up bedding serving as a huge pillow for one to lean against, conversation proceeded. Later the cot was spread on the string-webbing, my newly acquired friends and I lay talking till, one by one, we fell off to slumber. Every one within ear-shot joined in.

XIII

Lala Munshi Ram's name leapt into the conversation hardly had the shyness of provincialism thawed that heart-cockles-warming college-hostel cordiality

* For Part I of this article, please see The Modern Review for March, 1945.

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cannot, for the moment, recall who started the discussion or how it began.

So challenging a personality must indeed have been under frequent discussion long ere I came upon the scene. Something that he had said or done must have provoked some one to subject him to sharp criticism. The attack must have been met with equally stout defence.

It is, of course, not at all improbable that I may myself have started the polemics on this particular occasion. As I related earlier in the course of this article, I was proud of Uncle Munshi Ram. I was ever trotting out the one triumph he had achieved of which I wrote earlier. This was the victory at a verbal joust that he had won over "Ratee-geen."

Upon coming to Lahore I had dropped that manner of murdering that legal luminary's name. What I heard about him must inevitably have whetted my desire to relate this incident. As becoming an undergrad who (in his own esteem) was already something of a journalist on the side, I must have put my imagination as well as my heart into the telling.

Whether in this or in some other way, the psychological shock came. Of its coming I have a vivid recollection. Something of the sickening sensation that overpowered me at the time returns to me, in fact, as I pen these words.

XIV

Some six years before there had been a great contest. In this the man whom I was representing as wiser than the wisest lawyer in the Punjab of that day had been worsted.

The conflict had been between men who had elected to tread the path of the Swami Dayananda's making. The man who emerged as Lala Munshi Ram's "opposite number" (to use a pregnant phrase of my wife's native land) hailed from the Bist Doab—the tract lying between the Beas and the Sutlej rivers—as he himself did. Hans Raj[1] by name, he was the principal of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College from its inception.

There were, of course, others. To some of these I shall refer presently. Munshi Ram and Hans Raj were, however, the principal contestants, so far as the general public was concerned.

Some bystander of a humorous turn of mind summed up the struggle in terms of comestibles. Munshi Ram and his followers, he said, fancied only *tori*—a long, narrow vegetable of the gourd species, with a flat taste. Hans Raj and the people ranged behind him insisted, however, upon *jal-tori*—the long, narrow vegetable that grows in the water (fish). Or, alternatively, Munshi Ram's was the *ghas* (grass) party; while Hans Raj's was the *mas* (meat) party.

Animal food was, indeed, a point of controversy. It caused friction—ruffled tempers. Had it, however, been the only, or even the main, issue, it is to be doubted that there would have been a split. Hans Raj was, in fact, not very partial to meat; he is known to have quit eating it not long afterwards. But for the contentions, he might have abjured it sooner.

In essence the struggle was over the custody of the very considerable resources that had already been acquired by Arya Samajists from brothers of their faith. These were being steadily (and even quickly) added to.

Who was to control the coffers? Who was to conduct the institutions—religious, propagandist and educational—that had been and were being set up? Whose was to be the supreme voice? Whose the masterful hand?

XV

Despite his legal acumen and experience, Munshi Ram was "frozen out." He was not the man to suffer defeat in silence. For a time it looked as if violence was inevitable.

An attempt to seize the principal institution—the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College—was, indeed, made. Shouting

"Agar dharam ke liye jan jati hai to jane do
(If faith demands life that sacrifice must be made)",

a knot of young men attacked the college gate. They found it barred and locked from the inside. Students armed with stout *lathis* (cudgels) stood to defend it.

At sight of the first trickle of blood, however, there was "disengagement." The fray fizzled out. The attackers retired. The "hans" retained the "fort."

Opposed to Munshi Ram were lawyers of no mean merit. To mention two: There was Lala Lal Chand, who, a little later, was elevated to the Chief Court Bench. There also was Lala Lajpat Rai[2], whose name, within a quarter of a century, became known and esteemed in every town and village in India and often found its way into papers abroad and in the "Mother of Parliaments" in London.

It was, however, Hans Raj with whom, in the last analysis, Munshi Ram had to reckon. Thin as a rail, with muscle that had known little, if indeed any, of the stiffening and suppleness that exercise gives, he could stand not a ghost of a chance if pitted against his rival in a physical contest. Behind his spectacled, myopic eyes was, nevertheless, a restless, resourceful brain and a little way below that brain a leonine heart. So long as he chose to stay at the college, almost wholly of his own creation, he dominated it, though, according to the letter of the constitution, he was at the beck and call of the Managing Committee. Not only the college, but also the entire organization of which that college was the most active organ.

This continued, indeed, almost to the day of his death. Of him I have written elsewhere, and intend writing at greater length at the first opportunity. A large section of the Punjab of the last and, to some extent, of this generation, is largely of his making.

XVI

Uncle Munshi Ram once gave me his interpretation of this battle royal. There was, between Hans Raj and him, a difference of outlook. This difference was as fundamental as it was radical.

Hans Raj was content, according to his opponent, to run an institution that was largely a copy of the College established by the Government some years earlier. In his institution the fees were lower: therefore young men flocked to it. The attraction was much more of an economic than of a religious nature.

Sanskrit and Aryan culture did not receive there anything like the emphasis that the *Maharishi* or he, the Maharishi's followers, would have liked to see them given. They certainly did not constitute its heart. It was, therefore, hopeless to expect that institution to provide the Arya Samaj with an adequate number of

1 Known during his working life as the Principal Hans Raj, he, after "entering the forest," was acclaimed as the Mahatma Hans Raj.

2 See my article "Lala Lajpat Rai" in *The Modern Review* (Calcutta) for January and February, 1934.

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workers who would selflessly devote themselves wholeheartedly to the propagation of the faith.

Such, indeed, was the pull exerted by economics that the College had bound itself hand and foot to the University. Who could say that the University was an independent body—that it was managed by Indians untrammelled by official leading strings? Power was wielded, moreover, by officials non-Indian almost to a man.

Why had Hans Raj sacrificed independence? The answer was that he hankered after students. These could be had in large numbers only if the college was "recognized." This meant that it must be tied down to the University. Without "recognition" the graduates would not have the piece of parchment that was the passport to the services and professions alike. That lure kept him from organizing—from running—an institution that could have been an efficient instrument for furthering the *Maharishi's* ideals.[3]

XVII

This was all very well, I said to myself, but it could not explain away the disparity between the achievements of the two men. While Uncle Munshi Ram was talking, Bhaiya[4] Hans Raj was building. How much he had already built!

As instructed by my father, I took the earliest opportunity to go to the "D.A.V." College to see him. After a talk with him in the "Principal's Office," I was taken over the institution.

If I had the eyes that I now carry in my head, I would have been shocked at the sight that greeted me. The buildings would have appeared to me to be squat and shapeless, lacking the dignity that form gives, even without ornament. I would have set them down as the work of some P.W.D. subordinate, may be a sub-overseer, who knew naught of architecture save to calculate stresses and strains. Then, however, they impressed me by their very multitude and substance.

I was even more struck by the life and bustle going on all about me. The whole place was astir—alive.

Whosoever I talked with—whether student or professor—was filled with Dayanandic zeal. Myself not possessing it, I looked upon them as *Katta* (bigoted) Aryas.

I wondered why Uncle Munshi Ram cavilled at the institution. Was he jealous of all this achievement? If envy did not set his tongue wagging, why must he decry it?

Why, in any case, did he not bestir himself? If he had ideas, then why did he not get busy? Was he wanting in the ability to carry them out? Talking—just talking—while Bhaiya Hans Raj was working!

The impatience of my mid-teens found vent in such uncharitable questionings.

XVIII

Soon I was to have my answer. Hardly had this century begun to toddle about, Uncle Munshi Ram seemed to tire of this negative attitude. He had already locked up his law-books. No longer content with preaching and journalising, he concentrated his attention upon devising a body in which his ideas could function. He projected an institution such as he would have had Hans Raj run, if Hans Raj only would. It was to be the semblance of the *ashramas* (residential universi of which he had read in olden works. The picture was it a vision?—he carried in his mind was somet like this:

In the heart of the forest there would be a clear In that clearing there would be a few huts. The pil and rafters would be made of wood hewn in the vicin that also would yield the materials for the walls a thatch. The floor would be of earth, as God made i

In the central hutment would live the ach (preceptor) with his *ardhangini* (equal half). To would come young men thirsting for knowledge in w he specialized.

Among the applicants would be princes of blood royal and courtiers' sons. There would likew be the progeny of merchants and artificers. peasants' offspring, too. Anybody's. Everybody's. who desired and deserved *vidya dan* (education as gift) would, indeed, be turned away. Not even harlot's nameless brat, provided he was worthy.

Each applicant would approach the *acharya* wi load of wood upon his back. Placing it in front of preceptor, he would beg for the gift—the greates gifts—the gift of knowledge.

Raising the boy from the ground the *guru* (teach would take him into his *kukh* (literally womb). would now be of the *guru's kula.*

Teacher and pupil would thereafter live and lab together. Roots, leaves, berries, nuts, honey and like, gathered from the surrounding forest during intervals of study, would be their fare. This would partaken of in common from salvers made of gr leaves, while seated upon deer skins spread upon floor.

Before the *Ushas* (Dawn's myriad daughte fetched out their tubs filled with paints more deli than the onyx or mother-of-pearl, the day's rou would begin. After ablutions the fire would be lit in pit deemed sacred and to the chanting of the sand clarified butter and sweet-scented herbs would ceremonially cast into the living flame.

That flame symbolized the institution. Knowle imparted there must likewise be pure. Without co mercial taint, it must be. Only then could it burn the dross out of a man's spirit.

It was meant also to illumine his mind. His m was, in fact, to be turned into a light that would brig all upon whom it, of design or even chance, fell.

XIX

Once the resolution was made, Munshi Ram—sh this time acclaimed Mahatma—bent his giant physi mental and spiritual energies upon the creation of *gurukula.* With begging bowl in hand he proce from place to place. He had vowed that he would recross his own threshold till he had secured a cer sum—a lakh of rupees, I seem to remember.

An Arya Samajist—Lala Aman Singh—who sh his faith, caught the enthusiasm from him. He g him a tract of land that seemed to be just the site needed. As Ganga *Mai* emerged from the mou fastnesses in which she had descended from Vish heaven upon earth, she swished past the point, co it off from Mayapura—magnet for pilgrims for

3 These are not necessarily my opinions.

4 Punjabis address an elder brother as *Bhaiya Ji.* Owing to the association between his and my family, I regarded Hans Raj in that light.

5 Lotus, daylight—conjunction of night and day; relatively prayer fitting for the hour.

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now a suburb of Hardwar. Most of its acreage was under copse or forest. Kangri was the name it bore.

Clearances were soon made. Hutments were run up. The most impressive among the humble structures was the *havanshala* (fire-hall), for use at daybreak and sunset for the chanting in the Vedic father's style of the ages-old prayer.

Boys ranging from eight to twelve years of age took leave of their tearful mothers in homes scattered mostly over the Punjab and its eastern neighbour. From them they would be away for twelve or fifteen years. No reunion was to be expected during that long period.

In tow of their fathers, also unhappy at the proximate parting but proud to be in the vanguard of this revival, the boys were taken to the nearest railway station. Thence they were conveyed to the sacred stream, very shallow at this time of the year, and transported (I seem to recollect in bullock carts) across its bed, to this spot.

XX

Munshi Ram—now a full-fledged Mahatma—received these youngsters with ancient ceremony into his *kukh* and made them of his *kula*. Through Yama's (the god of death's) action, the *kula* was minus its woman member.

In 1891 he had lost his wife. That dear, gracious lady had, largely with silent sympathy, helped him to accomplish the transition from the kingdom of flesh to that of monogamic bliss. She also had been his loving, if sometimes somewhat bewildered, companion through his progress away from the world.

All the men that the Guru needed to start the institution accompanied him to Kangri, however. His magnetic personality had pulled them away from their homes.

Even if they had been permitted to bring their women-folks along with them, which, I seem to remember, they were not, they preferred to come by themselves. At least most of them did.

Kangri, at that time, was hardly the place for women, especially women of the Punjab, with their strongly developed gregarious instincts. The Mahatma was eager, in any case, to keep the *ashrama* free from the distractions and allurements that boys graduating into men find in the other sex.

XXI

One of my life-long friends elected to follow the Mahatma to this "wilderness," soon after this experiment was begun. He was, strangely, a first cousin of the Principal Hans Raj. Rama Deva by name, he had been born and "raised" within a few miles of the place where I first learnt to call Munshi Ram "uncle"—Hoshiarpur.

When the time came for Rama Deva to enter college, there was for him but one institution in the province of the five rivers—in fact, in the whole world. This was the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. He had progressed only about half way towards graduation when an emotional squall rose there.

Rama Deva had begun preaching to the students, even older than himself, doctrines that any person possessed of prudence would have left severely alone. These doctrines were dear to the heart of Mahatma Munshi Ram, as they had been to that of Guru Dutt[6] upon whose pattern Rama Deva had been modelling himself since he entered his teens. In the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College they were, however, heresy.

In his partisan zeal it never occurred to him that his espousal of that cause was in the nature of a rebellion against his cousin-Principal. If it had occurred to him, it is not likely that he would have temporized. Temporization and he were utter strangers, especially at that stage of his life.

Highly emotional by nature, this activity carried on, as it were, in the very citadel of the opposite party, must have appeared to him to be very clever. It must have afforded him no small amount of fun.

The cousin who had to conduct the college, already large and rapidly growing, viewed matters from another angle. As soon as the news was carried to him he sent for Rama Deva and tried to impress him with the error of his ways.

The Principal found the pupil as obstinate as he was obtuse. To the lecture he read him, Rama Deva read him another.

Hans Raj was in no mood to listen to the younger man's concept of how the D.A.-V. College should be run. So he laid down the law. There was to be no haranguing *a la* Munshi Ram. If one single word were uttered, Rama Deva, cousin though he was, would be flung out of the college.

Rama Deva quit on the spot. He might have gone to another college: but disgust at what he considered to be man's perversity took him away from Lahore. After a time he again began his studies. Through sheer willpower he subsequently got through the Baccalaureate of Arts examination. Studying pedagogics at the feet of Dr. Wright, a great trainer of teachers, he got a real insight into boy psychology and the technique of drawing out of the faculties of young persons.

He was teaching in Jullunder when Munshi Ram's *gurukula* propaganda shook him to the core of his being. He resolved to pack up and go to Kangri.

His kinsfolk tried to interfere. This, they declared, was madness. If he stayed on, he had a brilliant future ahead of him. If he went, he would lose both money and prestige.

Munshi Ram, they said, was only a visionary. He had never made a success of anything he had undertaken. At the *gurukula* he would fail, just as he had failed elsewhere.

Rama Deva was determined, however. Go he would. Go he did. He was to prove a great acquisition to the *Gurukula* at Kangri.

XXII

So did his life-mate—Shrimati Vidyadhari. Some years after she, as a child, had been conveyed to the home of her in-laws, her husband being only a boy and economically dependent upon his people, she entered the university that never fails to sharpen intelligence and develop character. This was the "U" of Social Revolution—bloodless, but nevertheless effective.

As her man, in choosing whom she had exercised no volition any more than he had done in electing her to be his spouse, became irresistibly drawn into the Arya Samaj movement, there were ructions in the "joint family", several members of which I personally

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6 In early years he was spoken of as the *Vidyarthi* (and Guru) and later as the Pandit. The latter title was in the nature of a challenge, for it contravened the conception that only Brahmans could rise from the common herd. Death at an early age closed a career, many-sidedly brilliant.

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knew and esteemed. A time came when she was told that she could continue to stay with her in-laws only if she desisted from having anything to do with that scamp she called "husband".

Refusing to knuckle under, Rama Deva had been suffered to go his own way. She stayed on.

This tension eased in time. Ere the *Gurukula* opened, she had taken her stand alongside her mate, affectionate and generous to a fault, mercurial in temperament and consumed by an intellectual craving that she, unfortunately, could not share.

XXIII

Among the teachers who flocked to the *Gurukula* there was a Kayastha—Mahesh Charan Sinha. He had studied philosophy (I believe), at one of the universities on the Pacific Coast of the United States of America.

He had just left Seattle, Washington when I arrived there nearly thirty-nine years ago. M Americans whom I met talked to me of him.

One day while travelling in a trolley (electric tr car, they told me an American woman got it into head that Sinha was trying to mesmerise her. At hysterical appeal the conductor stopped the car called an officer (constable), who arrested the In student. Produced in court, the young man was honourably discharged.

So high-minded was Sinha that he "buried him in the jungle", as his kinsmen who had cherished h of his great worldly success said. In return for the w he did he received a pittance that, had he remained the United States of America, would not have suff to keep his boots shined.

With such enthusiasm from a band of self workers, the *Gurukula* was to get a good start. It did

(*To be continued*)

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

Britain's Responsibility and Duty

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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I

In my three preceding articles[1] in this series, I have examined the position taken by Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji during their negotiations with each other and afterwards, with special reference to the question of the two-nations theory as enunciated by the former. In this article I propose to consider Britain's responsibility and duty in relation to the Indian problem. It will appear from what follows why I have given priority to Britain's responsibility in the matter over its duty in relation to it.

II

Communal Electorates

Towards the end of October last, the London *Economist* was reported[2] to have observed, among other things, in connexion with the break-down of the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations :

"No doubt should be left where the British Government stands. The complaint is often made against the British policy that it has deliberately fostered Moslem separatism as an obstacle to Dominion Status. The charge is untrue, or at least unproven."

And at a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on October 26th, 1943, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stated in the course of his remarks on a paper[3] read there by Professor R. Coupland :

"This country through its Government and Parliament had come to the conclusion that it was no longer for us to prescribe India's future Constitution, but to treat India as the Dominions were treated in the past and leave her to decide for herself that most importa part of her destiny, namely, the Constitution un which that destiny was to be carried forward in fut years."

Previously to this, Mr. Amery had expressed mo or less similar views on a number of occasions. F instance, he stated[4] in the House of Commons on 20 April, 1942,—

"What, indeed, is needed, perhaps even more th new constitutional methods, is a new spirit of co promise. It is by making Indian statesmen conscio that the solution of the (Indian) problem is *their o undivided responsibility and not ours*[5] that both th right methods and the right spirit are most likely emerge."

Also[6], in the House of Commons on 1st August, 194

"It seems to me there is today a call on Ind statesmen for a new and different effort, for a ne technique of consultation and conciliation with ea other rather than that of addressing demands to th House or belabouring the Government of India . . Having deliberately, and I venture to say rightly an even necessarily, remitted to Indian hands the framin of India's future Constitution, His Majesty's Govern ment wished, etc. . . ."

Again[7] in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 194

"It is upon Indian statesmen, in the main, and n upon us, that the time-table of future constitution progress depends . . . the time-table of India's consti tutional advance depends far more upon Indi agreement than upon ourselves."

Or again[8], in the House of Commons on 14 August, 1940, in connexion with the Declaration of 8 August, 1940,

1 See *The Modern Review* of December (1944) and of January and February (1945).

2 See *Reuter's* Report, dated at London 27th October, 1944, in *Hindusthan Standard* of 30th October, 1944 (Dak Edition).

3 The paper was entitled *Possibilities of an Indian Settlement*. See *The Asiatic Review* of January, 1944.

4 See Amery, *India and Freedom*, Oxford, p. 104.

5 The italics are mine.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 73-75.

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"Subject to these matters (*i.e.*, the obligations of His Majesty's Government referred to in the Declaration), the desire of His Majesty's Government is that the new Constitution of India should be devised by Indians for themselves. . . . Agreement, consent, is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy. . . . The responsibility for securing speedy as well as a satisfactory result (in the matter of finally settling the new Indian Constitution) rests upon Indians themselves."

It may also be mentioned here that in his speech in the House of Commons on 28th July last Mr. Amery again laid stress on the necessity of an "agreed future Constitution" for India, and that, in the course of a letter[9] to Gandhiji, dated at New Delhi, 15th August, 1944, Lord Wavell, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, too, laid emphasis on an "agreement in principle between Hindus and Muslims and all important elements" in India. "This agreement", Lord Wavell added, "is a matter for the Indians themselves. Until Indian leaders have come closer together than they are now, I doubt if I myself can do anything to help. Let me remind you too that minority problems are not easy. They are real and can be solved only by mutual compromise and tolerance."

What I have shown above typifies the attitude of the British Government as well as of the British public in general, towards the Indian problem. In a mood of self-complacency they declare that they have done their duty to India, and that it is now India's turn to solve its own political and communal problem. Apparently, this attitude is quite unexceptionable, and those who do not know the real facts of the case may rightly think that the Indians alone are responsible for the present situation in this country, and that it is, therefore, their duty to find a way out of it. But to those who know the facts, this attitude appears to be both funny and strange, if not lacking in political sincerity and honesty. *A* deliberately creates a highly complicated problem for *B*, *C*, *D*, etc., and then wants to retire from the scene of action in an unctuous mood that it has done its duty, leaving it to the latter to find a solution for the problem or to fight it out. What I really mean to say is that, although the Indian people have their own share of responsibility in the creation of the problem that has arisen in this country, the present situation in India *primarily* owes its origin to the policy which Britain has pursued in regard to it even during this century, not to go further back.[10] And this policy—very *natural* to an existing ruling authority, particularly when it is alien to the country over which it rules—has often been a policy of deliberate exaggeration and exploitation of the differences between the two major communities of India, namely, the Hindus and the Muslims, and now also those between the so-called caste Hindus and that section of the Hindu community which is unfortunately labelled, often with a sinister motive, as the Depressed Classes or the Scheduled Castes. Perhaps one or two examples may be usefully cited here to establish my point.

In the first place, I may refer to the present vicious system of separate representation through communal electorates—the evil system which, as I have stated in another connexion,[11] has, ever since its introduction into this country, acted as a cancer in the body politic of India. It has intensified our differences, driven communities farther apart from one another by "stimulating communal interests", and has now led to that suicidal agitation—its inevitable culmination—by a section of our countrymen for the partition of our Motherland, on the basis of a so-called two-nations theory. What do we find to have been the origin[12] of this fatal institution? I first find in a letter[13] from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Morley, Secretary of State for India, to Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, dated 6th June, 1906,—

"Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India; Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them: *be sure that before long the Mahomedans will throw in their lot with Congressmen against you*',[14] and so forth and so forth."

And I next find in the *Indian Journal* (October 1st, 1906, Simla) of Mary, Countess of Minto,[15]—

"We are aware of the feeling of unrest that exists throughout India, and the dissatisfaction that prevails amongst people of all classes and creeds. . . . *The younger generation* (of Mahomedans) *were wavering, inclined to throw in their lot with the advanced agitators of the Congress*,[16] and a howl went up that the loyal Mahomedans were not to be supported, and that the agitators were to obtain their demands through agitation. The Mahommedans decided,[17] before taking action, that they would bring an Address before the Viceroy, mentioning their grievances."

Accordingly, about seventy Muslim delegates arrived at Simla from the different parts of India, and on the morning of the 1st of October, 1906. His Highness the Aga Khan read the Address in the Ball-room of the Viceregal Lodge, stating the "grievances and aspirations" of the Muslim community.[18] "Minto then read his answer, which he had thought out most carefully." "It was impossible," writes Mary Minto, "to promise them (*i.e.*, the Muslims) too much for fear of offending other communities, but *as he spoke, in very clear distinct tones, murmurs of satisfaction passed through the audience*."[19]

Among other things, Lord Minto said to the Muslim Deputation[20]:—

"I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are

9 In reply to Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy, dated at Panchgani 27th July, 1944.

10 Those who want to study in detail the problem and history of communal representation in India should read K. B. Krishna, *The Problem of Minorities or Communal Representation in India* (George Allen & Unwin), and Asoka Mehta & Achyut Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India* (Kitabistan, Allahabad).

11 See my article entitled *Should our Legislatures be constituted on the Functional Basis?*, in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Conference Number, 1943.

12 Also see Mehta and Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India*, Chap. IV. and Gurmukh N. Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, Chap. XX.

13 See Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II. pp. 173-74.

14 The italics are mine.

15 See her *India, Minto and Morley*, 1905-1910, MacMillan, pp. 45-48.

16 The italics are mine.

17 See in this connexion a very interesting revelation in *Mehta and Patwardhan, op. cit.*, pp. 61-63.

18 See Mary Minto, *India, Minto and Morley*, pp. 45-46.

19 See *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46. The italics are mine.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

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affording me of expressing my appreciation of the *just aims of the followers of Islam* and their determination to share in the political history of our Empire . . . .

"You go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealing of your rulers, and unwilling as you are to embarrass them at the present moment, you cannot but be aware that 'recent events' have *stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation of Mahommedans which might 'pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance'* . . . .

"Your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation . . . in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Mahommedan community should be represented as a community . . . and you *justly* claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire.

"*I am entirely in accord with you.* Please do not misunderstand me: I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. . . .

"The Mahommedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by an administrative re-organization *with which I am concerned* . . . ."[21]

Thus in 1906 Lord Minto sowed the seed of separate representation through communal electorates. Duly watered and nurtured by interested parties, the seed has since grown into a very big tree with far-spreading branches, profusely producing the poisonous fruits which could be easily anticipated, and which are now so well-known to us all. And what was really behind the assurance given to the Muslim community by Lord Minto? Thanks to Mary, Countess of Minto, we know it now. "This evening"[22], she[23] writes, "I have received the following letter from an official :

'I must send Your Excellency a line to say that *a very, very big thing* has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the *pulling back* of sixty-two millions of people[24] from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition'."[25]

The letter was really prophetic. It is, however, evident from it that it was not so much the love for the Muslim community of India as the consideration of Imperial interests that actuated Lord Minto to make the Declaration he did on 1st October, 1906. Even Mr. Morley first took more or less the same view about the Declaration as had been taken by the official referred to by the Countess of Minto. On receiving an account of the proceedings of the 1st of October, 1906, he wrote[26] to Lord Minto on 26th October, 1906:

"All that you tell me of your Mahommedans is full of interest, and I only regret that I could not have moved about unseen at your garden party.[27] The whole thing has been as good as it could be, and it strengthens your position and personal authority decisively. Among other good effects of your deliverance[28] is this, that it has completely deranged the plans and tactics of the critical faction here, that is to say it has prevented them from any longer representing the Indian Government as the ordinary case of a bureaucracy versus the people. I hope that even my stoutest Radical friends will now see that the problem is not quite so simple as this."

It may, however, be stated here to the credit of Lord Morley that he was originally not in favour of the principle of communal representation of Mahommedans through any *special* or *separate* electorates. He actually suggested to the Government of India a plan of joint electorates with proportional reservation of seats, operating through the machinery of Electoral Colleges.[29] But pressure from Simla and Calcutta and from some other quarters, proved too strong for Whitehall, and he ultimately yielded to it. The result was that Electoral Regulations[30] framed under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, provided for the separate representation of Mahommedans through a system of separate electorates. Lord Morley apparently did not feel very happy over it; otherwise he would not have written the following lines to Lord Minto on December 6th, 1908:

"I won't follow you again into our Mahomedan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was *your* early speech[32] about their extra claims that first started the M. hare. I am convinced my decision was best."

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21 The italics in this quotation are mine.

22 *I.e.*, the evening of 1st October, 1906, the day on which Lord Minto made the Declaration before the Muslim Deputation.

23 See her *India, Minto and Morley*, pp. 47-48.

24 *I.e.*, the Muslims of India. Their number at that time was presumably sixty-two millions. See *ibid.*, p. 45.

25 The italics in this paragraph are mine.

26 See *ibid.*, p. 48.

27 On the afternoon of 1st October, 1906, "a tea-party was given for the Deputation in the garden of Viceregal Lodge." *Ibid.*, p. 47.

28 *I.e.*, Lord Minto's Declaration before the Muslim Deputation on 1st October, 1906.

29 See the Dispatch from the Secretary of State (Lord Morley) to the Government of India, dated at Londen 27th November, 1908, para 12.---P. Mukherji, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol. II, pp. 314-15. Clarifying his ideas in this connexion in the House of Lords Lord Morley said on 23rd February, 1909 :

"We suggested to the Government of India a certain plan. It was the plan of a mixed or composite electoral college, in which Mahomedans and Hindus should pool their votes, so to say. . . . the best of my belief, under any construction the plan of Hindus and Mahomedans voting together in a mixed and composite electorate would have secured to the Mahomedan electors, wherever they were so minded, the chance of returning their own representatives in due proportion. The political idea at the bottom of that recommendation which has found so little favour was that such composite action would bring the two great communities more closely together. . . . this idea of promoting harmony was held by men of very high intellectual authority and experience who were among my advisers at the India Office. But the Mahomedans protested that the Hindus would be pro-Hindu upon it . . . the Government of India doubted whether our plan would work, and we have abandoned it. I do not think it was a bad plan. . . . ." See Keith, *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, Vol. II. 1858-1921, pp. 91-92.

It is really very unfortunate that Lord Morley showed this weakness even though he was convinced that his plan was not a bad plan.

30 It appears that Lord Morley had to exercise his casting vote to get these Regulations through his Council. See Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II. pp. 316-17. (Under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, Electoral Regulations were to be made by the Governor-General in India in Council, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State in Council).

31 See Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II. p. 325.

32 Obviously it refers to Lord Minto's Declaration of 1st October, 1906.

33 *I.e.*, his earlier view referred to above.

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In 1917-18 Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, re-examined[34] the question of communal electorates in the light of their new policy, and also because they had been pressed to extend the system of communal electorates in a variety of directions. Referring, in this connexion, to the Minto Declaration of 1906, they observed[35] that it was probable that "the far-reaching consequences of this decision and the difficulties which it would create at a later stage" had not been "fully foreseen". They could not, regard being had to their position, use a stronger language of condemnation of the Declaration. And with regard to the general question of communal electorates, they first held that such electorates were "opposed to the teaching of history." "We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

Secondly, they observed that communal electorates would perpetuate class divisions. "India generally has not yet acquired the citizen spirit, and if we are really to lead her to self-government we must do all that we possibly can to call it forth in her people. Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organized against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to come. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily *divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted.*"[36]

Thirdly, they remarked that the communal system would stereotype existing relations. "A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security." "On the other hand," the stronger majority "will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow-countrymen, and that they are free to use their power for their own purposes. The give-and-take which is the essence of political life is lacking."

Finally, they stated: "We regard any system of communal electorates, therefore, as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle."[37]

These are very weighty arguments, effectively expressed, against any system of communal electorates. Yet Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford assented "to the maintenance of separate representation for Muhammadans," as they did not dare to go back on "settled facts." Any attempt to do so, they said, "would rouse a storm of bitter protest (from the Mahommedans) and put a severe strain on the loyalty of a community which" had "behaved with conspicuous loyalty during a period of very great difficulty, and which" they knew "to be feeling no small anxiety for its own welfare under a system of popular government." "How can we say to them" (*i.e.*, the Mahommedans), they continued, "that we regard the decision of 1909 as mistaken, that its retention is incompatible with progress towards responsible government, that its reversal will eventually be to their benefit; and that for these reasons we have decided to go back on it? Much as we regret the necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Mahommedans at all events are concerned the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship."[38] Thus principle was sacrificed to expediency. *Politics* had led to the Minto Declaration of 1906; *Politics*, again, determined the maintenance of the system of communal electorates in 1917-18.[39] I really feel tempted to quote here a saying of Joseph Mazzini:[40] "To be mistaken is a misfortune to be pitied; but to know the truth and not to conform one's actions to it is a crime which Heaven and Earth condemn."

Concession granted and renewed to the Mahommedans, had, by force of logic, to be gradually extended to other communities in India. "We have been pressed," write Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford,[41] "to extend the concession to other communities. . . . Any general extension of the communal system, however, would only encourage still further demands, and would *in our deliberate opinion be fatal* to that development of representation upon a national basis on which alone a system of responsible government can possibly be rooted. At the same time, we feel that there is one community from whom it is *inexpedient* to withhold the concession. The Sikhs in the Punjab are a distinct and important people; they supply a gallant and valuable element to the Indian Army; but they are everywhere in a minority, and experience has shown that they go virtually unrepresented. To the Sikhs, therefore, and *to them alone*, we propose to extend the system already adopted in the case of Mahommedans."[42] Again, principle was sacrificed to political expediency. Lord Chelmsford was perhaps not very happy over all this. In the course of a speech in the Indian Legislative

34 See *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1918, paras 227-232.

35 *Ibid.*, para 75.

36 The italics are mine.

37 See *Ibid.*, para 231.

38 *Ibid.*, para 231.

39 It may be argued against this position that under the Congress-League scheme of December, 1916, the Indian National Congress was a party to a compromise which provided for special electorates for Mahommedans. The Congress certainly committed a blunder in agreeing to the principle of communal electorates even though it restricted them to the Mahommedans alone. Presumably, it could not prevail against the baneful consequences of the Declaration of 1906 on the Politics of this country. But that does not justify the action of those who, as Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said, were leading the people of India to self-government, in starting them on the wrong road to governing themselves. Moreover, did Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford follow the Congress-League scheme in many other respects? We all know that they did not---and in some cases very rightly. There was, therefore, no point in attaching any special importance, as they appear to have done in para 231 of their *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, to the particular action of the Congress, namely, its assent to special electorates for Mahommedans, when such electorates were considered by them "as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle". They should have, therefore, recommended what they themselves thought would soon conduce to "the realization of a common citizenship" in India.

40 See his *Duties of Man and Other Essays*, Everyman's Library, p. 7.

41 *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1918, para 232.

42 The italics in this quotation are mine.

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Council on 4th September, 1918, he observed, in reference to the recommendations, on the vexed question of communal representation, made by Mr. Montagu and himself in their *Joint Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*:

"We wished indeed to make it clear that, in our opinion, communal electorates were to be deprecated for the reasons set out in our report. But it was in the main to the method of securing communal representation by communal electorates that we took exception, and not to communal representation itself . . . I am most anxious that the fullest representation should be secured to the various classes and communities in India; but *I am frankly doubtful myself whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates.*"[43]

Nevertheless, the Franchise Committee to which the whole question of the proper method of the representation of minorities had been referred, and over which Lord Southborough had presided, went a step further, and recommended—or rather had to recommend—in its Report, dated 22nd February, 1919, the extension of the system of communal electorates to Indian Christians in Madras, Anglo-Indians in Madras and Bengal, and to Europeans in Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the United Provinces, and in Bihar and Orissa. In recommending, however, communal representation for these and other communities,[44] the Committee expressed the hope—a very pious hope in our view—that it would "be possible at no very distant date to merge all communities into one general electorate." And in the Fifth Despatch[45] to the Secretary of State, dated 23rd April, 1919, the Government of India stated that it felt "the objections of principle to the communal system as strongly as the authors[46] of the reforms Report," but that India was not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible government upon any other road. Under the then existing conditions it could, therefore, see no ground on which it could question the recommendations of the Franchise Committee regarding the representation of minorities. But it expressed the same hope in regard to the future of the communal system as the Committee had done before.

As a consequence of all these, provision was made in the Electoral Rules framed under *the Government of India Act*, for the separate representation of Mahommedans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and Sikhs through their respective communal electorates.

It may be noted here that, instead of being abolished or even modified as hoped for by the Franchise Committee and the Government of India, the system of communal electorates was confirmed, and even extended in several directions till then unaffected, by the Communal Decision of His Majesty's Government, dated at London 4th August, 1932, upon which the electoral provisions[47] under the Government of India Act, 1935, now in force, have been practically based except in regard to one matter.[48] Even an attempt was seriously made by His Majesty's Government to drive a wedge through the Hindu community itself and split it into two sections—the so-called Depressed Classes and the rest of the Hindu community. Paragraph 9 of the Statement setting forth the Communal Decision, provided for the assignment of a number of special seats to the Depressed Classes in several provinces. These seats were to be "filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the 'depressed classes' electorally qualified would be entitled to vote. Fortunately, this attempt to divide the Hindu Community was *to some extent* frustrated by what is known as "the Poona Agreement" between the Caste Hindu and Depressed Class Leaders. I may add that the said Communal Decision and the Electoral Provisions based thereon, have introduced a new category of constituencies, namely, "Backward areas and Tribes," and that, thus, the principle of separatism has been extended in various directions, poisoning the whole political atmosphere of the country.

Before I leave this subject of communal electorates I should like to quote the followirg extract from an interesting discussion[49] in which Lord Lytton,[50] Mr. Wickham Steed,[51] Mr. Kingsley Martin,[52] and Sir J. Chatterjee[53] took part.

"Lytton—I would like to mention one subject. It's the question of where religion and politics become indistinguishable.

"It was Lord Willingdon's policy in Madras to establish Governments on a definitely religious community basis between Brahmin and non-Brahmin; in the first reformed Assemblies,[54] the parties in Madras were Brahmin and non-Brahmin."

Martin—"This point, I suppose, being that caste is a matter of birth?"

Lytton—"Yes. That was the point I took up with Lord Willingdon. I objected rather strongly to the encouragement of the division of parties which depended upon the accident of birth and could never be altered. A man is born a Brahmin or a non-Brahmin and nothing can change his caste. . . . For the same reason I gave Lord Willingdon I have often objected to communal franchise because in my view it makes for intolerance, since a man who is elected in a Muslim constituency is judged by whether or not he's a good Muslim. If he's elected in a mixed community on a franchise he's judged by whether he is equally moderate of the interests of Hindus and Muslims, and it tends in the course of time to create political toleration."

Steed—"In other words, instead of being a mandatory he becomes a trustee?"

Lytton—"Yes, and although I have said that there is in India great religious toleration there is also political intolerance."

Steed—"Is that because politics involves a struggle for power?"

Lytton—"Yes, and the best way of getting rid of

43 The italics in this quotation are mine.

44 *i.e.*, the Muslims and the Sikhs.

45 Para 18.

46 *i.e.*, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford.

47 See the Fifth and the Sixth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

48 Affecting the so-called Depressed classes.

49 See *India and the Four Freedoms* (B. B. C. pamphlets), Oxford, pp. 86-87.

50 Under-Secretary of State for India (1920-22), Governor of Bengal (1922-27), and the Acting Viceroy of India in 1925.

51 Sometime Editor of *The Times*, London.

52 Editor of *The New Statesman and Nation*.

53 I. C. S. (retired). After 20 years' varied service and experience, he "represented the Government of India in different cities at Washington (1919), Geneva (1921), London (1930-32)."

54 Obviously, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

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thought, was that a man should represent his constituents, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, and study their political interests regardless of their religious faith. . . . ."

Martin—". . . I have always believed that Morley's[55] introduction of the communal franchise caused a great deal of trouble. It was a disastrous mistake, in my view."

Chatterjee—"If I may say so, I entirely agree with Lord Lytton's analysis of the effects of a system of communal electorates."

Unfortunately, the "disastrous mistake", to quote the words of Mr. Kingsley Martin, was persisted in by Lord Morley's successors in office. As a consequence, the communal franchise has not only made for intolerance in India, but is also primarily responsible for the ugly situation that has arisen in this country today. However, I shall further deal with this point later on.

(To be continued)

[55] As shown before, Lord Minto was more to blame than Lord Morley for the introduction of communal electorates into India. The latter, however, showed weakness in yielding to the former, and not sticking to his own view on the question. If he had done so, the history of India would have been different to-day.

REFLECTIONS ON RECENT ART-EXHIBITIONS

By "KAUNDINYA"

There was a time in the history of Indian culture when the Fine Arts in all their phases formed a vital and essential part of life, particularly through the rites and practices of religion, very much in the same way as operating in the life of the Middle Ages in Europe. During the nineteenth century the decay of religious beliefs and the destruction of the old social structure have divorced Art from Life, and the artists have been thrown out of employment and lost their independent status, having to compete with other secular trades and professions. During the last few years various new movements in Art have cropped up in several parts of India, which appear to have brought together the artist and his appreciative public in somewhat auspicious relationship which may lead to a more wider recognition of the value of art in the practical and non-practical business of life and help to restore the independent status of the artist in the structure of society. The conditions brought about by War and Famine appear to have roused in the hearts of so-called uncultured and uneducated people a conscience for the values of art as a spiritual and dynamic force which does not end with the termination of life and that messages of beauty do not stop short with the given span of any individual life but are transmitted across the shadows of death, which punctuates, as it were, the successive acts of a human drama on its way to its inevitable climax of its supreme spiritual fulfilment—the human life lost and fulfilled in the divine. For, is not beauty a transcendental attribute—a property of being—one of the divine attributes? As St. Thomas Aquinas has pointed out: "The being of all things *derives* from the Divine Beauty." In that respect, then, the artist imitates God, Who created the world by communicating to it the likeness of His beauty. This element of Divinity in works of Beauty is very happily explained by Jacques Maritain who believes that the great artist is sure to put himself really into his work and is sure to stamp it with his own likeness and take justified pride in the fact that "*not all of me will die.*" In this permanent and spiritual quality Art transcends the baser hungers in life. As Andre Gide has remarked: "The artist is asked only *after* dinner. His task is to provide not food but spiritual intoxication." In its insistence on the sense of proportions, on the sense of values, on the sense of harmony and rhythm, Art provides the essential standards for the conduct of life, thus justifying Renan's assertion that Morality is "a branch of Aesthetics." Oscar Wilde had remarked pretty much in the same sense but with greater dignity of expression: "The highest Art rejects the burden of the human spirit."

The above reflections are suggested by visits paid to a series of Exhibitions of Pictures held in Calcutta during January and February last. The exhibits offered in these shows somehow avoided the abnormalities of War—so vividly rendered in the War Pictures shown in several shows arranged by the Services Art Club. It is claimed by a class of critics that peculiar stimulation begets peculiar inspiration, so that beneath the impact of war, the artist produces works possessing technical

Mother
By S. Sen

merit greater than any which he showed in time of peace. To judge by the shows in Calcutta, Indian artists, and at least a group of Western artists working in India, (there were several distinguished works by Brunners and others) do not appear as a rule to have been affected, at least, mentally and aesthetically by war conditions with the exception of a small group of artists (Zainul Abedin, Hassan and others) concentrating on

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the lurid scenes created by Famine in Bengal. Many and varied subjects, gay, picturesque, contemplative and sombre, mythical and mythological, realistic and naturalistic were assembled in the Exhibition of Indian Academy of Art with a formidable number of about

Sakuntala
By S. Ghose

550 items very badly hung and badly exhibited. There were not very many masterpieces but this is the only show which claims to be representative of artists from all parts of India, east, west and north or south, although in this year's show many of the well-known artists were not represented owing to difficulty of transport. The authorities of the Academy have promised to make their next the most representative Exhibition to which all artists of repute are being asked to contribute. The section of Indian painting (there are Indian artists some

Reclining Woman
By Bunshilal

of whom speak in the Western language while some prefer the vernacular of Indian Art) was a very interesting and stimulating section, full of interesting items—many contributed by new artists (Indra Dugar, Bansilal, Ram Gopal Ghose, S. Bhowmik, Samar Ghose), somewhat eclipsing and replacing the recent shows of Indian Society of Art which at one time specialized in Indian pictures in Indian style. The enormous sales of pictures at this year's Academy show have revealed a very satisfying and significant fact that there is a growing circle of persons interested in pictures, and hungering for works of art and ready to pay reasonable prices to patronize the works of artists. This is a phenomenon of valuable consequences on the social and political economy of Art. The two other exhibitions—the one-man show of Mr. Kurt Larisch, and Jamini Roy—stood on a different footing from the Academy show which they ercelled and rebuked in the quality of showmanship with excellent taste in arrangement and in lighting. Mr. Larisch is the representative and interpreter of the modernistic trines in Art—offering a new approach to form and search for new forms of expressions—which abjures academic literal accuracy of naturalistic presentation. Jamini Roy clings slavishly to the forms and forms of the old *pat*-painters of Bengal, with their

Natir Puja
By Tara Prosad

mentality and folk-art technique, limited to two three grades of primary colours and stereotyped patterns and conventional curves to spell out human sub-human figures with rounded shoulders and waisted forms. These major exhibitions were interspersed with a number of smaller but by no means significant shows of Gopal Ghose and Nirode Mazumdar sponsored by Subho Tagore, the good angel of struggling artists, and by the exhibition of the work of Chaitanya Dev Chatterjee (sponsored by the Indian Society of Art and supported by the Swamis of the Ramakrishna Institute, which richly deserve an All-India appreciation. Art abjures and abolishes communal differences and pacifies political strifes. For, in the company of artists, as "in the company of saints, the sense of otherness departs: there is no stranger, there is a feeling of oneness with all."—(Guru Nanak).

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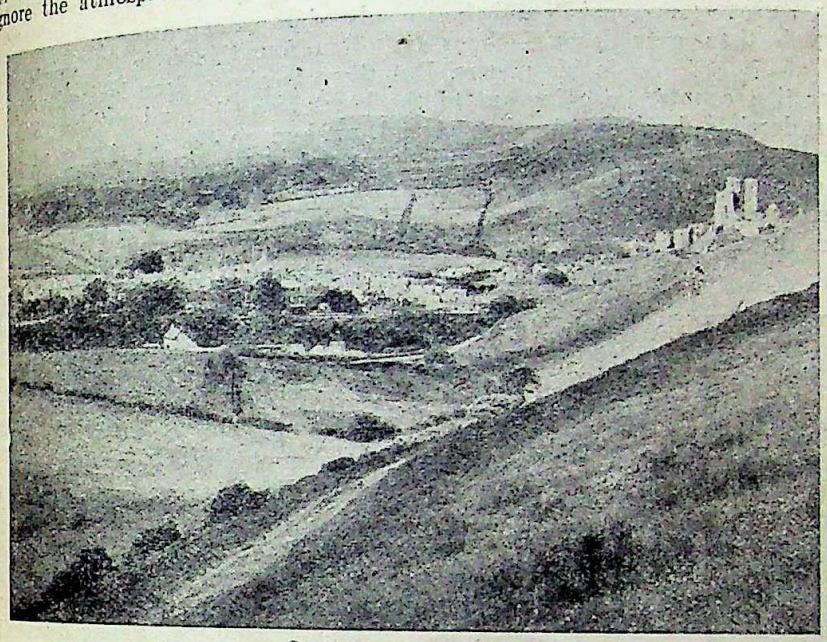
THOMAS HARDY

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

Because Thomas Hardy lived and worked right on into the present century and the uneasy days of peace that separated the two great European wars, one is apt to ignore the atmosphere of the time when his own thoughts and artistic impulses were developing. The ebb and flow of contemporary thought and events had an influence on him that was probably a good deal less than that exerted on many other writers of the front rank; but to appreciate the essential qualities of his art, and to place it in a correct perspective, we must remember that he was born only two or three years after Queen Victoria came to the throne, and that those who are now figures of the remote past were the people he read about when he opened his morning newspaper.



A Wessex tower, surrounded by the bare, open Downland so described in Hardy's work

Dickens and Thackeray were in their hey-day when he was a young man; he was 27 when Anthony Trollope's *Last Chronicle of Barset* appeared; 36 when George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* came from the press; and among the poets, Tennyson and Browning and Swinburne were busily at work. Swinburne, indeed, was only three years older than Hardy; and Robert Louis Stevenson was his junior by 10 years.

Having thus grouped some of his own contemporaries around him, and having got into a true focus, we must remember something else if we wish to derive the fullest enjoyment from his

Nearly half a century will soon have passed since he wrote the last of them, *Jude the Obscure*, and turned his creative energy to poetry. In those great novels, therefore, we must not look for a modern technique. Some of his workmanship may even seem a little heavy-handed in detail; but the labour of an honest craftsman went into them; and they stand four-square and enduring, like an old parish church in the English countryside.

It was indeed as an architect, with a particular interest in churches, that Thomas Hardy began life; and the publication of his first novel at the age of 31 opened the gate to a new way of livelihood. His second book, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, helped to establish him. This realistic idyll of country life (which Hardy himself described as "a rural painting of the Dutch school") is probably the best introduction to his novels, and its scenery is the countryside that forms the background of all his greatest work.

That countryside was Wessex. It was an ancient kingdom of which Shakespeare's Lear was the legendary king, and extending over the central counties on the southern English coast. Hardy was born and he died in the very heart of that countryside; and through his Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, Nelson's flag captain, he

A typical Wessex village, with old thatched cottages in a woodland setting

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could trace his descent back to a Thomas Hardy of Dorset in the sixteenth century: so his roots were deep in Wessex soil.

Excepting the pleasant holiday towns on the coast, this part of England has never been widely popular amongst tourists. There is indeed little to catch the eye of a sightseer—unless he appreciates the charm to be found in gentle hills, quiet dales, green woods, and pellucid streams. Today, Wessex is a well-cultivated land; the farmers there have answered the call to grow more food, and thus save cargo-space in convoys; and more Wessex acres are under the plough than ever before.

But when Thomas Hardy roved over that countryside as a boy, there were stretches of desolate land which gripped his imagination with a power that never relaxed till the end of his days. In the opening chapter of *The Return of the Native* he describes Egdon Heath, so lonely and so timeless; and the mood of such places dominated all his work.

Thomas Hardy

But there is something timeless also about his characters. One feels that they might have lived in any century; theirs was the heritage of folk-lore, superstition, and ballads handed down from generation to generation. The shadows of an older world seem to fall across Thomas Hardy's pages: strange influences bear upon the destiny of his people; and they are born, they labour, love, suffer, and die, in a rhythm that has all the inevitability of the slow coming and going of the seasons.

Sometimes, indeed, the ironic laughter of the gods can be heard in faint but haunting echoes: this was but Hardy's personal reaction to man's impotence to comprehend the ways of nature. Such laughter can be heard in the tragic *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, his most widely read book, in *The Woodlanders*, and in the rather harrowing *Jude the Obscure*, which Hardy himself considered to be his greatest novel.

In "Tess," he depicted a woman who was pure and sweet at heart, but who perished in the end, her lovely qualities wasted by the stupidity of the world; and in "Jude," the novelist depicts the war between flesh and spirit, and the tragedy of unrealised hopes. Irony, sorrow, despair—these are often found both in his novels and in his poems. But there is also a deep loving-kindness, a going out of the heart to all living breathing things.

As time passed, modern civilisation penetrated ever deeper into Wessex; and Thomas Hardy noted the slow changes that it brought. In his novels, the men and women who stretch out their hands to welcome a new order of things are often the ones who suffer the most bitterly—as if nature were taking vengeance upon those who deviate from the ancient paths. The beautiful Bathsheba, in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, longed for brilliant action and high romance; Eustacia, in *The Return of the Native*, was eager for life of thrilling event: and both suffered because of the restless spirit that burned within them.

But most of Thomas Hardy's country folk have the plodding step and deliberate tongue of men who have time in plenty for the tasks before them. Birth and death, with all the joy and sorrow that lie between, do not call forth ecstatic words from these Wessex people: they accept life as they accept the closing down of winter upon their land and the breaking of the frost under a spring sun.

Whatever changes the last half century may have brought to the face of that land, the hearts and minds of the country people have changed little. Hardy himself—and he was a shrewd observer—said he thought that modern Wessex folk were even more like some of his characters than the generation that had gone before. That staunch and sturdy peasantry, which forms a nation's backbone, has all the old qualities bred by the centuries—and by that invisible but potent thing which is called tradition.

In the *Dynasts*, one of the great epics in English literature, Hardy shows how these simple folk talked and went about their business under the menace of invasion, in much the same way as they did for many long months at the beginning of the present war. The epic covers 10 years, and is accepted as Hardy's masterpiece, but unfortunately too many readers give it a more than a reverential bow and pass on. It is a long work, but it is a deep well of wisdom and insight and noble poetry.

"No Englishman since Wordsworth has heard the still sad music of humanity with so fine an ear as Thomas Hardy." Thus wrote the late Henry W. Nevinson, himself a great Englishman. And he added these words about his friend: "One of the most keen, imaginative, creative, humorous, and profoundly sympathetic natures who have added a lasting glory to English literature."

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WAR BRINGS NEW LIFE TO BRITISH ART

By KENNETH MONKMAN

When this war began the valuable pictures from Britain's art galleries were taken and hidden in the country-side, safe from bombs.

"Burners" at work on the steel plates of a ship. This is one of Stanley Spencer's war pictures as a series entitled "Ship-building on the Clyde"

Many people thought that living artists would act on the same principle; would turn their backs on the war, so to speak, and go on painting the peaceful subjects that artists have painted for centuries—flowers, faces, animals, country scenes, and the like.

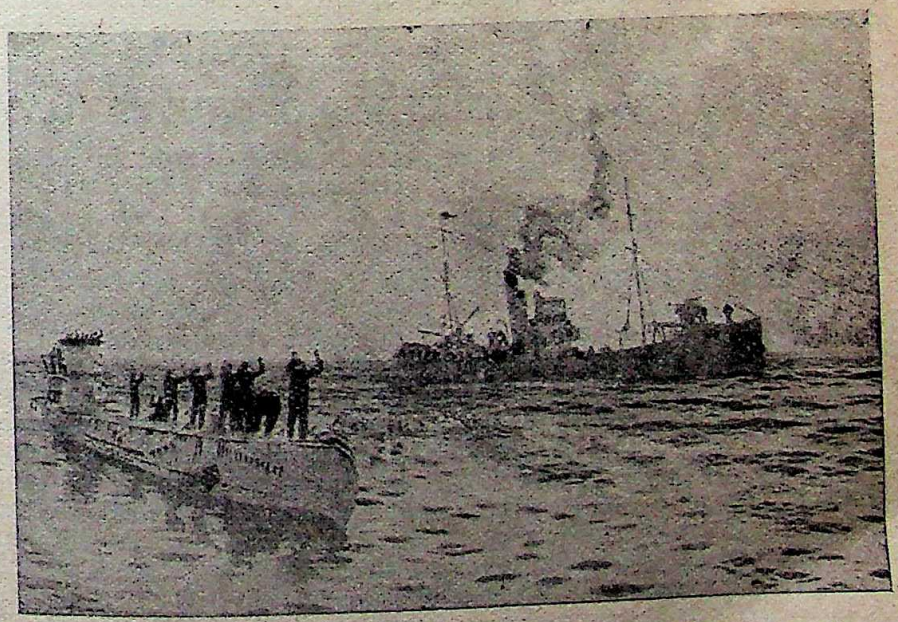
But war has been different from any in our history. Not only have the weapons been swifter and more terrible, but all of us have been on the battlefield. We have all tasted smoke and fire. We have all seen the good things that war produces, too: the incredible courage of quite ordinary men and women, the endurance, the unselfishness, and the high sense of comradeship found among people who suffer a common misfortune.

No one was more closely aware of these new experiences than the artists. That is what artists are for to see things and feel them more clearly than ordinary people, and then to put them down in paint so that ordinary people can share the same clear vision and feelings.

So instead of turning their backs on the war, the artists of Britain were stimulated, and began to paint. They painted the flames, the shattered ruins, the little bird-like machines twisting and turning high in the blue sky, the people sprawled in long rows in air-raid shelters, the women building tanks and bombers in factories; they painted these and a hundred such subjects, not only as they saw them, but as they *felt* them. That is where the artist beats the camera.

Many of the younger artists were called into the fighting forces, and some joined the fire brigades and air-raid services. But they still painted whenever they got the chance. Others, the ones who had already made a name, were employed by the Government as official war artists; some were sent to sea in battleships, some to aerodromes, some abroad to France or the Middle East.

One of the finest paintings, done by an artist called Charles Oundall, shows the evacuation from Dunkirk beaches. No camera could have equalled the drama of this wide panorama of sand dotted with vivid bursting bombs, wrecked aircraft, and thousands of khaki figures waiting their turn to embark for England.



The surrender of a "U" boat to a British Trawler This picture is painted by Charles Pears, one of Britains leading marine artists

Another unforgettable painting is "The Dead Sea",

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by Paul Nash. The artist got the idea when he came across a big dump of wrecked enemy bombers shot down in the summer of 1940. He saw the mass of

This is one of the war pictures by Dame Laura Knight, R.A., of two officers of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force

twisted and painted metal as an ocean of angry black and silver waves; and that is how he painted them—as a sea of enemy bombers breaking against the impregnable coasts of Britain.

Another artist, John Armstrong, symbolised faith in the future even when the bombing was at worst by painting a large serene-looking tulip grow against a background of devastation.

These are only a few paintings out of thousands that have come from British artists during the war. Not all these thousands are good pictures by any means. But the fact that they were turned out at all is very significant. They were painted, every one of them, because the artist felt deeply enough about something to want to tell other people about it with paint and canvas—even though paint and canvas are often as difficult to obtain in wartime as are opportunities for sitting down and using them.

And what of the public, the people with whom the artist wants to share his experience? Undoubtedly there has been a big increase since the war in the number of people who enjoy looking at paintings. Though the London National Gallery is without its world-famous masterpieces, there is always an exhibition of the new war pictures instead, and crowds throng to see them. Four similar exhibitions have been touring Britain, and others have been sent to America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Many of these war pictures have also been published in a series of booklets which have enjoyed a wide sale. Others are available as coloured postcards.

The growing interest in art was still further emphasised early this year when the National Gallery took the risk of staging an exhibition of French Impressionist masterpieces. It was packed throughout the weeks it was open.

All this is significant because it may well foreshadow a big revival of painting in Britain after the war. English painting has a quite distinctive charm of its own to offer to civilisation; and the fact that it now seems well set on the road to reaching another of its best periods is one of the very pleasant surprises of the war that has given us so many unpleasant ones.

THE LAND OF THE PANDAVAS

Jaunsar-Bawar

(Excluded Area 1935 Act)

By A. V. THAKKAR,

General Secretary, All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, and President, Aboriginal Welfare Works

I could snatch four days from my routine office work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and Kasturba Memorial Fund and spend them in a study tour of the condition of the hill-people residing in Jaunsar-Bawar, the northern subdivision of Dehra Dun district of the U.P. My guide, friend and philosopher, was Shri Dharma Dev Shastri, who has started for the last two years a mission of service to the people residing in the hilly region.

The area of the subdivision is comparatively small, a little over 400 square miles and also sparsely populated, less than 60,000 souls; but it is very interesting, both geographically as well as socially. The altitude begins with 3,000 feet at the bottom of the hills and goes up to 7,000 feet, where the Military Cantonment of Chakrota is situated, and some peaks rise up to nearly 10,000 feet. The river Jumna passes along the eastern boundary and crosses it on the south near Kalsi, an important ancient town at the foot of the hills. It is here that one of the famous edicts of Emperor Asoka is found inscribed on a huge boulder of quartz near the bank of the Jumna. The inscription is yet in a preserved state as the rock is very hard, having successfully stood the weather for over 2,200 years. A motorable well-laid road winds up from Dehra Dun to Kalsi and to Chakrota, a distance of about 60 miles, having been built as early as the eighties of the last century.

The People

The people inhabiting this area of Jaunsar-Bawar are very ancient and have been touched little by the changes that have taken place in the constitution of the Hindu society and also by the Western civilisation. Brahmins and Rajputs not only freely inter-dine with each other, but also inter-marry without any reserve and freely take water from the Harijans except the very

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lowest. Bonds of caste do not sit so tight upon them as on the Hindus in the plains, with whom they have little contact socially and economically. Brahmins do not put on the sacred thread as a rule. The people rarely migrate to the plains, much less do they mix with the Hindus of the plains of the same status as themselves.

Economically speaking they are very much self-sufficient and depend upon imported articles as little as possible. They use the timber of their forest in the make-up of their houses, the floors and the roofs being made of Deodar planks. The walls are built of stones which are so plentiful in the hills.

As the country is very hilly, level fields are rarely to be seen and they have to be carved out of the hill-sides, gentle or steep, at a heavy expenditure of time and labour. The fields thus prepared are sometimes too steep for working the plough drawn by bullocks and therefore ploughing is often done by hand. One finds fields in terraces, rising one above the other on the hill sides and the terraces are supported by dry walls 4 to 10 feet high. Rarely you will find a small table-land on the top of a hill, and that too will be very limited in area. Maize, wheat, rice, ginger and turmeric and even poppy are grown. Now-a-days potatoes are grown to a large extent and exported to the plains.

Polyandry and Common Wives

The population here consists mostly of Brahmins, Rajputs, Bajgis and Koltas, the last two being Harijan castes. The former consider themselves to be the descendants of Pandavas and Kauravas and the hills are said to be full of temples dedicated to Pandavas. There are various legends connected with the times of the Mahabharata. The practice of polyandry is prevalent even at the present time and the people believe that it is economically beneficial for them. Though a few of the educated people have taken to monogamy, they have no objection in giving a daughter in marriage to all the brothers in one family. Just as in the case of a Hindu family where a man has two wives the children address both of them as mothers, the children in this area address all the 2 or 4 or 5 husbands of the mother as their fathers. Sometimes there is a large difference in age between the eldest and the youngest of the brothers who have a common wife, the child born of the eldest addresses the youngest brother of the family as his father, even though he may be younger than the first child. Besides the practice of having one wife between several brothers, there is also the practice of several brothers having 2 or 3 wives in common. The children have in such cases several fathers and several mothers all of whom they treat as equals socially speaking. The reason advanced in favour of this polyandry is that the family property is not divided in minute fragments, which it would be, if each brother took a wife and had his own family to maintain out of the scanty land they can cultivate. The cultivable land on the hills is very limited, and very little new land can be brought under cultivation and hence it is said that this system of polyandry restricts the families and is therefore preferable to monogamy.

Marrying of girls at a very young age is also very common. It is said that this had led to barrenness in women and hence a family consisting of several brothers with one wife has to take a second or third wife. Much of the agricultural work, except the hard labour of ploughing falls on women and hence the practice of taking more than one wife for a number of brothers is growing.

Hospital for Women

It is said that venereal diseases in syphilis, acute and chronic, extend to about 70 per cent of the people and if other reports can be believed, extend even to 90 per cent of the people. No medical facilities—Ayurvedic or Allopathic—exist in the hills, except in the military cantonment of Chakrota. The result is that syphilis has grown to an alarming extent and womankind is the greater sufferer. This has led to barrenness among them. A very great necessity therefore of this area is a hospital for women with a Lady Doctor-in-charge with a staff of itinerant midwives and *dais*. The mortality amongst women in confinement is said to be heavy and this can be prevented by anti-natal and post-natal clinics. It is the ambition of Shri Shastri's mission, called "Ashok Ashram" to establish a hospital for women somewhere in the hills, where women can take advantage of the same. He is in need of funds for the same and in search of an Indian Lady Doctor who will be prepared to reside in that unfrequented area at some sacrifice.

Illiteracy exists here to a very large extent, the number of District Board schools being negligible. It is said that the people require the services of their children for field work and would not spare them for the school. This is not a new argument, but it has to be met with by some propaganda in favour of literacy. Hindu missionaries can overcome this disinclination to literacy by some effort and residence in their midst.

Semi-Slavery

The system of semi-slavery exists here by which the lower classes of Harijan called Koltas are bound down to Brahmin and Rajput families for small sums of money and often for whole life. Similar tribes of bondsmen are found in other hill parts of the country, in Bihar and even in the plains of Gujrat and Rajputana. It is high time that somebody took up this work of educating the Koltas and raised them to the full stature of a human being and made them respected citizens of India. At present they possess no land, have no vision outside their hills and their intellect is undeveloped. Even the great demand for labour in the war-time has not attracted them and they remain where they were, wedded to their masters for doing their agricultural toil and who feed them like their animals.

Ashok Ashram

A few words about Shri Shastri's mission popularly known as *Ashok Ashram*. He has enlisted a few young men as teachers and Vaids and planted them in the hilly villages as missionaries among the simple folk of these unfrequented hills. Some of his workers who come from towns and are accustomed to town amenities run away after a few weeks' residence in hills. Even Christian missionaries are said to have failed in these hills. A band of young men and women determined to live in these hills and to bear the inclemencies of weather, with a passionnate love for service for this ancient people, is required and badly required.

As already mentioned a Women's Medical Mission is the greatest necessity. Other reforms like the abolition of polyandry, of semi-slavery, of prevailing illiteracy and the uplift of womankind in general will follow in course of time. May the attention of the rich people of the plains who frequent Dehra Dun and Mussoorie, situated in the same district, be attracted to this important problem, I say a most neglected problem of bettering the lot of these hill-men !

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TEERAT SINGH AND THE KHASI REBELLION (1829-1833)

(Based on the original records preserved in the archives of the Government of India)

By Prof. REBATI MOHAN LAHIRI, M.A., B.L.

In the early decades of the 19th century, Assam was given over to confusion and disorder which led to the intervention of the Burmese in the affairs of Assam. Assam was virtually conquered by the Burmese in 1819. Soon the overbearing Court of Ava came in collision with the East India Company whose North-Eastern frontiers overhang the newly conquered Burmese territories. The British Government declared war against the Burmese in 1824 and expelled them from Assam in less than a year. By the treaty of Yandaboo concluded in 1826, the whole of the Brahmaputra valley passed into British hands.

The Assamese nobility whose ancestors had ruled the valley for more than six hundred years and had a proud history of their own, did not take quietly to the permanent occupation of their fair valley by the British forces. The British, who had declared on the eve of the Anglo-Burmese conflict that they had had no intention of annexing any part of the valley, preferred to stay as conquerors and even did not condescend to hand over the upper portion of the valley to one of the princes of Assam though strongly recommended to do so by their newly appointed Agent. The Bengal Government tried to soothe off the opposition and hatred of the disgruntled nobility by employing them in the reconstructed Judicial and Revenue Departments of Assam. But the Assamese nobility were not to be so easily reconciled with. Their intriguing brains were in action and the result was the outbreak of a series of insurrections and rebellions in which "all elements of the country including the hill-tribes combined to drive the English out of the valley." This interesting and eventful chapter of the history of Assam has been totally omitted by the historians like Gait and Mackenzie.

The first rebellion broke out towards the end of the year 1928 under the connivance of the Burmese authority and under the direct leadership of the ex-functionaries of Assam who set up one Gadhadhar, a Prince of the royal blood, as their King. The first rebellion was soon crushed. Undaunted, the nobility rose in rebellion again under the standard of a new pretender named Rupchand in 1830. The English were given no breathing time, troubles were also brewing in the west and the Khashis broke out in open rebellion towards the beginning of 1829. It was the most formidable and long-protracted rebellion and caused alarm and consternation and the whole of Assam was in a state of excitement. The Singppo incursion (which took place in 1930) and the second resistance of the Assamese nobility were easily beaten off, but the hardy and sturdy Khasis kept the fight going on in their mountain homes and fastnesses and the Brahmaputra valley saw the prospect of pacification only when their leader Teerat Singh made his submission towards the beginning of 1833. The Khasi rebellion testifies to the organising ability and freedom-loving spirit of the Khasis and Garrows who made a determined and persevering attempt to subvert the new regime. They had no resources in men and money; they fought under the most baffling circumstances against a highly superior and organised power yet they put up a heroic fight and produced leaders who extorted high praises even from their adversaries. Of the heroic figures who dominated the Assamese history during the troublesome periods—Teerat Singh was the most noble and patriotic and his career reads almost like romance. Strangely enough this heroic hill chieftain has got no recognition from the hands of the European historians who have treated him as an ordinary rebel—a savage and blood-thirsty barbarian.

To understand Teerat Singh and to form a true estimate of his exploits, we must know something of the Khasi people and their form of Government, because it is in the background of their national character and constitution that we should trace the true genesis and causes of their insurrection which though a failure is tinged with the halo of martyrdom.

Between the district of Jyanteah and the hills in the west occupied by the Garrows is a tract of mountainous territory seventy miles in length and more than fifty miles in breadth covering roughly an area of three five hundred square miles inhabited by the Khasis, a bold and independent tribe. The Cossyas possess a superior type of civilisation than is generally found amongst other hill-tribes inhabiting the north-eastern region of India. When pitched against the English they exhibited the same stubbornness, independence character and the hatred of a foreign domination which generally characterise the mountaineers throughout the world. Their democratic constitution again gave additional stimulus to their freedom-loving spirit. There were as many as 30 little states in the Khasi hills before the advent of the English. The Chiefs of these states were in no sense territorial sovereigns with unlimited power. They were merely elected heads of village federacies each having a council of his own whose advice they were bound to follow on all important matters. The Khasi nation as a whole presented the appearance of a congregation of little oligarchical republics—subject to no common superior. Matters of common interest were discussed by their assembly where every member was entitled to speak and vote. A representative of the British Government who was present on such occasion was simply struck with wonder at the order, decorum and propriety with which the debate was conducted for several days and he openly admitted that he had not seen these surpassed in any European society. Democracy was the very breath of their nostrils. When that democracy was in danger—they were prepared for any sacrifice. Such was the country and the people with whom the Britishers came in contact and conflict.

On the acquisition of Lower Assam in 1824 the ingenious mind of Mr. Scott, the first British Agent in Assam, conceived the bold idea of establishing a direct communication between Assam and Sylhet through the Khasi hills. The bracing climate of the Khasi hills tempted him not a little. An agreement was concluded into with Teerat Singh (1826)—the king of Nunklow one of the confederating states, by which he placed his territory under the British protection and also agreed to supply materials for the construction of a road running through his principality. The road was accordingly cleared and a Bungalow was constructed at Nunklow for the reception of invalid soldiers.

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the British soldiers began to pass through the road displaying grandeur and might of the British Raj, the Khasis began to realise the impolicy of their action and they began to look indignantly at the fetters they had forged with their own hands. Teerat Singh was evidently rueing the consequences of his impolitic act and was ready to join any scheme "that was aimed at to drive away the lowland strangers from his territory." and a plot was hatched under the leadership of Barmanick, the chief of Moleem and all hill chiefs combined to effect the expulsion of the English from the hills.

Mr. Scott got the scent of the impending danger and hurried towards Cherapunjee towards the end of March 1829. His object was to chastise Burramanik. But the hill chiefs, contrary to all expectations, stole a march over him. They had a ready-made plan. On 5th May 1829 a party of Khasis perpetrated "what is known in history as the Nunklow Massacre" in which one invalid European and a number of Bengalis lost their lives. The Khasis then burnt down the Bungalow, released the convicts employed on the road and proceeded towards Cherapunjee in search of Mr. Scott. The insurrection had begun. The reverberation of their first success had gone like a thunder-clap through the whispering galleries of the Khasi and Garrow hills and the hill-people came in thousands to join the standard of revolt. Both Gait and Mackenzie treat the massacre at Nunklow "as cold-blooded murder—the mere outburst of the fury of a savage tribe." It was not an incident by itself. It was a part of a general plan to drive out the English. The real causes of the Khasi insurrection lay deeper. It was their universal antipathy towards the foreign domination that caused a general flare-up in the Khasi mountains.

The chief persons concerned in the rebellion were Teerat Singh, Burramanik and Mukund Sing of Mosing. Their plan was worked out skilfully and showed organising ability of a very high order on the part of the hill chieftains. Burramanik and his party were entrusted with the work of guarding the passes opening to Assam and Teerat Singh himself guarded the Sylhet side with a view to prevent supplies and reinforcement reaching Mr. Scott from the plains of Bengal. The whole adult population numbering more than ten thousand were armed with bows, swords, and shields and Khasis were excellent marksmen. They were joined by a large number of Garrows—their kinsmen. Their first act was to demolish the road constructed by Mr. Scott. And to render it impassable, they obstructed it with trees and poles, erected palisades at places and destroyed the bridges on it. They did not depend upon their own strength alone. Teerat Singh made elaborate preparation to drive out the English. His views and plans were of a most extended nature. He sent emissaries to Raja Chandra Kanta, to the Bhots and to the Singppos. He sent a special message to Raja Chandra Kanta exciting him to throw off the British yoke. Raja Chandra Kanta sent his blessings. Teerat Singh also despatched special informers to Gauhati and other places to ascertain the military strength of the British in Assam.

The first effect of the insurrection was indeed embarrassing. The collection of revenue was, in many places, stopped. The whole of Assam was in a state of excitement and slightest reverses on the part of the British would have thrown the whole of Assam into a state of rebellion. No help could be sent from the Assam side. Happily for Mr. Scott and his followers, succour came from the Sylhet side. Captain Lister advanced towards Cherapunjee with a lightning speed and saved Mr. Scott and his party.

When the Calcutta Council was informed of the Nunklow tragedy, feeling ran very high. They empowered the Agent to adopt such measures as would overawe "the petty chiefs." With regard to Teerat Singh they issued order to treat him as "a savage bloodthirsty murderer" deserving capital punishment. The Bengal Government thereby not only under-estimated the strength of these petty chiefs, they could not also realise the nature of the Khasi disturbances—far less they could dream that one day a representative of the mighty British Government would descend down the steps of a mountain-cave to have an interview with he seditious and half-naked savage blood-thirsty monster who strangely speaking appeared to many of the local British officials a patriot of a very high order.

Operations were conducted as usual against Teerat Singh and other rebel chiefs. Their territories were occupied and confiscated. Many Khasi villages were burnt down and rewards were declared for the apprehension of the rebel leaders but the rebel chiefs made no submission and the war went on with vigour on both sides. Mr. Scott died in 1831 in the third year of the war. His successor Mr. Robertson on taking charge of the Assam affairs embarked upon a new policy to end "this wretched warfare." He held out the olive branch of peace and empowered Singh Manik, a friendly Khasi chief, to open negotiations with Teerat Singh. He saw the rebel chief several times. Finally, it was agreed that an official representing the British Government and having a power to negotiate should meet the rebel chief Teerat Singh on an appointed date. And accordingly truce was declared and on 23rd August 1832, Captain Lister, representative of the British Lion, met the Lion of the Khasis at his den. It was an historic interview no doubt—only there was no mighty pen of Todd or Cunningham to depict as such before the world at large. Teerat Singh was seen in company of his ministers. Alluring promises were held out to him. Teerat Singh was not the man to be bought off by promises. He boldly demanded the abandonment of the line of the road passing through his kingdom and also demanded the restoration of his territory. As the British representative was not authorised to deal with those points, the party broke off without achieving anything substantial. The British Government then offered "mildest terms" to the followers of Teerat Singh and tried to make a separate treaty with them on condition that "Teerat Singh must be given up." But nothing came out of this move as the followers of Teerat Singh declined to swallow this bait. Mr. Robertson fearing that nothing would come out of the peace negotiations "completed the economic blockade" by tightening the cordon round the belt of Khasi hills and made elaborate preparations to round up the rebels.

Raja Singh Manik was all this time busy in convincing Raja Teerat Singh of the futility of further resistance. His party was being thinned away through death and desertions. And at last on 13th January 1833, he surrendered to the British as advised by the friendly Khasi chieftains on conditions that his life should be spared which the British gladly undertook to do. Even when he surrendered he did not forget his beloved country and requested the English officer to

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make proper arrangement for the administration of his territory.

Teerat Singh was sent down to Gauhati where he was ordered to be transported to the Tenasserim province by the political Agent. But the Bengal Government revised the order of their Agent and sent him to Dacca for detention. His territory was given over to his nephew. When Teerat Singh arrived at Dacca the Khasi King had nothing with him except a blanket to cover his body. He was at first confined in the ordinary jail but later on he was removed to a separate house and was given a monthly allowance of Rs. 63. He was allowed the privileges of two servants. There remained the last independent King of the Khasis to wear away his last days in confinement and solitude till death delivered him of all igonominy in 1841. Thus ended the career of one of the most heroic but little known fig of the Indian history. He was destined to play his p on a stage—small beyond all proportions. Even t Scott whom he antagonised most paid glowing trib to the patriotic impulse of this great Chieftain. It w admitted by one of the British officers who was depu to deal with him that "had all the Khasi chieftai joined in the general conglomeration that followed the Nuklow massacre, it would have been very difficult the British to bring them under control." With Te Singh also departed the independence of the Kh states.*

* Abridged by the writer from his book, *The Annexion of A* to be shortly published.

THE GANDHIAN PLAN

By AMIYA NATH BOSE

Principal Agarwal's *The Gandhian Plan* may well prove to be a document of historic importance. For the first time a complete plan of economic and social reconstruction of India has been placed before the nation with the full approval and authority of Mahatma Gandhi. Principal Agarwal's Plan is, in essence, a socialist plan with the necessary modifications to suit the needs of our country and the genius of our people. It is to be hoped that on the basis of this Plan complete unity will be forged inside the Indian National Congress.

At the very outset, Principal Agarwal makes it clear "that independent India must be the first postulate of economic re-construction." He hopes that his brochure will "evoke honest and constructive thought on these problems, at a time when other schemes of post-war re-construction are being seriously studied, discussed and formulated." I hope I shall be forgiven, if I may suggest some minor modifications in his Plan in course of this article. I hasten to add that I find myself in complete agreement with the basic ideas of his scheme.

India is fundamentally a land of the peasants. It is, therefore, natural that in any scheme of reconstruction the problem of agriculture will find the first place. The central problem of raising the productivity of land could only be tackled on the basis of a number of radical reforms suggested by Agarwal. The first of these reforms is the nationalisation of land and a system of long-term tenancy to the actual tillers of the soil. He stresses "the urgent need for a systematic planning and improvement in agriculture on scientific lines." He also advocates the development of co-operative farming.

But even a most successful development of agriculture on the lines stated above will not solve the crucial problem of India —the problem of unemployment of nearly fifty per cent of our people. This will only be solved, if there is a simultaneous and parallel development of our industries. As R. C. Dutt pointed out in his *Economic History of India*, the history of India under British rule is a history of "progressive ruralisation" and the gradual destruction of our native industries. It is, therefore, agreed on all sides that for raising our national productivity, we must develop o industries. In this development, India can follow eit of the three following methods:—

1. The traditional capitalist method.
2. The traditional socialist method.
3. The modified socialist method as enunciated Principal Agarwal.

The protagonists of the first method hope th Indian capitalists and financiers will develop large-sc industries on modern lines and by the operation economic laws surplus labour will gradually flow fro land to industry. As a result, there will, of course, large cities, palatial buildings and dirty slums and complete concentration of economic power in the ha of a few. It will mean opulence on one side and mis on the other. It will convert a very large number people into robots and will reserve culture as a privile of the privileged class. Such a method Principal Agarw rightly repudiates.

It has been suggested by the supporters of th second method that the National Governm might take upon itself the task of carry through a programme of socialist industrialisation that event the state will take over the present priv industries and in addition, will develop other indust owned and controlled by the state. Under this pl industries wll be developed on a large scale and th will be a planned transference of labour from land industry. If large-scale industries are developed un such a plan, they will lead to a development of la cities throughout India. There will be a grow differentiation between cities and villages, which in t will create acute sociological problems. In any ca too much mechanisation will mean a life of monoto for a very large number of people. Work for most the people will be reduced to a ceaseless repetition mechanical movements. It might mean economic ciency, but it will surely result in cultural bankru The full effects of such a mechanical life are becom apparent in America, where people are producing battleships but little culture. No, India must not fo the road to cultural bankruptcy. We must give full s to human personality. We must not produce ma

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men with a craze for efficiency. Further, such a plan will mean a tremendous concentration of power in the hands of the state bureaucracy. It will curb the initiative of the people, it will reduce democracy to a farce.

This brings me to Principal Agarwal's *The Gandhian Plan*. He does not deny that a number of basic and key industries must be developed on a large scale. These key industries shall be owned and managed by the state in the interests of the nation as a whole." All the public utility services will, of course, be owned and managed by the state as well. Only those industries, which for technical reasons cannot be organised on the basis of small units should be allowed to develop on a large scale. The criterion in this case is not economic efficiency, but technical need. The rest should be organised on the basis of cottage industries and dispersed throughout the villages. As a general principle, all the consumption goods, according to this Plan, will mainly be supplied by "cottage industries." For instance, there is no technical need to organise textile industry on a large scale. The result of this policy will be to bring employment to villagers, who are wholly or partly unemployed today and will make it unnecessary to transfer large number of workers to congested cities. The cottage industries need not, of course, be run on primitive lines. Indeed, we must fully utilise our present scientific knowledge to modernise these industries. According to Lewis Mumford "the recent achievements of science can make small workshops situated in small garden cities spread all over the country side, the most efficient, healthy and wholesome units of industry and of society." Such a decentralisation of industries will be facilitated by a proper development of electric power. Indeed, In my view, the success of *The Gandhian Plan* depends on a complete electrification of India. As Mahatmaji puts it, "If we could have electricity in every village home, I shall not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity." Under the direction of the National Planning Commission, the state will develop electric power on the basis of India's river systems and will bring power to every village home. It will then allow private or co-operative enterprise in the organisation of village industries on the basis of power provided by the state. The organisation of these village industries will be under the direction and control of the 'Gram Panchayat.' To re-capitulate, therefore, under *The Gandhian Plan* a number of basic industries, like the defence industries, power, mining, metallurgy, machinery, heavy engineering, chemicals, transport will be owned by the state and controlled by the National Planning Commission in the interest of the nation as a whole. The rest will be organised on the basis of village industries with the help of electric power. There will be scope for co-operative enterprise in these village industries and the control of these industries will be vested in the village Government. The beneficial effects of such a Plan on the life of our people can hardly be over-estimated. The villagers will have a large measure of control over their economic and other activities and democracy in that case will become a reality. The unity of India and equal development in all parts of our country will be guaranteed by the control of the state of our basic and key industries. This Plan will prevent the development of large cities and excessive mechanisation with all their evil consequences. Industry will be merged in agriculture. Factories and workshops run by electricity will grow up in the very heart of corn-fields. Recent scientific achievements will be utilised fully to promote "good life" and machine will become the servant of man.

This picture of India of tomorrow will, I feel sure, arouse great enthusiasm and command the approval of all, who think in terms of a democratic and socialist India. But this plan is not merely a statement of future intention, it is also of immediate political importance. There have been in the past and there are at the moment, a number of political groups inside the Indian National Congress. These groups have held different and often divergent views in regard to social policy. But they have all united on the platform of the Congress for the common problem of Indian independence. But if *The Gandhian Plan* is accepted by the Congress as the basis of its social policy, it is highly probable that the ideological differences inside the Congress will largely disappear and complete unity inside the Congress will be achieved on the basis of this modified socialist plan.

The Gandhian Plan will fulfil another distinct need. The Congress, in spite of the tremendous support it has received from the masses, has not quite succeeded in linking up the struggle for every-day existence of an Indian peasant with the wider struggle for political freedom. In view of this fact, emotionalism has played an important part in our technique of political propaganda. But it has never been quite patent to our peasants and workers that on the success of Congress struggle for independence depends the ending of economic misery and exploitation of our people. And the people will never be ready for supreme sacrifice, unless they are convinced that the struggle for political independence of India is also a struggle for their economic and social emancipation. *The Gandhian Plan*, once it is accepted as the programme of the Congress, will make it quite clear that the Congress stands for an all-round economic and social development of our people on a socialist-democratic basis. But the plan must not remain the intellectual property of a few political workers, it must become the conscious desire of the common people of India. What is necessary, therefore, is a systematic and continuous presentation of the fundamentals of the scheme to the vast masses of our countrymen throughout the length and breadth of India. This, of course, can only be done by a unified Congress under the supreme leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This planned propaganda will mean a considerable extension of Congress power among the masses of our people. The emphasis on village democracy and economic and social reconstruction of India will reduce the problem of minorities to insignificance. If effective political power passes to the village communities, organised on a democratic basis, communal problem will have no meaning. India's unity will be achieved on the basis of de-centralised Government and well-developed village communities. A new and fruitful social experiment will, then, be India's contribution to world thought.

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MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE IN THE USSR

By M. MALINOVSKY

Mothers and children are surrounded with great care and solicitude in the Soviet Union. Already, in December 1917, in the very first months of its existence, the Soviet Government passed a law by which women workers were granted pre-natal and post-natal leaves with full pay and nursing mothers were given the right of two hours' interval at work everyday for the purpose of nursing their infants. At the same time began a wide-flung construction of maternity hospitals, nurseries, consultation centres, homes for unmarried mothers, children's homes, child welfare and milk distributing centres.

The Soviet rule freed women from the age-old yoke which had oppressed them, raised their human dignity, opened wide roads to them for participation in state activities, in economic, cultural, social and political life of the country. This right has been firmly established by the Constitution of the USSR.

The first link in maternity and child welfare service is the prenatal clinic where women can get advice on how to take care of themselves during the entire period of pregnancy, get medical attention and, in case of need, may see a specialist.

As result of the work of these antenatal clinics, a sharp decrease took place in the number of abnormal confinements, postnatal complications, still-born infants and abortions. Healthier mothers and sturdier babies were born: the average weight of the newly born infants increasing from year to year.

The antenatal and postnatal centres have become true schools for mothers hundreds of thousands of women having learnt here how to take proper care of their newly born infants.

In Tsarist Russia there were no child welfare centres. Now they exist in the most outlying corners of the vast Soviet Union, as well as in central regions of the country.

Since the establishment of the Soviet rule the number of maternity hospitals and wards shows great increase, and service in them has improved radically. Thus, in 1913 there were only 6824 beds in maternity hospitals and at the present there are 141,873, that is an increase of more than twenty times.

Matters were particularly bad with regard to medical attention during confinement in the so-called national regions of the Tsarist Russia. Now thousands of women in eastern republics of the Soviet Union go to well-equipped maternity hospitals. Painless birth methods are widely applied in maternity hospitals in the USSR.

Once the baby is born it comes under the care of the postnatal clinic. Doctors and nurses of each clinic observe the growth and development of all infants in their district, whether ill or well.

In the USSR there are over two thousand and eight hundred child welfare centres with special kitchens preparing babies' food for infants up to the age of three, and this milk is daily distributed to tens of thousands of children.

Nurseries are highly popular in the USSR. Women workers and collective farmers can attend to their tasks in enterprises and on fields without worrying, when they know that their children are well-fed and cared for in the nurseries.

There were only five hundred nursery cots in Russia in 1913. At present there are in the USSR over eight hundred thousand in permanent nurseries and up to four million in seasonal nurseries which function in the villages during the periods when field work is at its height.

In addition to medical workers of general public health service, the health of children is guarded by some seventeen thousand special children's doctors and tens of thousands of nurses.

The solicitude of the Soviet Government for mothers and children is particularly marked by the recent edict of the Supreme Soviet, USSR: "On increasing the State aid to expectant mothers, mothers of large families and unmarried mothers; protection of motherhood and childhood, institution of the honorary title of Mother Heroine, Order of Glory and Motherhood Medal."

According to this law, which was passed during the present war, every mother of two children is entitled to State allowance on birth of the third child and the grant is proportionately increased on the birth of each succeeding child. The antenatal and postnatal paid leaves are increased to seventy-seven days. In cases where complications set in, or twins are born, two weeks are added to this leave. The additional rations which expectant and nursing mothers receive are now doubled. From the sixth month of pregnancy up to four months after confinement women now receive additional rations.

According to the new law, unmarried mothers have the right to place their infants in homes where they will be brought up and maintained at the cost of the State and withdraw their children from the home at any time they wish.

The law also provides for a further widening of the network of mother and child welfare institutions. This year in Moscow alone fifteen hundred beds will be added to maternity hospitals and a considerable number of nurseries and antenatal and postnatal clinics opened. Children's dining rooms now provide special diet for a hundred and seventy-five thousand Moscow children. In Belo-Russia new children's homes are being opened to accommodate an additional fifteen hundred kiddies and in the Minsk region for another about hundred children. Rest-homes for expectant mothers have been opened in Moscow. Obstetrical and gynaecological wards and consultation rooms have also been opened.

In the Soviet Union the mother is honoured by the State and by the people. Motherhood has been put on a level with services deserving to be rewarded by order

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WALTER DE LA MARE

By B.

Among contemporary British poets, Walter de la Mare has gained a distinguished place owing to his delicate and individual style. He is regarded by critics as a master of fantasy and symbolism, and a true follower in the Maeterlinck tradition. Among his more important works are his *Songs of Childhood, The Listeners, Motley and Other Poems, The Veil, Poems for Children* and *Memory*.

Born in 1873, Walter de la Mare first embarked on a business career, but took up writing as a hobby. After publishing several successful poems and a novel, he finally gave up business in 1908 to devote himself entirely to his literary work. Here are two of his recent poems:

A QUIETIST

He lies one, who, hating strife,
Kept to a peaceful, private life.
Rare gifts were his to share; but none
Will keep him from oblivion.
It was his weakness, and his grace,
Always to choose the lower place.
There, if he shone, for a natural wealth,
Like glowworm 'twas—as if by stealth.

Men in the world there are called great
Who win at length to high estate.
He shunned that fiercer light, lest he
Should lose the quiet of privacy.
But even a lift of the eyebrow proved
How much he valued what he loved;
There peered from those hazed eyes
A self by solitude made wise;
As if within the heart may lie
All the soul needs for company;
And, having that in safety there,
Finds its reflection everywhere.
Life's tempests must have waxed and waned;
The deep within at peace remained;
Full tides that silent well may be
Mark of no less profound a sea.
Age proved his blessing, since it brought
What, half unwitting, he had sought
Life long; and found him reconciled
To die, as he had lived, a child.

He had come full circle; now is gone.
Stranger, respect his all; this stone.

THE SOLITARY BIRD

Why should a bird in that solitary hollow
Flying from east to west
Seem in the silence of the snow-wanned sunshine
Gilding the valley's crest,
Envoy and symbol of a past within me
Centuries now at rest?

Shallowly arched the heavens rise beyond it,
Of turquoise green and blue;
Not even a whisper irks the magic of the evening
The narrowing valley through;
No faintest echo brings a syllable revealing
The secret once I knew;
Down whists the snow again, cloud masks the sunshine
Bird gone, and memory too.

Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize Winner, in accepting election as Honorary President of the India League of America, made the following statement: "I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction, finally, after long, close and continuing experience with people and events in Asia, that India has become an immediate test-case for world democracy, in the eyes of all the darker peoples, everywhere."

Indian scientists who were on a visit to U.S.A. have returned to India. They are (front row): Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh, J. N. Mukherji, Dr. Nazir Ahmad; (back row): Prof. Meghnad Saha, (Frank S. Coan, of the U. S. State Department), Prof. S. K. Mitra and Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

POST-WAR CONSTRUCTION: *By D. Pant, B.Com., Ph.D. (Dublin). Published by Kitab Mahal, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Explaining that reconstruction in his view implies an attempt to restore pre-war conditions by building upon old values which, as everybody must agree with him, is more or less an impossibility by reason of the new forces let loose by the present war and the radical changes in our ideas created by them, the author pleads for construction by which he understands the total scrapping of the old social, economic and political organisation and its replacement by a New Order which will have Man for its foundation. For the attainment of this purpose, certain axioms and postulates, the necessity of the observation of which is self-evident, are laid down in the second chapter. The politico-economic, the socio-psychological, the educational, and the administrative basis of the New Order are explained in the next four chapters. Then follows a discussion of the problem of unemployment, overt and masked. In the last chapter but one, we have the author's suggestions as to the way in which the above ideas could be applied to the world, British India, and India while, in the last chapter, he gives details of his plan of Construction which, in his language, "shorn of its trappings and frills, . . . simply demands Security of Livelihood, Human Standard of Living, Impartial Justice, and Political, Religious and Cultural Security for Man."

One infers that Dr. Pant has very definite ideas as to how the world can be made a better place to live in, that he is conscious that his views are not always orthodox, that he has the courage of his convictions and is not afraid to give expression to them. He does not lack optimism and offers his solution of our difficulties in a style always striking, picturesque, and emphatic.

GANDHISM: A SOCIALISTIC APPROACH: *By A. N. Agarwala, M.A., Lecturer, University of Allahabad. Published by Kitab Mahal, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 56. Price As. 12.*

The respect in which Mahatma Gandhi is held by thousands of Indians has induced them to follow unquestioningly the political lead given by him. While as yet we do not know whether the technique evolved by him will give us complete freedom, it cannot be denied that it has taken us far and that as yet its possibilities are not altogether exhausted. But Gandhism has its economic aspect also where it is parallelled by the acceptance of socialism as our next step forward in the sphere of social organisation. The author contends that much is common to both these movements which are influencing each other and he envisages the time when there will be a happy amalgam between them. The arguments in support of this opinion are well put and the size of the book is no indication of its value as an exposition of this particular point of view.

H. C. Mookerjee

PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC PLANNING: *Edited by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan. Published by Eco[illegible] Economist Ltd., New Delhi. Pages 54. Price Re. 1.*

This is another small publication on principles [illegible] Post-War Planning in India with a foreword by Mr. [illegible] D. Birla. Although the war is not yet over, the Po[illegible] War Plannings and Schemes of reconstruction ha[illegible] caught the imagination of economists and Governm[illegible] of Allied Nations and although India is not yet [illegible] nation, capitalists of this country are not slow in pr[illegible] paring their schemes for Post-War India.

In the present pamphlet, the principles have be[illegible] discussed in a balanced and scientific manner and w[illegible] some amount of caution so as to avoid extreme ha[illegible] ship of the people in case of a quick industrializa[illegible] The questions of food supply, agriculture, clothi[illegible] housing, education, and public health including wa[illegible] supply have been discussed and lessons from the Sov[illegible] Gosplans have been brought in for comparison. Po[illegible] War India is taken as capitalistic with a Sta[illegible] Socialistic bias. Under a sufficiently democratic St[illegible] Control of basic and key industries, private capita[illegible] shall be allowed to invest money in metals, machi[illegible] tools, machinery, heavy engineering, heavy chemi[illegible] etc., but the State will nationalise all public ut[illegible] industries and concerns.

After all had been said in favour of pri[illegible] enterprises it is admitted that planning must m[illegible] socialism sooner or later, more sooner than later, [illegible] to avoid the rigour of totalitarian and dictato[illegible] socialism private capitalistic enterprises, and e[illegible] cottage and small industries must continue for s[illegible] time till they merge in the New Order. The plan [illegible] require a vast amount of external capital and [illegible] author has an eye upon the sterling balances in [illegible] connection. But as long as England controls the de[illegible] of India, economic reconstruction of the country [illegible] be subordinated to the Imperial interest and as s[illegible] all plannings by non-official authorities are more or [illegible] academic unless they find favour with the Br[illegible] masters of India.

However, students of economics will find [illegible] pamphlet interesting, the subject-matter having [illegible] very ably handled and statistics cleverly utilised.

A. B. Du[illegible]

THE JAPANESE PARADOX: *By N. J. Nan[illegible] Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 136. P[illegible] Rs. 3-12.*

Japan is a land of paradoxes. It is indeed ha[illegible] reconcile her westernization with her primitive Sh[illegible] Cult and patriotic fanaticism, her tremendous na[illegible] virility with her social backwardness, her kimono [illegible] geisha with *harakiri*, her artistic creativities with [illegible] instinct of expansion and plunder. Most of [illegible] contradictions, so apparent to Western observers [illegible] however, from an imperfect appreciation of Jap[illegible] history and culture. They are by no means inhere[illegible] the Japanese tradition, but are symptomatic of

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THE PROBLEM CHILD!

¶ He defies all canons of discipline and threatens the tradition and moral tone of the Institution.

●

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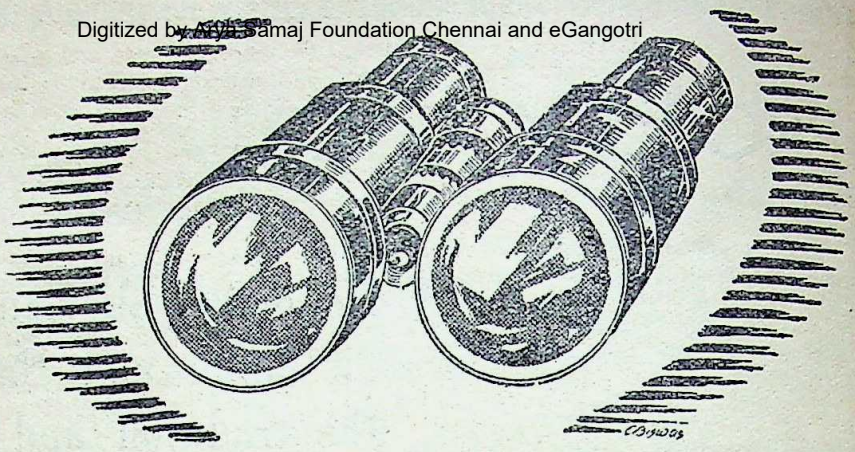

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disharmony which the hasty assimilation of an alien culture has wrought in Japanese national life. The author has attempted in this book a correct appraisal of those typically Japanese phenomena which particularly baffle Western observers. He does not emit the familiar propaganda stuff which scarcely carries any conviction with discerning readers. The treatment of women in Japanese society hardly does any credit to this proud nation, and the cruelties of her industrial system are a disgrace to her social conscience. But the Shinto is not so primitive as is usually imagined; it is the Shinto that has helped to Japanize Buddhism and Christianity, and has transformed primitive religious beliefs into an aggressive and fatalistic patriotism. The Shinto is a great assimilator. An interesting revelation that Mr. Nanporia makes is that the Japanese Emperor is a man of culture and liberal sympathies. "He is the only man in Japan who laughs openly at his own divinity and regards Shintoism with derisive amusement. . . . It was not incorrectly stated that on December 7, 1941, there was not a more miserable man in the East than Emperor Hirohito, descendant of the Sun Goddess" (page 132).

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

HINDUISM AT A GLANCE : *By Swami Nirvedananda. With a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Vidyamandir, Dhakuria, Bengal. Pp. 229. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The author, who is a learned monk of the Ramakrishna order, is already known as a thoughtful writer by his maiden work on spiritual Renaissance. The book under review is a fitting addition to the former and is a comprehensive outline of the fundamentals of Hinduism as a whole. The volume is very correctly printed and attractively got up : A glossary of Sanskrit words used in the book with their suitable synonyms, as well as an index, are annexed in the appendix. The book is divided into two parts: the first part having thirteen chapters and the second part, eight. The first part deals with the doctrine of Karma and re-birth, transmigration and salvation, path of Pravritti and Nivritti, four Yogas, as well as the sacred books of Hinduism. The second part surveys the Hindu prophets, Hindu idea of God and Soul, projection and pralaya, rituals and mythology. The subject is treated from a broad standpoint, from where this ancient religion can be viewed in its full grandeur. The treatment sparkles with transparent clarity and breathes throughout a freshness that will at once appeal to the modern mind, Hindu or non-Hindu. The book may be safely laid down as an excellent manual of Hinduism and unhesitatingly depended upon as a very good guide to the immortal faith. The erudite author has done well in retaining the Sanskrit terms in his exposition, as they are almost untranslatable and indispensable for an understanding of Hinduism. In the concluding chapter, the Swami, who is an experienced teacher of Hinduism, earnestly appeals to Hindus of all classes and schools for a new understanding of our age-old Dharma according to the changed conditions of our times. Hinduism through the ages, the author rightly points out, has shown extreme rigidity with regard to the essentials but remarkable elasticity in the readjustment of externals. He is firmly convinced that the foundations of Hinduism cannot be shaken by either scientific or historical criticism of the moderns. He exhorts every Hindu, man or woman, to be initiated into the true Hindu view of life, to make our religion dynamic in our private and public life, and to adopt a synthetic outlook—which alone can save us from the present crisis and pave the way for Hindu unity and wider expansion of Hinduism.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VISISHTADVAITA: *By P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Principal, Panchaiappa's College. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar. Price Rs. 10.*

This book is the outcome of deep study and great devotion. In it the author has dealt with the whole of philosophy in an exhaustive manner and according to a definite plan; he has begun by showing that *Visishtadvaita* is not a vain, speculative system, but is "a philosophy of affirmation and valuation", the end of which is the knowledge of *tatva*, the realisation of *hita*, and the attainment of *purushartha*. But *purushartha* cannot be attained without correct knowledge; hence follows the discussion on Ramanuja's theory of knowledge; next comes the discussion on the nature of Brahman as well as Its relation to *Chit* and *Achit*—of Brahman as *Adhara, Niyanta* and *Sesin*. Surely all this discussion is to be found, even if briefly, in all works on Ramanuja's philosophy; but for an exhaustive exposition of the doctrine of Brahman as *Saririn*, as well as for brilliant criticism of the different kinds of *Bhedabheda*, both Indian and European, this book stands unrivalled. Metaphysical knowledge alone does not satisfy the hankering of the human soul; hence the discussion on Brahman as *Bhubana Sundara* follows next; herein the author gives us the Vedantic interpretation of Brahman as the Beautiful. The knowledge of Brahman as the controller and sustainer of the universe, as well as the realisation of His beauty fills the human soul with an overwhelming love, which culminates in *Prapatti* or complete surrender, and in the discussion which follows next on *Prapatti Yoga* we reach the very heart of the philosophy of Bhakti. Then there are the chapters on the life and teachings on *Visishtadvaita* teachers as also on Ramanuja's influence on the religious systems of India. These are, in themselves, valuable contributions to the history of Indian philosophy. In the last chapter the author has given a summary of the whole book, for the benefit of the readers.

The book is therefore a monumental work and will be found indispensable by every one interested in Indian philosophy and religion.

The style of the writer reaches at times a rhythm which is not generally found in philosophical works.

ISAN CH. ROY

BENGALI

SAMAJ O SAHITYA : *By Kumar Bimal Chandra Sinha, M.A. Messrs Das Gupta & Co., 54/3, College Street, Calcutta. Pages 388. Price Rs. 3.*

This is an introduction to the study of modern Bengali poetry in twelve Chapters with an Appendix on ancient Sanskrit poetry. Literature of any country cannot but be a mirror of contemporary society and poetry is no exception. But the author's is no materialistic interpretation of poetry although he admits social and class conflicts as factors determining the trend of literature. He cannot be in the wrong when he says that every literary man of importance must be in himself both the creator and the representative of his age—personality alone determines in which he is greater (page 305). A poet of talent represents only his age whereas a poet of genius not only represents his age but also creates beauty which is eternal. It is admitted that a poet must be an idealist, but for that reason he cannot draw his nourishment from the air. He must have the roots of his poetry in the soil of actual and contemporary experiences. Even Rabindranath Tagore who on occasions mocked at things contemporary and tried to overcome the passing

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influences of his time, is but the best exponent and the most perfect representative of his age, country and society with a vision for the future and a beauty of his own that surpassed all contemporaries in the field of literature. In the words of the author 'successful creation in literature has certainly a beauty which goes beyond time but such beauty is a product of the time and would not have been possible in defiance of environments' (page 255). This is why Tagore is of eternal value. So is Bankim Chandra and Sarat Chandra.

The author has good words for those ultra-modern poets who have their basis on reality and not for those who have taken their inspiration from foreign sources without any touch of environments. It is not an easy task to assess and measure the ulta-modern poetry of Bengal but the author has done this with considerable skill. He has no bias for proletarian art because it is called proletarian unless it is really so. Although many ultra-modern writers desire to say that the sun of creative genius of Tagore had long set, the author holds that to the last day of his life Tagore's creations were realistic and of permanent value in literature and these belonged to the soil of India unlike the ultra-modern poetry of some young contemporaries whose inspirations came from foreign lands and as such were far from real. In the long discussion the author has undertaken to assess the value of poetry; he quotes extensively from ancient and modern writers and not unoften disagrees with some eminent art critics.

The author's study of the economic conditions of Bengal since the establishment of the British Rule, rise of the new middle class—landless and cut off from the original strata of society, the birth of a new literature in Bengal and its development in relation to environments and contemporary events—political and economic, is excellent and deserves to be studied by those who are interested in the study of modern Bengali poetry.

SADHAK DARA SHUKOH: *By Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L. Published by the Noor Library, 12/1, Serang Lane, Calcutta. Pages 12 + 139. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Dara, eldest son of Emperor Shahjehan, is a melancholy figure in Indian history. All his culture, education and popularity could not make good his political incapacity as a statesman and he had to pay dear for his goodness. To judge this man by earthly failures is to misjudge him. The author depicts the real man in Dara—a man ever ready to serve humanity, ever ready to sacrifice himself for the brotherhood of man, religious tolerance and unity among warring sects and sections of his time. He was really a saint and had he succeeded his father to the throne of Delhi instead of Aurangzib, the history of India would have been something different and perhaps a brilliant one. Dara was an emblem of Hindu-Moslem unity and as such he was condemned to death as a heretic by the Moslem divines under the instigation of Aurangzib. Such a pious life in history should be a subject for study to all students of Indian politics.

The author as a preacher of Hindu-Moslem unity has succeeded once again in bringing out a volume in Bengali which will do real good to the country.

A. B. DUTTA

BANGIYA NATYASALA (1795-1873) : *Brajendranath Banerji. Visva-Bharati Granthalaya, 2, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Second Edition. Price eight annas.*

The growth of the Bengali stage is a fascinating theme. The Bengali stage has contributed not a little towards the evolution of Bengali culture. The Visva-Bharati publication department has done well to bring out promptly the second edition of the book. It is included in the Visva-vidya-samgraha series. The author traces in this treatise the origin and development of the Bengali stage. He gives a concise but complete account of the stage (up to 1873). As in his other works, here also Banerji is accurate with his information. The few additions and alterations that have been made in this edition have added to the value of the book.

S. K.

HINDI

VIKRAMADITYA : *By Hemchandra Joshi, D.Litt. Vikrama-Gaurava-Prasarak Mandala, Girgaon, Bombay 4. Pp. 32. Price four annas.*

This is a timely short study of Vikramaditya, whose bi-millenial anniversary is being celebrated throughout India at present by the Hindus. It is based on historical research and so it will justify amply the latter's pride in their ancient king, who was an acme of courage as well as culture. Incidentally the book also treats of a lesser Vikramaditya, Raja Devichand of Kumaon, who lived in the eighteenth century. Its publicity value cannot be disputed.

AJITVIRYA BAHUBALI : *By Kaka Kalelkar. Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabag, Bombay, No. 4. Pp. . Price As. 10.*

This is a Hindi translation, which has been done competently, of Kaka Kalelkar's account of his visit to the image of Ajitvirya,—a piece of wonderful sculpture,—in Shravanbelgola, in Mysore State. It is travelogue, legend, history, art,—all compounded into a literary composition which at once grips the attention and interest of the reader. Some of the passages, particularly those which describe natural effects, are pure poetry. Incidentally, it is an essay in appraising art and the idealism of art. The get-up of the booklet is excellent, but the price of ten annas for such a small publication is rather high.

UNANI DARSHANA: *By Rahul Sankrityayana. Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabagh, Bombay, No. 4. Pp. . Price As. 12.*

Here is a bird's-eye view of Greek philosophy, with its several schools, written with that clarity of interpretation and expression which one has come to associate with everything that emanates from the pen of Pandit Sankrityana. It covers nearly a period of thousand years, starting with about 600 B.C. The booklet, under review, is a part of the bigger work, planned by the author, which will deal with various philosophical systems of the world. The reader will await eagerly the remaining parts.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARAT NI GAZALO : *Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 179. Price Re. 1. (1943).*

Gazal literature, *i.e.*, verses written in the vein of Arabic, Iranian and Urdu poets, is alien to the genius of the Gujarati language. However, during the last few years, verses have been written which seem to have caught the spirit of that peculiar kind of versification to be found in the above-mentioned three languages and meet with a modicum of success. The poems are nine in number of about twenty-eight writers have been brought together in this collection; in quality they are good, bad and indifferent. But latterly a band of young Muslim writers have girded up their loins to make up for this defect in Gujarati literature and their first-hand knowledge of Iranian and Urdu literature, which other writers did not possess, gives them a very good start over some of their predecessors. The founder of the society Bhikshu Akhandanand was a great man and he—alas, now no more—developed it to a high pitch of utility with his life blood. The object of taking art and literature to every college and hamlet, by cheapening the price of good books is worthily being continued by his successors whose desire to make the masses acquainted with this branch of Gujarati literature, is praiseworthy.

K. M.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Tagore's Message to East and West

Tagore the poet-seer who was also the stalwart champion of justice and of his country's freedom, speaks in his message of universal sympathy and tolerance. Mr. Laurence E. Moore observes in *The Aryan Path* :

This magnificent soul lived and worked for the good-will of all men through a period darkened by the catastrophe of two major wars in the Western world, which produced their back-wash all over the earth.

Tagore's message, in an essay entitled "The Spirit of Freedom," was never more appropriate than at this moment, to both East and West. This short essay is printed in the little volume of his works entitled *Creative Unity*. The theme of this essay is:—

"When freedom is not an inner idea which imparts strength to our activities and breadth to our creations, when it is merely a thing of external circumstances, it is like an open space to one who is blindfolded."

Against this background the Poet sketches a brief but poignant picture; firstly of freedom as it is at present interpreted in the West, and secondly of freedom as it is understood in India.

In the West he feels that "freedom as an idea has become feeble and ineffectual." This is due to the fact that, although living under a system which gives them an external semblance of freedom, the Western people are not in reality free because their minds are dominated by the agents of the very system under which they live. Behind this semblance of freedom there lurk selfish, private interests whose power is in the obscurity under which they operate. These interests have recognised the tremendous potential for constructive development inherent in the people which, when turned into avenues of popular welfare, is the greatest blessing of mankind.

Being entirely selfish, private interests in the West have united in an unwritten conspiracy to deceive the people and keep them in ignorance of the true state of affairs.

This end is achieved with an amazing measure of success through various subtle methods of propaganda, all directed towards putting the free thought of the people into a certain mould, which produces results beneficial to these selfish interests but not to the people. One of these is the newspaper, owned by such interests, through which the most subtle propaganda is daily poured into millions of unsuspecting minds, wide open to opinions and eager to be convinced.

Another method is the radio, over which the most sugar-coated medicine can be distributed, mostly at that time of the day when men wish to relax and be amused, when all their critical barriers are down and almost anything will be accepted if it is presented in a sufficiently attractive garb.

This is the picture that the Poet Tagore sees in the West. The spirit of the machine, turned by unscrupulous interests to the exploitation of men, which "represents the active aspect of inertia which has the appearance of freedom, but not its truth, and therefore gives rise to slavery both within its boundaries and outside."

At the same time, however, while turning wearily from the disturbing spectacle of the West, he is pained to find in his own country just as little of the true spirit of freedom, even though the external circumstances are different.

Tagore says :

"He only has freedom who ideally loves freedom himself and is glad to extend it to others. He who cares to have slaves must chain himself to them: he who builds walls to create exclusion for others builds walls across his own freedom: he who distrusts freedom in others loses his moral right to it. Sooner or later he is lured into the meshes of physical and moral servility."

The Poet sees no moral or practical justification for the caste system, which must be rooted out of Indian life and its place taken by a spirit of true, co-operative brotherhood, in deed, as well as word. Hear his words:

"Our stupefaction has become so absolute that we do not even realise that this persistent misfortune, dogging our steps for ages, cannot be mere accident of history, removable only by another accident from outside. Unless we have true faith in freedom, knowing it to be creative, manfully taking all its risks, not only do we lose the right to claim freedom in politics, but we also lack the power to maintain it with all our strength."

Man has conquered space on earth, water and in the air. His material achievements have been tremendous. Truly, in this realm nothing is withheld from his grasp. But he no longer has time to rest and enjoy his work as he had in earlier centuries when his achievements were less.

The world sorely needs the inspired and enlightened example of a people who shall unite the wonderful possibilities of the machine with the praise of God so that man, freed increasingly from drudgery, may once more learn how to rest and enjoy his work and give the glory to God. This is the part that the Poet would have his country play in the world today. This is the glorious vocation of India.

A Reconstruction of Our Past History

In the course of his presidential address delivered at the annual general meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (as published in *The Calcutta Review*) Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee observes :

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The task of writing a true and connected history of pre-Muslim India has been rendered extremely difficult by the colossal loss caused to ancient Indian monuments due to a policy of destruction pursued by foreign elements who periodically visited India, either for plunder or for gaining political control over her destinies prior to the advent of the British rule. Such monuments constitute the principal source for a systematic reconstruction of our past history and the preservation and proper study of what little is still left to us are of utmost importance in this respect. When we study the history of the previous attempts for the preservation of our cultural inheritance, during the early and middle periods of the British rule in India, we are confronted with the absence of any active interest of Government in this matter.

The noble efforts of such individuals as Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Prinsep, Kittoe, Cunningham, Fergusson, Rajendralal Mitra, Bhau Dauji, Bhagawan Lal Indraji, R. G. Bhandarkar and of Indian culture and publishing them were others in collecting materials for the past history mostly made in their private capacity.

The original example of duty which was set to Government by this band of enthusiastic workers could not but evoke some sort of response, of however tardy a character, in the former, and some of them, such as Cunningham and others, were given official status and encouraged to pursue their useful activities. But even then Government, especially in the last part of the Company's rule, were culpably ignorant of the nature and magnitude of this kind of work on account of their total inability to grasp the real values of things. Lord William Bentinck is regarded as one of the most enlightened Governor-Generals of India and yet it was in his time that the Taj Mahal was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. It was the same ruler of India who sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's palace at Agra, originally torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV. After 1857, a solemn proposal was made by the then Government to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, one of the noblest ceremonial mosques in the world. As late as 1868, the gateways of the Great Stupa at Sanchi in the Bhopal State were on the point of being destroyed and one of them, the Eastern one, was about to be presented to Napoleon III, the Emperor of the French. Be it said to the credit of John Lawrence, one of the members of Government, that this great act of spoliation was successfully prevented through his efforts. Some sculptured pillars of the beautiful Ajmere temple, turned hastily into a mosque during the early Muslim period and now known as Adhai-din Ki Jhompra, were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal arch for the then Viceroy to pass under. Innumerable sculptural and architectural pieces from Sarnath belonging to Brahmanical and Buddhist shrines of great antiquity, were carried away by official orders from the site and thrown into the Ganges as ballast when the Dufferin Bridge was being constructed at Benares. Many more such instances of vandalism of greater or lesser magnitude can be cited for which Governments of earlier times can be held directly responsible either through errors of commission or omission.

It was, however, in the time of Lord Canning, the first Viceroy, that archaeological work in India won for the first time some sort of permanent State patronage.

The Archaeological Survey of Northern India was constituted in 1860 and Cunningham was appointed in 1862 as Archaeological Surveyer and afterwards the first Director-General of Archaeology in India. The twenty-three volumes of old archaeological reports that were published by him and some of his able assistants show what good use was made by him and his lieutenants of the limited opportunity with which they were provided. Then followed a long period of partial stagnation and occasional spurt in the Governmental activities of preservation and study of the ancient and medieval Indian monuments. It must be said to the credit of Lord Curzon, one of India's most forceful Viceroys and Governor-Generals, that he recognized the full value of this work. He very correctly pointed out in his speech before the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1899 that—'it is in the exploration and study of pre-Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, the excavation of old Indian cities and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archaeologists in India will in future lie . . . A curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are slowly beginning to lift the corners. This also is no less an obligation of Goevrnvment. Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of the scientific schemes of antiquarian work.'

The reconstituted Archaeological Department of India from the time of Lord Curzon onwards worked under the able guidance of Sir John Marshall, and it was in the latter's period of official tenure that one of the most outstanding archaeological discoveries in India was made by a Bengali archaeologist of eminence, the late Rakhaldas Banerjee. The discovery of the pre-historic sites in Sind and lower Punjab regions, which after systematic excavation yielded invaluable memento of the Indus Valley culture, was an event of far-reaching importance, for it changed a great deal of our preconceived notions about the nature of antiquity of Indian culture.

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In Eastern Europe

The New Review observes :

A preliminary remark should help us to focus our picture of the Russian victories, and prevent a relapse into that unhealthy optimism which spoiled military and civilian opinion last autumn. The direct object of any offensive is the destruction of the enemy's fighting potential; will to fight, numbers, equipment, war factories, etc. Up to date the Russian offensive has not achieved conclusive results, and could not be expected to do so in a few weeks, though the struggle is unfolding in all its gigantic dimensions. On the other hand, the Nazis have abated nothing of their determination to fight to the death. Their High Command is as good as it was in 1939, their soldiers as fanatic and well-trained, their research departments as resourceful. In spite of our air bombing their war factories are still in working order, and the morale of their working population shows no sign of breaking down whilst anti-Nazi discontent remains unorganized.

From all reports at hand, the weakest point in their war potential is their diminished mobility; their transport system has been badly hit and their oil-producing capacity is said to have been cut down to one-fifth of what it was in April 1944. Mobility is crucial in modern warfare, mobility multiplying fire-power, permitting surprise and regulating the pace of battle. High mobility could provide a badly needed respite, give reinforcements from Italy and Norway time to reach central Germany and protract the fierce all-out battle which must be anticipated before the end. Reduced mobility will bring the Nazi war machine to a stop, and confusion in the High Command which synchronized offensive on all fronts might produce may advance the hour of the final breakdown.

The preceding commonsense observations necessarily tone down the highly coloured accounts sent out by war correspondents from their Moscow armchair (no foreign reporter has ever been allowed on the Russian front though a few went on conducted tours in recently liberated areas). Early Russian reports were lopsided in stressing the extent of the ground lost by the Nazis, whilst omitting to speak of prisoners; in mechanised warfare, space usually is of minor importance whilst the number of prisoners is one of the main gauges of success. Moscow reports also went wrong for weeks on end in giving Marshal Zhukov's offensive undue priority. His advance was spectacular, but his offensive had not the importance of Marshal Koniev's drive. Koniev defeated larger and better equipped troops, seized the most valuable industrial area of Silesia and outflanked the Nazi positions in Czechoslovakia and along the lower Oder.

War correspondents may have gone by the favourite saying of Litvinoff: 'Who gets to Berlin first wins the peace'; they might as well contrast it with General Fuller's rider: 'Who gets to Vienna first has Europe by the throat'; but militarily speaking, who destroys most of the Nazi war potential will be the victorious general.

In the present phase of the conflict, a decisive battle is joined along the Oder, the 'Eastern Rhine.' It is as crucial as was the battle along the lower Maas and Rhine last year though the Russian offensive has not yielded as substantial results as our victories in Normandy and France. The battle is in full sway, and, as it is combined with a decided offensive in the west, it should break the back of Nazi power. Even Turkey is convinced that the war in Europe will be decided in the near future, and she is making a deliberate rush to help the victorious Allies.

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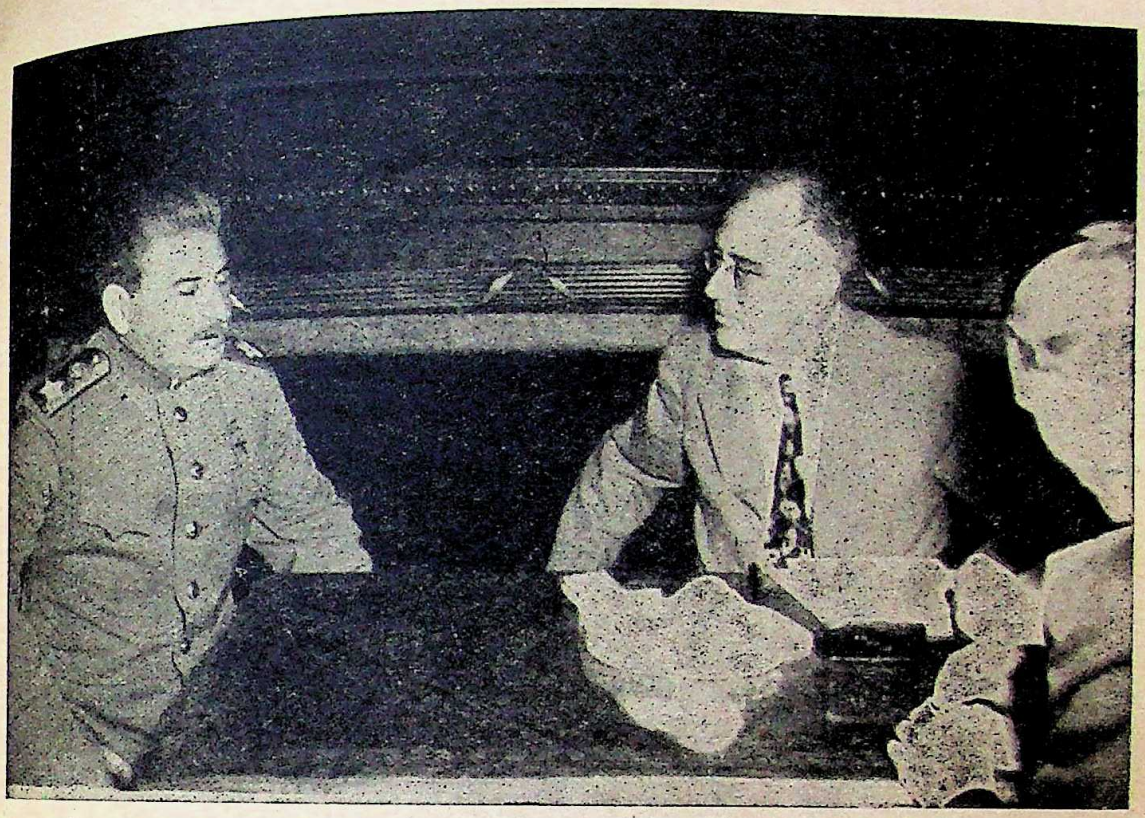
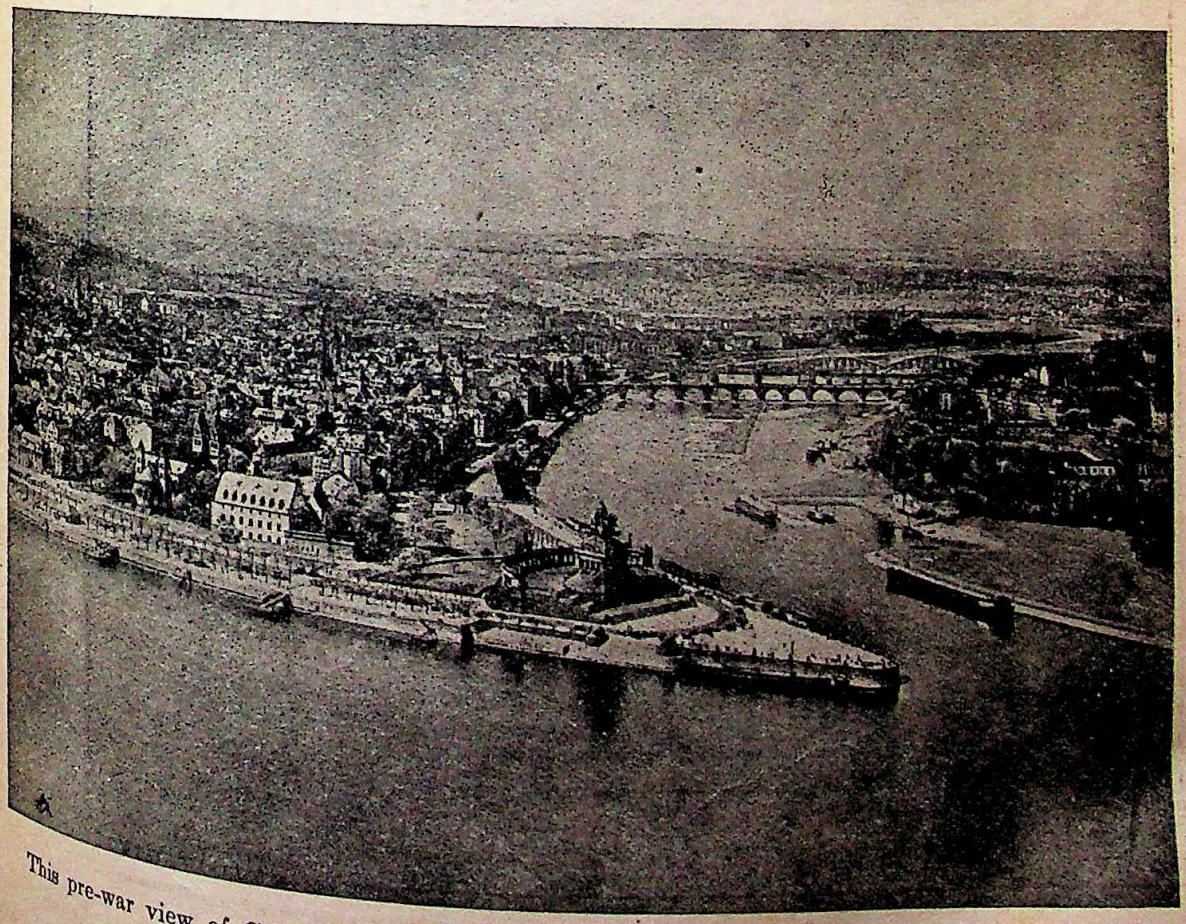


Marshal Stalin and President Roosevelt confer in Yalta



This pre-war view of Coblenz shows its strategic importance, situated as it is at the junction of the Rhine and Moselle Rivers

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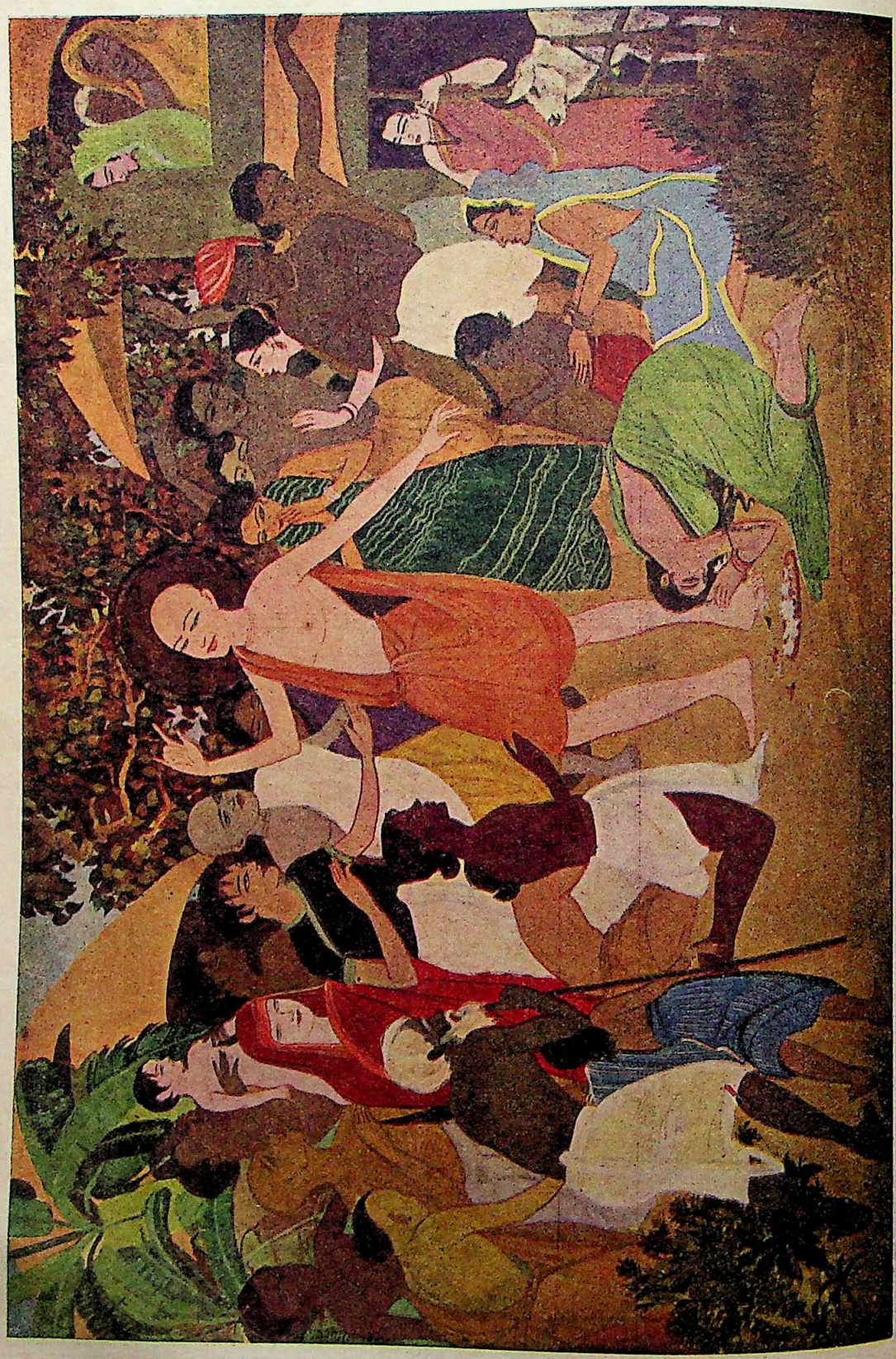

SRI CHAITANYA'S PILGRIMAGE TO PURI
By Khagen Roy
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NOTES

Indian Industrialisation and International Cartels

In a speech delivered at the eighteenth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in March last, Mr. G. L. Mehta dealt with a number of problems regarding the post-war industrial development of India. He first of all regretted the absence of a positive declaration on the part of the Government of the policy that they propose to follow in regard to industrial development after the war. The Government policy on this subject has however been published on April 22 last. Mr. Mehta pointed out that our post-war industrial policy was not merely a question of the tariff policy of the Government. A positive assurance was wanted that the Government would protect both those industries which have come into existence during the war, and these which have expanded as a result of the war and which are integral parts of national economy both from external and internal competition. Mr. Mehta pointed out that in other countries, it has been the attitude of the Government to lay the foundations of the post-war development during wartime by and through the development of war industries. In India, this has not been done. During the war, the industries were merely allowed to eke out a precarious existence and only at the concluding stage of the war, the Government have at last come forward with a mere statement of their post-war industrial policy with no machinery for giving shape to that policy. Comparing the Indian position with other countries, Mr. Mehta said :

> Today starting from a scratch, countries like Australia and Canada have been able to build up key and heavy industries. Canada is today the second country in the world in the building of cargo-ships, fourth among the world's air powers, and the third trading nation in the world. It had undoubtedly a substratum of industrial development before the war, but many of her industries have been developed during the war; her chemical industries, optical glass and synthetic rubber have been developed from scratch. So also the case of Australia in regard to steel and air-craft. But here in this country, we cannot say that during this war we have been able to build up one single key or heavy industry; in fact, because of the difficulty in getting some essential raw materials, plant and machinery, our industrial development has been handicapped in many respects.

The matter was worse here in respect of some heavy industries. While they were actively fostered in Canada and Australia with Government support as part of war effort, the promotion was discouraged in India as being contrary to war effort.

Dealing with the menace of international cartels and combines, Mr. Mehta said :

> This question of international agreements is not merely a question of agreements between Governments which will in the years to come become important. There will also be agreements and arrangements between powerful interests through international cartels and combines. It is very essential that the operations of such cartels and combines, in so far as they affect Indian industry, should be carefully studied. In fact, I venture to suggest that it is time that the Government of India instituted a thorough, comprehensive and impartial inquiry into the ramifications of such international cartels, their operations, their effects, and their rules and regulations, because it is impossible for any indigenous Indian industry to come into existence unless these cartels' activities are controlled in India. In an illuminating pamphlet on the Fertiliser Industry, Sir Padamji Ginwala has shown how both the producer and the consumer in India subsidised the Imperial Chemical Industry before the war. The Indian farmer paid anything from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per ton more than the prices obtaining in Great Britain. But this did not benefit the Indian industry but only the British Sulphet of Ammonia Federation. Many years ago, the Tariff Board in India exposed similar ramifications of the Oil Industry, and the instance of the Swedish Match Combine which seat down many small Indian match factories is still fresh in our minds. This question needs immediate attention.

Besides the international cartels, two giant corporations have recently been formed in England, one to help British industry and another British Commerce,

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SRI CHAITANYA'S PILGRIMAGE TO PURI By Khagen Roy (Vidyasagar Hall, Midnapore)

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The Minister for Reconstruction for Britain has just increased the guarantee for export trade facilities from £75 million to £200 million. These are ominous signs and the Indian trade and industry ought to be vigilant in this matter.

Indian trade and industry, during this war, has betrayed a woeful lack of co-ordination, imagination, and sympathy for the consumer. They have very badly let those people down who, for years together, have suffered for the development of Indian industries. There is not the slightest doubt that many of our industries, notably cotton textiles and drugs, would not have been where they are today but for the patriotic sentiment and suffering and sacrifice of the consuming public. The industries have betrayed them at a very critical hour of their life for the sole purpose of amassing sky-rocketting profits.

Nationalisation of Industries

The Gods of destiny must be convulsed with mirth at the sight of Delhi and Whitehall repeating King Canute's experiment. The choice before Britain now is between a complete democratic plan or a true Soviet pattern in toto. No compromise between the two is possible unless it be made plainly with the consent of the people to be experimented upon and without any ulterior motives. Nationalisation strongly laced with communalism, to the exclusion of important fields like ship-building, heavy chemicals and coal where British capital may conveniently sow and reap in safety, plainly means exploitation. This nationalisation, sought to be made with the help of careerists and quislings lured with the hope of undeserved and unearned riches forcibly taken from the helpless consumer, aims at two distinct objectives, to maintain and safeguard British trading and industrial interests, and at the same time to keep American competition at arm's length. We hold no brief for the Indian capitalist, indeed he deserves nothing from the people of this country, judging from the way he has behaved during this war, but we fail to discern any justice or honesty in a move which savours of robbing Peter to pay Paul when Paul happens to be even more unscrupulous and unprincipled.

Democracy permits private enterprise to flourish within legal bounds, with a fair field and no favours. Nationalisation must follow the principle of equity and justice with no favour and no weightage and it must not envisage any Ottawa Pact or Communal Award-like arrangement for the benefit of British capital and for the express purpose of stalling off American competition. Nationalisation, to be successful, must start with the land and end with the sky. There cannot be any half way measure in it. The issue is not whether control and guidance are exercised in a scheme of nationalisation, but who exercises them, and how, and in whose interests.

We wonder if the wiseacres of Delhi and Whitehall are aware of the fact that Indian capital has acted as one of their principal ancillaries during this war, and with the forcible eviction of that, the path of communism—we mean the real article and not the tame "Birmingham make" affair—is clear in India. We do not intend discussing the relative merits or otherwise of either democracy or communism. We only intend showing up the ridiculousness of this *ersatz* N. E. P. Of course, there are plenty of carrots hung up in the scheme to lure and to gag those who want to amass truly filthy and surreptitious lucre by this wonderful plan.

We know that complete nationalisation of all means of production, trade and transport in a free country under a truly people's government, like Soviet Russia, has been of the greatest good to the country. We have also experienced how the same nationalisation in an enslaved country and under a foreign government becomes a source of unmitigated suffering. The railways in this country are owned and managed by the State and as such, technically we may call it nationalisation. Every Indian traveller and every Indian trader has in his heart of hearts and often at a great cost to inhumanly discriminating the railway administration has been.

The second sinister feature in the government plan is the preparation of the system of granting licenses at the discretion of the Executive. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, in criticising the Government plan, has strongly condemned both these schemes of nationalisation and licensing. We have seen during these war years that when this power to grant licenses rests in the hands of representatives or henchmen of foreign vested interests, it becomes the greatest obstacle to trade and industrial development. The plan has been published too late for us to deal fully in the present issue, but reserve fuller comments on it for our next number.

Empire Above All—To Be the British Policy for India

The political storm aroused by Mr. Ernest Bevin's *Labour Will Fight* speech at Leeds continues unabated. The breach between the parties constituting the National Government is now open and obvious. As the war in Europe draws rapidly to its close, the objections to the restoration of full political life in England is fading away. Although there will be bitter differences about who won the war—this or that politician—there will not be the slightest difference of opinion between them about India. The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* significantly reports that "some Indians in London keep on saying that Labour will grant India Self-Government, but they forget that Mr. Attlee, who has always claimed the credit for writing the formula which Sir Stafford Cripps took to India, has not changed his attitude towards India. Mr. Attlee represents Labour's official attitude towards India. One thing cannot be over-emphasised—that "Empire above all" is the slogan of all Englishmen, whether extreme Right or extreme Left—except, of course, the Communists—and India is the problem they do not want to handle. Some because they really believe that India is better off inside the Empire, others because they do not want to lose votes."

"The same situation obtains to-day as it obtained in 1921 in reference to Ireland. The British Labour Party appointed an Investigation Commission and then blessed the Tory compromise of the Irish Free State."

"There is another factor which has entered the situation—that is the increasing strength of the Soviet Union. Many Englishmen opine that it would be better to hold India for fear of her falling into the hands of the Bolsheviks. And while the rights and wrongs of Poland may agitate English minds it is noteworthy there has never been the same righteous indignation expressed regarding the rights and wrongs of the Indian question."

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"India remains to-day the test of political sincerity, and if there is one thing which is severely rationed in Britain to-day it is this commodity. How true this is will be demonstrated when the present election campaign runs its course. Meanwhile, any Indians pinning their hopes on some solution of the Indian problem coming out of this election will be sadly disillusioned."

Intelligent opinion in India scarcely had any such illusion that Britain, of her own volition, will grant freedom to India. There were, however, some people in this country also who sought to pin their faith in the public pretensions of British statesmen. Their disillusionment will be completed probably when they find that India has but only a very minor place in the Labour Party's Election manifesto.

San Francisco

San Francisco Conference has begun its deliberations. Roosevelt has been prevented by fate from attending it and the other two Allied leaders, Churchill and Stalin have also not found it possible to attend. There have been preliminary differences amongst the big three, but prospects of their composition seem to be in sight. So far, the deliberations have confirmed the shrewd suspicion in many quarters who believed that the ultimate achievement of this conference will be to maintain Imperialism in toto. Judging from the generally pessimistic note about the Conference in the American Press, and some significant assertions thereof, it is now apprehended that the world is going to be divided up between the big powers, and the lion's share will go to Britain and Russia. The *Nationalist* of Calcutta is responsible for the publication of a statement from Upton Close which reads:

> Close revealed that after Roosevelt's death some agreement had been reached between Churchill and Stalin with regard to spheres of influence in Asia. He attributed this guess to "some students of Asiatic picture." If a Russian path were opened in North Asia for instance into Korea, Stalin might feel less inclined to question British Imperialism in South Asia. He gloomily pictured China as an unfortunate middle kingdom between growing Russia and recovering British Empire.

An artificial balance of power is sought to be established at San Francisco. We call it artificial because the same methods as had been followed in the League of Nations are again being followed. It is now plain to the world what the fruits of the League of Nations were, and he must be a fool indeed who can dream that the San Francisco Conference following the same lines can achieve any other result. Hitler was the fruit of Versailles, we wonder who would be the next after San Francisco. As in the Versailles and other negotiations after the last war, so in this Conference also we find fencing with truth and attempt at disguising Imperialism as democracy. The case of India is a clear index regarding the sincerity of the conferees' desire for world peace. If India has to acquiesce in the decisions at San Francisco, and to work for them, it would be because of compulsion by force of arms. There can be no other word for it for she has been denied representation as have many others of the untold millions of submerged peoples of the world.

Bernard Shaw on Shape of Things to Come

In reply to the question, "Supposing Russia and [illegible] will it affect the British and American democracies for better or for worse?"—Bernard Shaw said:

> There are no such things in the world as British and American democracies. The United States and the British Commonwealth are plutocracies; and there is no future permanence for plutocracy.
>
> Both have passed through feudal plutocracy, maintained by a vast majority of serfs to a Cobdenist or capitalist plutocracy maintained by a vast majority of wage slaves, merchants, financiers, and suburban snobs, and are now passing head-long into Fascist or Nazi plutocracy depending on the same majority, but abandoning Cobdenism and equipping private enterprise with public capital and protecting it by State regulation.
>
> Hitherto all civilisations have got thus far and then collapsed.
>
> The development of Fascism into sufficient Communism to abolish classes by making the whole population inter-marriageable has never been achieved. The U.S.S.R. is making a prodigious and not unpromising attempt at it; but in the west plutocracy is still firmly established on the votes of the poor.

The greatest tragedy of the modern world is that this Anglo-American plutocracy thrives on the votes of the very people whom it exploits.

Commercial Safeguards in the Government of India Act

The Central Assembly has passed without a division Mr. Manu Subedar's resolution formulating that early action be taken for the removal of Sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act 1935, relating to commercial safeguards. The discussion that followed assumed a lively character. The Government's attitude was lukewarm but that of the European group definitely provocative. The Assembly left the Government in no doubt as to its demand that now that India was no longer a debtor to Britain, no justification existed in retaining the clauses which were hampering an evolution of post-war plans of India's economic development. The British commercial reaction was generally expressed by Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, who said that logic compelled them to recognise that any reciprocal arrangement in the Act or outside it, must involve new restrictions and limitations. The remedy lay not in the removal of a particular block of sections but in the complete re-orientation of methods. Sir Henry referred to the great industrial progress the country had made during the last ten years and said that they provided a complete denial of the statement that the sections in question hampered the development of Indian industry.

The Deputy Leader of Opposition, Mr. Abdul Qayyum, gave a fitting reply to Sir Henry's speech. He asked the leader of the European group whether he was going to rely on the safeguards provided in the Government of India Act, behind which the only sanction was the British army of occupation in India, or on the goodwill of the people of this country. Sir Henry Richardson's words, he went on, were very sweet but the iron hand was visible under the very thin muslin glove. The so-called equality between a British company incorporated in the United Kingdom in carrying on business in India and an Indian company incorporated in British India, he went on, was really a cleverly conceived design to kill Indian enterprise

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and industry. After all *one could not have equality between unequals.* Indian industries were just beginning to rise and they could not meet on terms of equality the well-established British industries supported by political power.

Mr. Abdul Qayyum asked whether there were in the constitution of the self-governing British Dominions sections similar to sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act. The self-interest of the British community in India and their compatriots in England was so strong, he said, that in peace-time on one pretext or another India was not allowed to have large-scale industries like chemicals, automobile factories, ship-building industries, aircraft factories or even locomotives. Australia had set up a big aircraft industry during wartime but the Central Assembly was told by the Government of India before the war that the materials which were necessary for the manufacture of aircraft in this country could not be obtained on a sufficiently economic basis.

Mr. K. C. Neogy also made some good points. He said that in 1915 when the Industrial Commission was appointed the Government of India contemplated the idea of Indian industries being started by Indians with the help of Indian capital and control. In 1923-24 the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India definitely suggested coastal reservation for Indian shipping. It was a strange irony that what was contemplated seriously by the Government of India in 1923-24, was absolutely unconstitutional for us to contemplate at the present moment.

European Vested Interests and Safeguards

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, said that the issue lay between the Opposition and the European vested interests in this country, as Government were remaining neutral. This was one of the most extraordinary situations which had arisen in the House during the time he had been a member.

Throughout this time, Mr. Desai said, he had not heard one word from the European group in favour of India's freedom. The European group talked of the right of free trade and free competition in this country. For the moment undoubtedly that right had been conferred upon them by the force of British arms. Right was a creature of law and law was a creature of the legislature which would claim the power to make laws in the interests of India. Right was, therefore, extremely relative and Mr. Desai wished so much emphasis had not been placed upon it. It was by the exercise of brute force, the Leader of the Opposition continued, that eleven members of the European group, representing nobody except themselves, were in the Central Assembly. There was no use planning under the present conditions. If the restrictions were to continue, the plans had better be postponed. The Opposition demanded that the Government of India should be in a position to legislate in the best interests of India and if these restrictions came in their way, the House would be right in asking for the repeal of those restrictions.

In attempting to explain the British commercial position Sir Edward Benthall said that at the Round Table Conference he had favoured a commercial agreement imposed but negotiated at the conference. W the attempt was made to translate this desire i action, legal pundits found that the political rela ship between H.M.G. and the Government of In made it constitutionally inappropriate to execute a an agreement, however unanimous the concensus o opinion might have been at the Round Table Co ference. They were therefore reluctantly forced b from the basis of a freely negotiated treaty to restrictive clauses in the Act.

Mr. Manu Subedar's resolution is bound to h far-reaching consequences. It is reported that a nu of European members of the Central Assembly leaving for London shortly to influence Whit against the demand in India for the early abolition commercial safeguards for the British in the Gove ment of India Act. It is also known that Sir Ard Dalal, Member for Planning and Reconstruction, expressed sympathy with the resolution, and hinted the possibility of negotiations to have the questi settled through a convention or treaty, is visi London next month in this connection. Indian busin men and the public should see to it that the Ind case is not left entirely in the hands of officials should be strongly advocated by a non-official bo The British vested interests will not be prepared give up to any extent the unconscionable grip safeguards give them over Indian enterprise by ma it impossible for the indigenous industries to be p tected against even cut-throat British competition India. Those Indians who realise that any plan worth the name in this country is an impossibility the present restrictions in the constitution itself sh take all legitimate steps to see that these obnoxi restrictions are removed forthwith.

Road Transport in U. P.

To bring under full control the road trans system in the United Provinces so that cut-throat co petition may be eliminated and an adequate and cient service be provided to the public, the U Government have planned a comprehensive program for reorganising the road transport services, both passengers and goods, to be run by substantial j stock companies in conjunction with the railw With the help of the Lend-Lease Scheme the U Government will be able to have in course of time motor lorries and trucks for the use of 12 such j stock companies spread over the province. Each s company will be financed with a capital of Rs. 25 l Thus the 'one man one bus' system, which has pro to be uneconomic and inefficient, would be replaced an efficiently organised 'controlled monopoly sys with the public having a dominant voice in it. In joint stock companies the railways will have a subs tial interest, the Provincial Government a small inv and the balance will consist of shares to be held the public, that is, 46 per cent, 5 per cent and 49 cent respectively. The companies will be compelled provide rest houses, booking houses and all facilities that are usually available on a railway ney. The U.P. Government is of the opinion that will be necessary for these companies eventually to a monopoly of road transport, but the Govern will see that the interest of the public do not s and the railways will not be allowed to run

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if the interests of the public require road services to be run on unremunerative routes these companies will be compelled to maintain such services.

The interests of the railways are no doubt involved on all routes which run parallel to the railway. For this reason it has been proposed to give the railways a substantial share in the companies. According to the U.P. Government, this has been done to ensure that "the railways will take the same interest in the maintenance and development of road transport as they do in transport by rail, and to ensure such co-ordination of transport by road and by rail which will result in the greatest convenience to the public and to the greatest promotion of economic need by the fullest utilization of both forms of transport." The proposal has been to give the railways concerned a substantial interest and not a controlling interest. The Provincial Government will take up a small number of shares, sufficient to enable it to hold the balance in matter of policy as between the railways and the interests of roads.

This proposal to give the railways a substantial share in the companies may not be looked upon with favour by the people. The Railway have proved, since the very opening of it that the interests of the British commerce and industry would always be given priority over competing Indian interests. During the present war it has been seen that the Railway Administration resorts to such discriminating practices in the most autocratic and brazenfaced manner. Careful attempts have always been made to maintain the entire railway administration under the complete control of British vested interests. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, the railways have been placed under a Statutory Railway Authority over which the Central Legislature of the future will have no control whatsoever. In order to stifle the future road competition, the railways have already made proposals in the Central Legislature to secure complete control over road transport, which was however thrown out.

Competitive road services running parallel to railways have always been encouraged in the U.S.A. and U.K. Such competition puts down the monopolistic tendency in both the systems of transport. In this country also, it is this healthy practice which should be encouraged and fostered. Granting of a substantial share in road transport to the railways together with the balancing share of the Government, both of which are hitched to foreign interests, will in effect mean watering down of the needs and comforts of the Indian people.

Decrease in the Available Supply of Cloth

The cloth famine continues unabated and Bengal continues to be the worst sufferer as is inevitable. The authorities seem to have done their duty by announcing that an overall per capita average of 12 yds. of cloth is available for civilian consumption, according to them this was India's normal consumption and therefore there is no reason why there should be any cloth famine had this quantity reached the average consumer. On April 23, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, Mr. Vellodi, the Textile Commissioner, categorically stated:

"The general impression I have gathered during my [illegible] supply of cloth or of yarn in the Province as famine, is unwarranted by facts and that it is indeed a gross exaggeration.

Only two weeks ago, Mr. Krishnaraj Thackersay, Chairman of the Textile Control Board, had told a Press Conference at Bombay that if all the cloth manufactured in India in mills and on the handlooms were available for civilian consumption, "there should be sufficient cloth to enable a distribution of 15·75 yds. per capita per annum. Unfortunatey a very large slice of this production does not reach the civilian consumer, for out of the total, approximately 750 million yards of cloth per annum—at one time this reached to figure of 1,000 million yards—are supplied to the Defence Services. Over and above this, a further quantity of 23 million pounds of yarn is being taken away by Government, which is equivalent to about 100 million yards of cloth. In addition not less than 600 million yards of cloth per annum are liable to be exported out of the country at the express wish of the Allied Governments to foreign countries. It is difficult to say whether additional cloth is still smuggled out of the country."

In the Report of the Handloom Fact Finding Committee (Appendix XXII) we find that during 1931-39, the per capita consumption of cotton cloth in India ranged between 14·1 to 16·9 yds., the latter figure being for the pre-war year 1938-39. If, therefore, the entire amount of the 6,300 million yards of cloth produced in India were available for civilian consumption, if the Defence and the Inter-Allied requirements had been fully met from England and America, there would not have been any cloth shortage in India. According to Mr. Thackersay, at one time as much as 1,700 million yards were taken out of the Indian production to meet the export demands and the requirements of services in India. Even to this day it is in the neighbourhood of 1,450 million yards. According to a calculation published in the *Eastern Economist* (April 13), the net available for civil consumption is only 4,400 million yards, that is, only 11 yds. per capita per annum. A correspondent of the *Eastern Economist*, who, according to the journal, ought to know and who doubts the accuracy of the figures given out by the Textile Commissioner on different occasions, has given the following alternative estimates:

Mill production	3800	4700
Handloom production	1600	1200
Imports	900	—
Total	6300	5900
Less Exports	—150	—600
Less Defence requirements	—	—900
Net available for consumption	6150	4400

In this calculation it has been rightly claimed that handloom production has gone down from 1600 to 1200 million yards. The production figure of 1600 million yards of handloom cloth is based on the surplus yarn theoretically available for the handlooms; but it is now a hard and unassailable fact that a large quantity of this surplus yarn does not reach the handloom weaver. It is therefore useless to stick to the theoretical production of handloom cloth. Thus we find that the available cloth for civil consumption has been brought down from the normal average of 16 yards to 12 yards

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according to the Government, and to 11 yards only according to unofficial calculation.

Government Failure to Aid Production

The question that logically follows is that with the increasing demand on the mills, what have the Government done to increase production? The natural increase in production during war years from 4,000 to 4,800 million yards just balanced the imports. Government assistance was necessary to carry production beyond that point, but that did not come. Mr. Thackersay says:

> During all these years no new productive machinery could be obtained and no addition could be made to plant either for fine cloth, coarse cloth or yarn. This is the position even today.

One must remember that there were great opportunities for such expansion. Mr. Thackersay says:

> There are two ways of achieving an increase in production. One is rationalisation, and the other is by working the machinery for longer hours than at present. The available machinery in the country could produce 6,000 million yards and perhaps some more yarn; but this could be achieved only under certain conditions, chief of which are more labour and more coal to enable the industry to work three shifts. Both the requirements are not easy to obtain and will need the Government's active assistance.

This active assistance came, but in a reverse direction. In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy, on February 13, the Commerce Member of the Government of India admitted that the Textile Commissioner, in view of the coal shortage had suggested in January last to the panel members of the Cotton Textile Board, excepting U.P. and Madras, to advise mills in the areas concerned to have organised closures for short periods to enable them to build up a small stock of coal. The total loss of production due to such closures in January alone was admitted to have been in the neighbourhood of 23·7 million yards. We have however reason to believe that such closures had begun since December last and continued up to March involving a total loss of production of about 70 million yards. Further questioned, the Commerce Member admitted that no jute mill was advised to discontinue working on account of coal shortage, and no instructions were issued or suggestions made to any industry, other than Textile, for a closure or curtailment of output due to want of coal. The coal shortage has also a history behind it. Coal loaded on wagons in the collieries for despatch to other industries were diverted to jute and paper mills. In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy on February 20, the Supply Member, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar admitted that notices under the D.I. Rules had during the last few months, been served in several instances on collieries for the purpose of forcing them to deliver coal to three industries in supersession of the normal approved process of allotment. Of the three such extremely essential industries, Sir Ramaswami named only two—jute and paper—and about the third he said, "I am unable to recollect the third". In any case it was not the cotton mill. Asked about the reason for doing so, Sir Ramaswamy stated that if the jute mill industry did not get the coal, the result would be that the Government would be unable to keep its promise of guarantee of minimum price of jute which it had undertaken. Jute would become excessive, the selling pressure would be such that the prices would topple down and it was "in the interest of the jute producer and the essential economy of Bengal and the jute mills production must be kept up." Jute prices could easily have been kept up by reducing the area under jute, but that could not be done as it would have run counter to the British jute mill industry. The Government, therefore, kept the mills going so that their profits were assured, and were eager to honour their commitments to the jute-growers undertaken for the ultimate benefit of the mills, even when such a step enforced nudity on the people.

Increase in production in other directions also could have been effected, but were not done. Production of mills in South India using hydro-electric power could have been greatly increased, had the Government granted them some facilities about the depreciation allowance for machinery. The Government have not yet responded to the textile industry's request for a higher depreciation allowance in order to compensate for the increased wear and tear of the machinery as a result of the mills having to work additional shift. Similar depreciation allowance has been allowed to coal industry, in spite of the fact that coal raisings have not been substantially increased, probably for the reason that this industry is dominated by British vested interests.

The entire amount of any shortage in production which has been solely due to the fault of the Government, have been deducted from the available supply for civilian consumption.

Export of Cloth

A very important feature of the cloth famine is the forced exports. The Government of India, from the very beginning, maintained an atmosphere of secrecy about the exports. When hard pressed they tried to show that these exports had been undertaken at the request of the industry and in the interest of India for building up an export market abroad. The real truth about the exports has at last come out when Sir Md. Azizul Haque had to admit, in reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy, that exports of cloth had been undertaken at the behest of the Allies. It was settled at Washington and that the Government of India had no power either to stop or to alter the quantum of such exports. The stages through which Sir Azizul had passed before making this important admission will be of much interest. On November 15, 1944, in reply to a supplementary question asked by Mr. Neogy the Member for Industries had stated that the decision as to quota and quantum of export for the benefit of foreign countries was taken after consulting the Textile Control Board. On February 13 last, when he was asked by Mr. Neogy to produce extracts from the proceedings of the Textile Control Board testifying to their approval of the policy underlying the exports, Sir Azizul said, "My statement that the decision as to the quota for export was taken after consulting the Textile Control Board is not strictly accurate; but it is a fact however that the export trade welcomes the facilities for exporting this quantity and the Textile Board has been kept fully informed since its formation." Mr. Neogy, however, did not let this very important matter

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(a) With reference to the reply given by the Honourable Member for Industries and Civil Supplies to my starred question No. 176 on the 14th February, 1945, to the effect that the export trade welcomes the facilities for exporting the allotted quantity of textiles and the Textile Board has been kept fully informed about it, will the Honourable Member please state whether representatives of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry do not generally disapprove of the export policy in this behalf?

(b) Is it a fact that at a meeting of the Panel of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry (Standard Cloth) held on the 31st January, 1943, prominent representatives of the industry, such as Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Sir Shri Ram and Sir Ness Wadia, adversely criticised the export policy of the Government holding that the home market was more important for the industry than the export market and that most of the countries where exports of cotton textiles were being made at the instance of Government, would not remain customers of Indian concerns after the war was over? Is it a fact that representatives of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry and others present at a conference held in Bombay under the Chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari on the 1st and 2nd June, 1943, were of the opinion that export of cotton textiles could be permitted only after the internal demand of India had been fully satisfied?

Sir Azizul replied:

It is correct that in January 1943, Sir Shri Ram, Sir Ness Wadia and Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai criticised Government's export policy for the reasons given. They were however a minority in a meeting of 27. We have no detailed records of what was said at the meeting of 1st and 2nd June, 1943; it is possible, however, that some of the invitees to the meeting may have expressed the views suggested by the Hon'ble member.

It was therefore finally revealed that exports had not been undertaken at the request of the Indian textile industry and trade but it had been done for wider and deeper reasons. This reason had also come out on February 13, when Sir Azizul told Mr. Neogy that "All foreign countries do not state their requirements to the Government of India but *quotas are determined in accordance with a global planning scheme which is discussed with His Majesty's Government and subsequently considered by the Combined Production and Resources Board, Washington.* The types of goods licensed for export against quota are controlled by the Government of India in the light of supply position in the country." He also said that details of quotas fixed for each country were *confidential.* It is therefore quite clear now that a confidential decision taken in Washington by the British and American Governments can, in effect, reduce the people of India to nudity with the support and assistance of the Government of India. At the same time, it has been authoritatively stated that imports of British textile products are coming. We wonder if the Government of India had even pointed it out to the authorities that these imports of British cloth might be diverted to the Middle East for relieving the Indian exports. Obviously this has not been done. A void has been created in the supply position of cloth in this country and it is only natural that this void will be filled in by the British imports.

Indian Central Rice Committee

A Bill providing for the creation of a fund to be spent by a Committee specially constituted for the improvement and development of the cultivation and marketing of rice and rice-products and all matters incidental thereto is now pending in the Central Legislative Assembly.

Introducing the Bill, Mr. Tyson said that the funds for the Committee should be provided by the levy of a cess not exceeding a rate of six annas per ton on all paddy which is hulled in power mills in British India. Only 27 per cent of rice produced in India was brought to mills, and the cess works out at less than one pice per maund or one anna per annum to each member of a rice-eating family. It was expected to raise Rs. 24 lakhs a year in this way.

The main object of the Bill is to put rice research, development and technology on a more permanent basis than it stands at present. The deficit production of rice in India, coupled with the increase in population can no doubt be balanced by an increased production in a planned way and to achieve this end, research will be necessary. The Committee, when constituted, would utilise the fund to defray expenditure involved in (a) undertaking, assisting or encouraging agricultural, industrial, technological and economic research; (b) supplying technical advice to growers and owners of mills; (c) encouraging the adoption of improved methods of cultivation and storage; (d) promoting testing, and distributing improved varieties of seeds; (e) aiding the control and destruction of insects and other pests and diseases of paddy and rice both in the field and in storage; (f) promoting the improvement in the marketing of paddy, rice and rice products, including the adoption of standard grades for paddy and rice; (g) collecting statistics from growers, dealers and millers on all relevant matters and improving forecasting of crops; (h) maintaining institutes, farms and stations as necessary; and (i) doing of such other things as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of the Act.

The Committee is proposed to be formed on lines similar to those of the Indian Tea Cess Committee, Indian Central Cotton Committee, Indian Lac Cess Committee, etc. The Committee will include representatives up to a maximum of 51 members of which 14 will represent rice growers, 14 the rice industry and trade, 5 nominated by the Central Government and the rest forming the technical officers of the Central and Provincial departments of agriculture with the Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research as its President. The Bill has been circulated to the provincial governments, and all except Bihar have approved it. Bihar stated that rice was a valuable commercial crop and the cost of research for its improvement should be supported from the ordinary revenues. This was also the opinion of several members of the Assembly. The Bill has been circulated for eliciting public opinion. The *Science and Culture*, published under the guidance of the Indian Science News Association, supports the formation of such a committee but points out that they should have the representatives of the consumers and of universities of similar non-official organisations in it. Further, in its opinion, rice being the staple food (and not a commercial crop), Government should at least provide half of the proposed funds for the Committee. We entirely agree with the views of the Bihar Government in this matter and believe that it is the duty of the Central Government to find the entire amount necessary for maintaining the Committee. A Central Government which makes a gift

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of Rs. 8 crores for the rehabilitation of Europeans in their homeland, can and most certainly ought to find this paltry sum of Rs. 24 lakhs themselves, instead of trying to pull this amount out of the pockets of the rice industry and trade, and ultimately the consumer.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Seldom has the hour needed and produced the man of destiny, in the history of human civilization, as when in this catastrophic war Roosevelt stepped out on the world stage. And seldom has the hand of Fate removed the man with the tragic suddenness of the passing of the great President. There are other figures in this gigantic struggle on either side with claims for prominent pedestals in the archives of history, but they all possess considerabe backgrounds in the continuous process of strife, destruction and trial of International wits, which started with the Entente Cordiale and has culminated with the present world-conflagration. The U.S.A. has up till now kept out of power politics and as such Roosevelt was an unknown quantity when he intervened on the side of democracy when the Axis seemed to be irresistible and all-powerful. By this intervention, Roosevelt has written a whole chapter of World History, indelibly stamped in every page with his towering personality, in shining letters of hope, endeavour and achievement.

In the turning of the tide in favour of the United Nations no other single man can claim the amount of the credit that stands to the account of Roosevelt, No one else had shown so much sympathy and understanding with causes that were apparently lost and no one else had persuaded his nation to undertake so much from purely altruistic motives. India was totally outside the scope of his beneficent actions so far as its nationals are concerned, but a sister Asiatic nation, Free China, owes an irrepayable debt of gratitude to him and through him to the American nation. And for that alone all Asiatics should remember him as being the first great Westerner that displayed a non-acquisitive interest in the affairs of an oriental nation.

Rabindranath Memorial Fund

The re-organised Memorial Committee has made some progress during the few weeks it has functioned. We understand from the Secretary of the committee that the 3 lakhs mark was reached at the close of the month of April.

An Error Corrected

In the *Modern Review* for April, the Pangire case was incorrectly stated as police zulum in C. P. The incident occurred in the Kolhapur State in the Bombay Presidency. The reference to the Governor of C. P. was therefore needless. We regret this unusual oversight.

Lahore Civil Liberties Conference

The Lahore Civil Liberties Conference, presided over by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, provided a common platform for the Congress, the Muslim League and the other political parties to put forward a united demand for India's independence. Choosing for his theme the posthumous statement of the late President Roosevelt which pleaded for the conquest of doubts, fears, ignorance and greed all over the world, Mr. Desai declared: "If Roosevelt's statement means anything, it means that this war would have been fought in vain if the subject races, who have been made to fight in this war for freedom and in the name of freedom, are to remain in subjection after the war is over. If Java and Sumatra are to go back as territories to Holland, and Indo-China to France, Malaya to England and Burma is to remain a dependency, and India is to continue as a jewel in the British Crown, then we, as honest men, have no interest in this war. The world will not accept such a solution if the new order is going to be a replica of the past, and if the white races continue to rule more than half the world inhabited by coloured races. Millions of men would have died in vain and billions of dollars would have been spent in vain if once again the same issues (still unsolved) are to remain before the world. Supposing the world remained as it was, how could it be said that they had conquered greed—organised greed of white races? The real issue is what is to be the world of tomorrow, if the motive of ambition and greed is going to produce the same series of wars leading to the same series of destruction. Again, how could it be said that the world had conquered fear if India is not free and is always in fear of the British bayonets."

Explaining the Congress attitude towards the war, Mr. Desai said that it was gross misrepresentation to say that we had not offered to go to war with Germany. What was the use of fighting Germany if England was to be free and India to remain a subject nation? If it had been or even now was made our war for our freedom, we would gladly suffer any amount of regimentation and temporary loss of personal liberty. We would gladly and wholeheartedly fight for our own freedom and also of those who compass it. Let the world, before it makes plans for the security and peace of the world by a combined armed force, know that all those armies would only have to be used against the subject races of the world in the next global war, for they will not refuse to remain subjects despite all threats of dire consequences.

Inaugurating the Conference, Mr. Saifuddin Kichlew, the former President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, said that the Civil Liberties Conference was a common platform for every Indian whatever his political views. There was no one in India who did not want immediate freedom for his country. Mr. Kichlew made it clear that Swaraj will have to be wrested from unwilling hands and we must prepare ourselves to win it by sacrifice and suffering. Rao Ghazaufar Ali of the Muslim League said that whatever the enemies of our freedom might think and say, the time had come to sink all our differences and to form a united front for India's freedom.

The Conference discussed the application of the Defence of India Rules in the country. It was of the opinion that the Defence of India Act, Rules and Orders were not being utilised by the Executive for the purposes for which they were designed but for the suppression of legitimate rights and civil liberties of the people. The Conference condemned the restrictions imposed by the Government hampering the growth of a free press in India. A protest was also made against the misuse of the powers of censorship to suppress news and views of a political nature merely because they were inconvenient and distasteful to the Government.

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The Sapru Plan

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article on joint electorates, dealing mainly with the Sapru Plan, written by one of the foremost journalists of the land. We do not agree with all his conclusions, but we think it desirable that views from the eminent thinkers on the subject should be given the widest publicity.

It must be admitted that the Sapru Plan is undemocratic in principle because real democracy does not permit of any weightages or special favours or anything of the kind. Race or religion has no claim for special representation in political bodies, high or low, in any land where real democracy is functioning. In Britain, no special representation for the Catholics has been provided in her Parliament although the Catholics consider themselves an entirely different entity as against the Protestants. Similarly in the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. no separate or special representation has been provided in their Legislatures on religious or racial grounds.

Such measures as envisaged in the Sapru Plan can be acceptable in a democratic constitution on the clear understanding that it will be an interim arrangement and that for the specific purpose of bringing back the joint electorate system into vogue. The greatest possibility of danger in the Plan lies in that if the communal arrangements are torn from the context and shaped by our foreign constitution makers, discarding its joint electorate proviso, it will be a source of unmitigated evil to the country. The entire purpose of the conciliation plan will be completely defeated unless joint electorate be made the *sine qua non.*

Hindu-Muslim Parity at the Central Executive

Three weeks before the publication of the Conciliation Committee's proposals, Sir Mahammad Zafarullah Khan, in an article in the *London Times* under the heading "Communal Issues in India" wrote :

> In the Central Executive the Muslim claim to participate on a basis of a 50 per cent share must be conceded. That is to say, half the Ministers at the Centre must be Muslim and the head of the State should be alternately a Muslim and a non-Muslim."

This is exactly what Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has proposed although with the proviso of joint electorates. Sir Zafarullah then says :

> Regarding defence and other Central services, the Muslim claim would again be half.

This article was substantially reproduced in the *Statesman*, Delhi Edition, dated March 23, 1945. By the side of this article was printed a letter from a Muslim under caption "Ending the Deadlock : A Muslim View" which suggested the following solution :

> There is one way in which H. M. G. can intervene. They must now have been convinced that the Muslim nation is so irreconcilably opposed to a United India. If H. M. G. must intervene they can do so by framing a constitution and imposing it on the basis of Muslim autonomy and keeping it in force until another agreed constitution is presented to them jointly by Indian parties.

A liberal Hindu, Rai Bahadur Chunilal Roy, Retired Deputy Commissioner of Excise and Salt, Bihar, sent a reply to this letter, but the *Statesman* did not publish it. This letter was ultimately published in the *Bihar Herald*, dated April 3, one week before the publication of the Sapru proposals. Mr. Roy replied to Sir Md. Zafarullah's proposals in the following words :

> Fifty per cent share for Muslims in the Central Executive is exceedingly unjust, not only for the very large Hindu majority, but also for minorities other than Muslims who will possibly never get a chance of coming into the picture, although their aggregate percentage is 10, *i.e.* two-fifths of that of the Muslims. It would really mean domination by the 24 per cent minority over the majority constituting 76 per cent ; and if simple majority domination is bad, minority rules must be worse. Fifty per cent for Hindus constituting 66 per cent of the population and 50 per cent for Muslims and other minorities (or even 48 per cent for the Hindus, 35 per cent for Muslims and 17 per cent for other minorities) would be more equitable. In defence services, why should non-Muslim proportion, 66 per cent during troubled periods of war (*vide* Mr. Amery's statement in Commons on 8th July. 1943) and with more than 75 per cent VC's earned, be suddenly cut down to 50, to enable the Muslims to have his 50 per cent in easy times of peace ?

Broadcasting of the reactionary Muslim views and suppression of the corresponding Hindu opinion in the organs of British Imperialism in this country and abroad, unmistakably indicates that attempts will now be made to adopt all the worst features of the Sapru proposals, torn from its context of joint electorates, as the basis for the drafting of the future constitution of India. Zafarullah has forestalled Sapru.

The Home Member's London Visit

According to the *National Call,* there is something ominous and sinister behind Sir Francis Mudie, the Home Member's hurried visit to London. The *Call* believes that he has been summoned to be beside India Office during the Wavell talks, and that his and Mr. Conran-Smith, the Home Secretary's visit is not entirely in connection with the recruitment of Imperial services although it will form one of the subjects of their visit.

The *National Call* has already published that Lord Wavell has gone with a valuable gift from India to Britishers in the Army in that they can get into the Indian Civil Service and the Imperial Police Service through selection and nomination and without competition. The process has already begun in and at the cost of Bengal. The Government of India, it appears, has already agreed to the lowering of qualifications giving exemptions in age limits, etc., and what is more, the arrangement would be not merely a war-time expedient but a permanent feature of recruitment of the heaven-born services. The fifty-fifty ratio is being maintained. The *National Call* understands that a modest proposal that the recruitment may be on the basis of 70 Indians and 30 Britishers was turned down. The *Call* understands that Lord Wavell has already taken that gesture of goodwill from Delhi. Sir Francis Mudie and Mr. Conran-Smith should not be needed for that purpose unless the India Office is not competent to frame rules granting facilities and exemptions to British personnel in the Indian Army now in United Kingdom and willing to join the Imperial Services.

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An independent India will certainly require that the Indian administration be run by fully nationalized services, solely in the national interest. The existence of foreigners in the highest administrative posts of a country, specially where such foreigners are recruited from the ruling class, is a hindrance to the progress of the country which pays them. Egypt bitterly realised the force of this obvious truth and India is doing it now. In the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, drastic regulations against the inclusion of foreigners in the Administrative Services have been provided. In India also, a complete liquidation of the existing I.C.S. and I.P.S. is necessary. Highly efficient Civil and Police Services can be built up in this country at a much lower cost if the recruitment is confined solely to the test of merit, and to the complete exclusion of nomination and selection on any grounds whatsoever. Minority representation on the services may be confined to the giving of a full and fair opportunity for qualifying for the competitive examinations. If services of any foreign expert be necessary for any branch of the services, special contracts may be made to that effect. Knowing the growth of such sentiments in India, the authorities at White Hall have become eager to get India committed to the inclusion of Britishers in the services to such an extent that she will be compelled to retain them for fear of paying a staggering amount by way of compensation in case the services are liquidated. This argument however has not much force in it. If India can pay alms to the white men of Europe, through the U.N.R.R.A., to the extent of Rs. 8 crores, she can certainly find means to purchase the British pets in the services.

Political Motives for Mudie's Visit

The *National Call* writes :

It is wellknown in New Delhi particularly among political quarters that there is always an inner cabinet for every Viceroy. The Home Member, the Director of Central Intelligence Bureau, the Foreign Secretary and the Political Adviser form this inner circle. Sometimes suitable additions are made for special objectives. This inner circle, it is said, is not happy over the proposed changes in the Central Government. It wants the *status quo* at least for the duration of the war and has already explained to high quarters now that the coming in of popular governments would prejudice war effort !

Sir Francis Mudie belongs to this inner group. This group has its spokesman in the person of Sir Reginald Maxwell as adviser to the Secretary of State for India. Sir Reginald was Home Member here before Sir Francis Mudie came and everyone in India knows how ill-disposed he was towards the political parties in India. Sir Reginald made Mr. M. N. Roy the adopted son of the British bureaucracy here with Sir Maurice Hallet, the Governor of the United Provinces as Roy's godfather.

According to lobby talks Sir Francis is being called to strengthen the reactionary forces in Whitehall and to sabotage the Wavell Mission, supposing that Mission had the objective of a political settlement in India. The question of the recruitment of services may be a side-issue, an issue on which the Home Secretary, Mr. E. Conran-Smith would be able to have a better say.

Sir Francis Mudie according to his own speech in the Legislative Assembly last week (which a local contemporary characterised as remarkable and conciliatory) said that he did not believe that the Congress had given up the 1942 spirit. It is said [illegible] he thinks that the move to get the Congress [illegible] the Central Government and the provinces [illegible] intended mainly for the rehabilitation of the C[illegible] gress organisation and high officialdom in New D[illegible] represented by the Inner Cabinet would not [illegible] facilitate such a state of affairs. Sir Francis M[illegible] has not taken lessons from Sir Maurice Hallet [illegible] vain, is the comment heard in political quarters.

The attempt to revive reactionary Muslim Le[illegible] activities in London and Cambridge just at the mo[illegible] when Lord Wavell is banking on the Desai-Liaqat P[illegible] may not be without significance. It is not possible [illegible] guess the precise intention of Lord Wavell's visit [illegible] the cause of its prolongation, but from the re[illegible] quoted above it may be understood that the Vice[illegible] visit has caused some amount of nervousness in di[illegible] quarters both at New Delhi and in London.

Opposition to the Formation of London Muslim League

Sheik Abdul Gaffur, a Moslem barrister in Lo[illegible] don, has decided to form a new organization called [illegible] Muslim League of Great Britain, in collaboration [illegible] a number of Moslem students of the London, Ca[illegible] bridge, Manchester and Edinburgh universities.

The object of the new League will be to supp[illegible] the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. Two p[illegible] minent Muslim organizations in London, namely, [illegible] Indian Nationalist Muslim Association and the N[illegible] Indian Centre opened by Syed A. M. Qureshi, h[illegible] decided to oppose the move for establishing a [illegible] communal organization in London.

Syed Qureshi stated in an interview that [illegible] member of the new organization would not be eligible [illegible] membership of the Centre. 'A majority of members [illegible] the Centre are against the formation of any commu[illegible] or sectarian organization in this country,' he said.

Mr. Horace Alexander has pointed out in [illegible] admirable little book *India Since Cripps* that the [illegible] germ of Pakistan was planted at Cambridge by [illegible] Muslim named Mr. Rahamat Ali. This same gentle[illegible] has of late been publishing nicely got-up pamph[illegible] explaining his Pakistan scheme with maps spec[illegible] drawn for the purpose which shows that the w[illegible] of India should be painted green with occasional [illegible] Hindu spots. It is therefore only to be expected [illegible] attempts would be made to convert Cambridge, tog[illegible] with London, into centres of League activity on the [illegible] of the drafting of a new Constitution for India.

Bombay Planners Support Economics of Pakistan

The *Indian Social Reformer* writes :

Sir H. P. Mody and Mr. John Mathai [illegible] maintained in a memorandum submitted by th[illegible] the Sapru Committee that Pakistan is econom[illegible] possible. We called attention some months ba[illegible] an article in the American *Foreign Affairs* b[illegible] geologist who analysing the available data, [illegible] nounced that Pakistan would have few of the m[illegible] resources needed for important industries. B[illegible] thing is economically possible. If there is [illegible] enough food to go round, you may achieve [illegible] economic possibility by tightening your belt. [illegible] American industrialists have framed a scheme [illegible] make the Sahara desert an economic p[illegible]

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Mussolini's achievement in making Libya a flourishing Italian colony evoked the admiration of observers, including the eminent English Socialist Brailsford. In any case, the issue of Pakistan cannot be decided on economic considerations. If mineral resources are the chief factor to be taken into account, Great Britain would not be entitled to be an independent State. Pakistan, again, may be a land overflowing with milk and honey. But that would not outweigh the moral and historical considerations which make it out of the question. It is not for the industrialist or the economist to decide on questions of national boundaries. If all that the two Bombay magnates intended to say was that Pakistan need not be put out of court on the ground of its economic insufficiency, they would be right but the relevancy of the opinion at this juncture may be questioned. Anyhow, Mr. Jinnah should be duly grateful to the good Samaritans for intervening to prevent Pakistan from perishing on the wayside.

The memorandum of these two gentlemen is no doubt fraught with great mischief. They have supported what men like Sir Sultan Ahmed and Dr. Ambedkar believed to be an absurdity.

Separate Representation for Ahoms in Assam

Separate representation for Ahoms in the Local Boards has created a great controversy in the Assam Valley. The *Sylhet Chronicle* writes that charges are being levelled against the Congress Party in the Legislature for agreeing to such communal representation for Ahoms in the Local Boards. Emboldened by this success, the Ahoms are now claiming separate representation in the Legislature as well. It is reassuring to note however that the progressive Ahom Leaders have denounced this separatist tendency and the present concession of separate representation in the Local Boards has been very much resented. This is a new thing in the political life of Assam. Sj. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party in the Assam Legislative Assembly, has been compelled to issue a statement to clear this position but he does not seem to have succeeded in removing all doubts. He has emphatically said that till the Congress could not function as a lawful body, they must maintain *status quo ante* with regard to questions of a controversial nature of this sort. It is difficult to follow this argument. The last Saadullah Cabinet had no doubt made this mischief in spite of the futile protest of the Congress Party which then was in a hopeless minority. But now that the Congress in Assam has come to hold the balance of power in the Legislature and has entered into an agreement with Sir Md. Saadullah, the repeal of this mischievous measure should have been demanded. But not only that nothing of the sort has been done, Mr. Bardoloi has come forward to support *status quo ante*. Moreover, Mr. S. N. Bargohain, President of the Ahom Association and the chief exponent of this separate representation for the Ahoms, continues as a Minister in the Saadullah Cabinet functioning with Congress support.

It must be noted here that the Congress Cabinet in the Frontier Province has drafted Bills for introducing joint electorates in Local Boards. The late Khan Bahadur Allah Bux had also introduced joint electorates for Local Boards in Sind which was repealed by the Ghulam Hossain Cabinet which took over the administration after him. The addition of one more separate communal constituency for representation to the Local Boards under Congress patronage certainly detracts from the Congress ideal.

Government Price Control Measures

Mr. J. Humphrey, Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, in his presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Chamber, criticised the Central Government in regard to their price control and trade policy. He said that the systems of controls appeared to have been hastily conceived and introduced, followed by constant additions, amendments and corrections which could not help acting to the serious detriment of honest trading. His Chamber feared that in the measures and methods now adopted, the foundation of normal trade might be so completely destroyed or at least weakened as to seriously imperil its future.

Mr. Humphrey emphasised that the Chamber would view with grave apprehension any suggestion on the part of the Government—Central or Provincial—to become traders. He said : "I mention this because there seem to be indications of this happening."

Intelligent opinion in the country will perfectly agree with Mr. Humphrey in this respect. Ninety per cent of the present-day bungling and mismanagement in the distribution of food, fuel, cloth and other essential commodities have been due to the Government's entry into trade and distribution. Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Sind, who addressed the Chamber, seems to have admitted the soundness of Mr. Humphrey's views when he said that he would like to see war-time controls over trade and all attempts at Government trading abandoned at the earliest possible moment. When we remember that the Government have been relentlessly planning and preparing for post-war controls over trade and industry, we must take Sir Hugh Dow's opinion as purely personal and indicating no change in the official policy.

Sumner Welles on Asia's Freedom

Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State for U.S.A., writes in the *New York Herald Tribune* :

> This time the desire for freedom will be even more widespread since many people will be inspired by the principles of the Atlantic Charter. If the United Nations Conference fails to deal with this great problem in the same spirit in which this war for freedom has been waged. Mr. Gandhi's prophecy that unless the peoples of the East obtain their fundamental liberties another and bloodier war will be inevitable will bid fair to be realised. . . . The people of the Orient are not going to be satisfied this time with unimplemented promises.

Mr. Welles has suggested international trusteeship for the administration of colonial areas to which countries like India will not certanly agree.

Death for Devotion to Duty

Two incidents of a revolting nature have been reported during the last University Examinations. One happened at Rangpore where a Pandit who had in-

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curred the displeasure of an examinee taking unfair means at the Matriculation Examination was stabbed on the street and was removed to the local hospital in a precarious condition. We do not know definitely if he is still alive.

The second one is of much more serious nature and happened in broad day-light in the city of Calcutta. A gentleman named Makhan Lal Chanda, who had been acting as an Invigilator in the University B.A. Examination at the Darbhanga Buildings was murdered. On April 8, according to a report published in the *Azad*, the Bengali organ of the Muslim League Party, his dead body was taken in a rickshaw to the Calcutta Medical College where the two men accompanying the body, desired first aid for the man saying that he had fainted. When his body was being taken in a stretcher, they together with the riskshaw-puller, disappeared in broad day-light. Nothing has since been heard about it during the last three weeks.

We call this incident a disgrace for the police and the University authorities alike. What has so far been done to detect the criminal who is responsible for taking away the life of a man who did nothing more than his duty? If these things are allowed to happen unalloyed *goonda raj* will be established in the country. We refuse to believe that the police is powerless to detect the criminal. Did Chanda incur the displeasure of any examinee? Does the present Controller of Examinations know it? Was that examinee produced before the Controller? Has the police taken serious steps to ascertain facts that led to this murder? Nobody will ever believe that this incident had happened without any history behind it.

We draw the attention of the Governor of Bengal to this incident particularly for two reasons. He is the Chancellor of the University, and it is necessary that to maintain the fair name of the University, he should move to find out the culprit or culprits who murdered Chanda for doing his duty to the University. The other authorities of this body have done nothing during the past three weeks, and it is now necessary that the Chancellor should step in. Secondly, the maintenance of law and order in the entire province is now under his sole charge, and as the Chief Magistrate of the Province we think it is his solemn duty to set the entire machinery of the Executive Government for detecting the foul criminals and bringing them to justice.

Rabindranath as an Economist

The *Commerce and Industry* gives a graphic account of the achievements of Sriniketan. Rabindranath had pronounced economic ideas. He believed in the rehabilitation of rural life and the advancement of the economic condition of the village folk through cottage industries. He differed with Gandhiji in some fundamentals of rural economics. Tagore, unlike Gandhiji, wanted to apply and in fact did apply electric power to cottage industry. He understood the efficacy and usefulness of rural industries but he did not believe that *charka* alone could bring political salvation for the country. Tagore started a centre of rural economy and agriculture at Sriniketan. He did not live to see its complete fruition, but his economic ideas reach us today through his dream centre at Sriniketan. We give below relevant extracts to illustrate the achievements of Sriniketan:

This is an ideal rural colony in a part of Bengal free from heavy rainfall and from the industrial exploitation that goes on the area not far off. The total number of workers is 456. On the industrial side the following figures of the average monthly earnings per month per head will be found interesting.

1940-41	..	..	Rs. 9
1941-42	..	..	Rs. 13
1942-43	..	..	Rs. 15
1943-44	..	..	Rs. 28

The total sale and production from 1938-39 to 1943-44 was as follows:

Sale			*Production*
20,000	..	..	18,000
40,000	..	..	42,000
81,000	..	..	82,000
1,40,000	..	..	1,50,000
2,90,000	..	..	3,00,000

Apart from the abnormal year of the war the figures show a gradually rising level of income as a result of better organisation and better output.

In terms of individual industries the following figures of income per head will be found useful.

Lattice work Rs. 37, weaving Rs. 32, carpet Rs. 35, pottery Rs. 28, book-binding Rs. 24, paper making Rs. 8. Of high quality is bathick, (batik printing), some of it is copied from Java, where it had gone from India.

The weaving shed contains some beautiful machinery of the Japanese model and can be worked by power which, unlike in Sewagram, is permitted here.

In passing, it might be stated that only 50 workers reside in Sriniketan and work regularly, a hundred come every day from the villages around while in other cases work is taken to the villagers' homes, material being given to them for being converted into marketable products after a period of training.

The Sriniketan farm is the *tour de force* of the planners of the experiment. First-rate sugarcane crops are being grown here and all kinds of experiments of an intensive nature are being made. Special attention is being paid to seeds and cuttings which are supplied to the villages around. Besides twenty acres under sugar cultivation, 80 acres are devoted to the cultivation of paddy, vegetables and fruits.

Like Tagore's poetry the fruit garden nursery is beautifully varied. Every type of fruit that can be grown in the soil is being tried. Like Tagore's mind all kind of experiments are being made in grafting one variety to another. Attempts are being made to produce mangoes which if successful would make the farm beat every record in India, for at no other place can you get the *langdas* of Benares and the *bunganapallies* of Madras. In fulfilment of the spirit of exploration the great workers here are trying a unique cotton plant which will also yield flax. They are also trying to grow rubber.

The dairy is a study in veterinary eugenics. All experiments are successful but the cross-breeding is yielding valuable results. The Harianis have found a natural home in Bengal, while two Sahiwal bulls have settled down comfortably to produce a new race.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The last scene in the European theatre is fast approaching with the Russians battering their way across Berlin. The final thrust was delivered at the last barriers, put up by the Wehrmacht across the road to Berlin, with the colossal weight of 15,00,000 men and tens of thousands of mechanized weapons. The defences cracked and the Gargantuan spear-head surged forward until it bit deep into the nerve-centre of the Reich. Fire and fury and carnage followed and the world is now awaiting the news of the finale ; the climax has come and history is being written and re-written with fast moving pen of Mars. The warning has been broadcast that this is not the end, and that Germany of the Nazis might yet try to stage another suicide attempt at resistance along the bulwarks of the South. It is true that organized resistance has not yet come to an end and the much-hoped-for sudden cracking-up of the Wehrmacht has failed to materialise. But with the linking-up of the Americans with the Soviets' forces the continuity of resistance measures has been sundered into two and the already desperate odds against which Germany is fighting are likely to be immensely increased in the immediate future. The end is in sight according to Mr. Churchill and he may at last have made a correct prophecy.

The actual course of the battle—or rather battles for Germany is fighting three desperate battles on disjointed fronts—is blacked out under the fire and smoke of war. The occasional flickering glimpses we do get through the news seem to indicate that there is still direction and organisation behind the defenders though their resistance is crumpling up under the vast preponderance of numbers and the weight of arms. The strain is telling, and the resignation of Goering is a pointer, but as yet there is no sign of the defence folding up. The defence has assumed a form of fanatic fury that does not give up till death, and what the Nazis met at Stalingrad and the Americans are meeting at Okinawa may well be duplicated in another form in the several theatres of war into which the Reich is being rapidly split. There is not much to write at this stage beyond indicating that the Wehrmacht is making a last desperate attempt at reconstructing and rearranging its defence strategy in order to prolong the war and to make its costs even heavier to the United nations than what it stands at for the present. It was stated a little while back that Germany has got about a hundred divisions in Bavaria and the South-Eastern parts of the Reich. Further the defence that is being put up in those areas has not appreciably diminished in fury. It is to be seen whether all these moves at prolonging the war, which is but four months short of the beginning of the seventh year, can be checked in time by the Allied and the Soviets' strategists. The world has come very near absolute ruin, specially where the Western civilizations are concerned, and further prolongation might mean that the Allies would win a Pyrrhic victory. In Italy the Allies have crossed the Po at last and with the approach of summer decisive moves should follow.

In Burma things have started moving with some speed at last. Air opposition by the Japanese has been knocked out for all practical purposes and that has made the matter of supplying the fighting forces by air—and servicing them by the same means—a dependable and very considerable factor. This has substantially solved the main problems that faced the Allied forces and now we see the tempo of advance considerably accelerated. The monsoons are not very far off now in Lower Burma but now there are hopes that the 14th division may beat it in the race to Rangoon. With the freeing of the Arakan coast and the occupation of Lower Burma one of the main headaches of the Allied Command in South-East Asia would be removed. Seaborne expeditions will find some scope and the War for Burma, Malay, the Dutch East-Indies and further beyond, which seems as yet to be merged into the dim distant future might leap in sharp relief in the not-so-distant future.

In the Far East and the Pacific there has not been any sharp change. In China drive and counter-drive of the trans-continental railway is continuing in the same ding-dong fashion as before. The Chinese have achieved some successes but as yet the peril of the Japanese in the areas concerned is still very real as is evident from their latest moves. At Okinawa the Japanese resistance is as furious as ever and it seems to follow the pattern of the defence of Iwojima very closely. Further the defence here is greater force, with considerable air-support and therefore suicide defence to the last seems to be a foregone conclusion.

The most significant point in the war against Japan has been the extreme effectiveness of American air-power. As at Iwojima—and before that in the Philippines—in Okinawa the Japanese have been unable to refit or reinforce the defence forces to any perceptible extent due to the terrific far-flung weight and hitting capacity of the American air forces. Even in Burma the American tactical air force has knocked out the entire supply and refitting organisation of the Japs from the air and has been thus instrumental in isolating the individual garrisons that are opposing the Allied advance. If to this complete supremacy in the air we add the tremendous volume of air-borne supplies that are sustaining the Allied advance in Burma, we get a real and true picture of the main factor in the defeats that have been and are still being inflicted on the Japanese. In no other field has the supremacy been anywhere near as complete, though thanks to the titanic volume of American production the Allies are in a superior position in every sphere where the weight and variety of arms are concerned. With the continuous elongation of supply lines the strain on Allied supply and maintenance organisations is increasing and contrawise Japan's capacity for aerial opposition is increasing and this is the problem that is taking definite shape out of the Pacific campaign for the Allied strategists.

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JOINT ELECTORATE

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

The insistence of the Sapru Committee on the acceptance of joint electorates is, perhaps, one of the most important decisions arrived at after the bitter experience of many years.

Separate electorates based on communal considerations are a creation of British Imperialism which has found it handy to perpetuate British domination in India. Far-sighted Mahomedans, like far-sighted Hindus had been opposed to separate electorates—even to fixing a number of seats in representative bodies—fixed on communal considerations.

At the second Bombay Congress (1889) an amendment was moved by a Mahomedan delegate demanding an equal number of Mahomedan members on the Legislative Councils. The amendment was opposed by no less a person than Mr. Hamid Ali Khan who claimed that he represented the Mahomedan community as also the Hindus. He first adduced the argument that such a claim was preposterous and said :

> "I honestly believe that while no good can come out of demanding or even obtaining an equal number of Musalman members on the Legislative Councils, you will necessarily rouse suspicion regarding your relations with and intentions towards, your Hindu brethren, by attempting thus, without any just cause or reason, to violate the principle of population on which our entire scheme of representation has been based, in furtherance of what some of you suppose to be your own special class interests."

He next referred to a possibility which has, since, become a positive danger :

> "Moreover, you directly incite other communities, who are now perfectly satisfied with the scheme as propounded, to make similar preposterous claims. If you disregard the population standard—if you say, no matter if the Hindus number 15 crores and we only 5, we will have as many members in the Councils as they—why, by a parity of reason or unreason, should not the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, the Europeans, the Eurasians, each and all claim to have as many members in the Councils as you or the Hindus? Gentlemen, the thing is absurd."

He paid a compliment to the Hindus when he said:

> "The educated Hindus have never,—and all history is my witness—attempted in any way to injure the Mahomedans."

The amendment which Mr. Hamid Ali Khan opposed ran as follows :

> "That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradiaugh Esq., M.P., with the respectful request that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons."

The Scheme was thus adumbrated :

> "(1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of Members not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit *ex-Officio*, and the rest to be nominated by Government.
>
> "(2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinary territorial units for electoral purposes.
>
> "(3) All British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.
>
> "(4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.
>
> "(5) All the representatives to be thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus are in a minority the total number of Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsis, Christians, Hindus or Muhammadans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications both of which will be settled later.
>
> "(6) All elections to be by ballot."

The resolution embodying the scheme was moved by Mr. Eardley Norton. Among the speakers who supported the resolution were Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea.

This was the beginning of an important demand by the Indian National Congress ; and the Congress rejected the demand made by a Mahomedan delegate to have Mahomedan representation in excess to the numerical strength of the community.

It was a far cry from 1889 to 1906. The intervening period was remarkable for the Swadeshi agitation emanating from the determination of the Government to perpetuate a partition of the province of Bengal. The attempt to drive a wedge between the two major communities of India can be traced to the anti-Congress activities of British administrators in India. And it is worth recalling that when "the ablest work in the anti-Congress literature"—"a pamphlet which bears the name of Oday Pertap Singh, Rajah of Bhinga" was examined by Sir Charles Dilke he remarked :

> "The title is 'Democracy not suited to India' a phrase which in itself seems to have the ring of the Lieutenant-Governor's study."

Though the attempt of the officials to wean the Mahomedans as a community from the national movement in India was not as successful as they wished it to be it certainly acted as slow-poison and its results clearly manifested themselves during the agitation over the partition of Bengal, when the first Lieutenant-Governor of the short-lived province—Eastern Bengal

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and Assam—called the Mahomedans of that province his "favourite wife" and a situation created in which the Mahomedans hoped to dominate in East Bengal. Communal passions were played upon by unscrupulous emissaries of reactionary leaders with the result that communal riots broke out in various places and a leaflet was issued in which the following appeared :

"The Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that nobody could be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus."

The experiment of dividing Bengal into two provinces against the wishes of the people failed and what Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India called a "settled fact" was unsettled. But the experiment of setting one community against another was encouraging—so encouraging that Lord Minto as Viceroy and Governor-General of India tried to continue the ingenious policy of dividing the people of India into hostile sections. On 28th May, 1906, he wrote to Lord Morley :

"I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims."

Thinking soon became crystallized in acting. And on October 1st, 1906, a Mahomedan deputation headed by the Agha Khan presented an address to the Viceroy. It was a "command performance." In the address which was verbose in composition and vacillating in tone it was said :

"We would . . . suggest that local authority should, in every case, be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mohammadans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such population to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives."

In the service of the State it urged the rejection of Moslem candidates "on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence."

Lord Minto replying to the address said :

"The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board, or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community. . . . You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you."

An entry in Lady Minto's diary on the day is interesting. It is called "a very eventful epoch in Indian history." On that day she received a letter from an official in which it was written :

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened to-day, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many years. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition."

That this policy of weaning off a section of Mahomedans from the national movement was successful would be evident from the fact that by 1916 the Muslim League had made such headway that at its Lucknow session the Congress accepted what is generally called the Congress-Muslim League Scheme of Reforms. The fourth clause of the Scheme ran as follows :

"Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions—

Punjab—one-half of the elected Indian Members.
United Provinces—30 p.c.
Bengal—40 p.c.
Bihar—25 p.c.
Central Provinces—15 p.c.
Madras—15 p.c.
Bombay—one-third.

"Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

"Provided further that no Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution."

It has to be remembered that this resolution was adopted at a session of the Congress in which both sections of Indian nationalists had met after long years of separation. The President referred to the union after the Surat split in his address :

"After nearly ten years of painful separation and wanderings through the wilderness of misunderstandings and the mazes of unpleasant controversies, each widening the breach and lengthening the chain of separation, both the wings of the Indian Nationalist party have come to realise the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers, and embraced each other with the gush and ardour peculiar to a reconciliation after a long separation."

There is no gainsaying the fact that the two wings of the Indian Nationalist party had travelled from widely different points, through the valleys of disillusion and disappointment to meet by the unifying waters of a common suffering but during the period that had intervened between the session of the Congress held at Surat and the session that met at Lucknow the Indian National Congress had lost that vigour which it retained once more at its session at Calcutta the next year. And there will always be room for doubt if the resolution acquiescing in separate electorates would have been accepted without vigorous opposition in a session dominated by leaders like those who had stood for self-government at Surat.

The acceptance of the principle of separate electorates dealt a severe blow at the ideal of nationalism which the Congress workers had suffered sacrifices to foster.

The effect of this blow manifested itself in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

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As the opinion expressed by Lord Minto was "inspired"—time was not lost to advance the experiment adumbrated and in 1909 the Mahomedans were given especial representation with separate electorates. And the Lucknow Congress made the best of a bad bargain in the hope that with the advance of nationalism the Mahomedan leaders will realise the retarding effect of the system of separate electorates on the making of a nation and reject it.

The signatories to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report indulged in especial pleading when they admitted the evil that must emanate from separate electorates and yet supported its retention in the case of the largest minority community in India. They made the following observations :

> "We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

They continued :

> "Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted."

They even put stress on the serious results of the system which they admitted to be "opposed to the teaching of history" and remarked :

> "A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security; it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority. On the other hand, the latter will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow-countrymen, and that they are free to use their power for their own purpose. The give-and-take which is the essence of political life is lacking. There is no inducement to the one side to forbear, or to the other to exert itself."

They even regarded any system of communal electorates "as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing princes." But they only shuddered at the prospect of its extension and not at its "settled existence" in the case of the Mahomedans. Here they indulged in elaborate especial pleading :

> "We must face the hard facts. The Muhammadans were given special representation with separate electorates in 1909. The Hindus' acquiescence is embodied in the present agreement between the political leaders of the two communities. The Muhammadans regard these as settled facts, and any attempt to go back on them would rouse a storm of bitter protest and put a severe strain on the loyalty of a community which has behaved with conspicuous loyalty during a period of very great difficulty, and which we know to be feeling no small anxiety for its own welfare under a system of popular government. . . . Much as we regret the necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Muhammadans at all events are concerned the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship."

Thus the case of the Mahomedans was placed on a footing different not only from that of nationalists but also of the other minority communities.

The only remark of importance made—"But we can see no reason to set up communal representation for Muhammadans in any province where they form a majority of the voters"—was afterwards conveniently forgotten and subsequently "weightage" was prescribed for this community and the Hindu community divided horizontally by the recognition of the separate rights of the so-called Scheduled Castes, after the division of the nation vertically.

When the time for a fresh move arrived and the Round Table Conference arranged, the experiment of the British keeping India as a subject country by pursuing the policy of "divide and rule" had manifested its possibilities. And when Mr. Garvin wrote a three-column article in the *Observer* on "A Saving Plan for India" he urged the framing of a federal system for the United States of all-India; he examined the demand of 70,000,000 Indian Moslems and remarked that this huge formidable element—"the world's biggest minority", but virtually a co-equal force—must possess in any new system political "weightages" very largely in excess of its numbers. He remarked :

> "That this strength of Islam is not a sure support favourable to the British position as formerly is our own fault. If the federation plan is to succeed a 'Moslem Charter' will have to be granted almost to the full extent."

He voiced the opinion of the sun-dried bureaucrats and said to the British nation :

> "On all things we must be sympathetic, on many things we must be hardy and even daring in concessions, on same things we must be firm as a rock."

And a "Moslem Charter" was one of the things on which he asked the Britishers to be "firm as a rock."

The history of the so-called Communal Award is too recent to require detailed treatment. But it is an "accomplished fact." That in the interest of nationalism and the progress of our nation we want it to be unscrambled goes without saying. But if we are sincere we must be prepared to suffer sacrifices, if need be, to convince the various communities which must coalesce and combine together to form a united nation to go back to the old order of the joint electorate and any sacrifice that we may be called upon to suffer will only redound to our glory.

The time will come when experience will convince all communities in India that our political salvation lies in co-operation. Till then we must have patience and cultivate charity even for the weakness which others may manifest through misconception of the ultimate good, and win them over to the common cause of nationalism by preferring the energy of action to the heat of friction to achieve and cherish a sure and lasting peace among ourselves.

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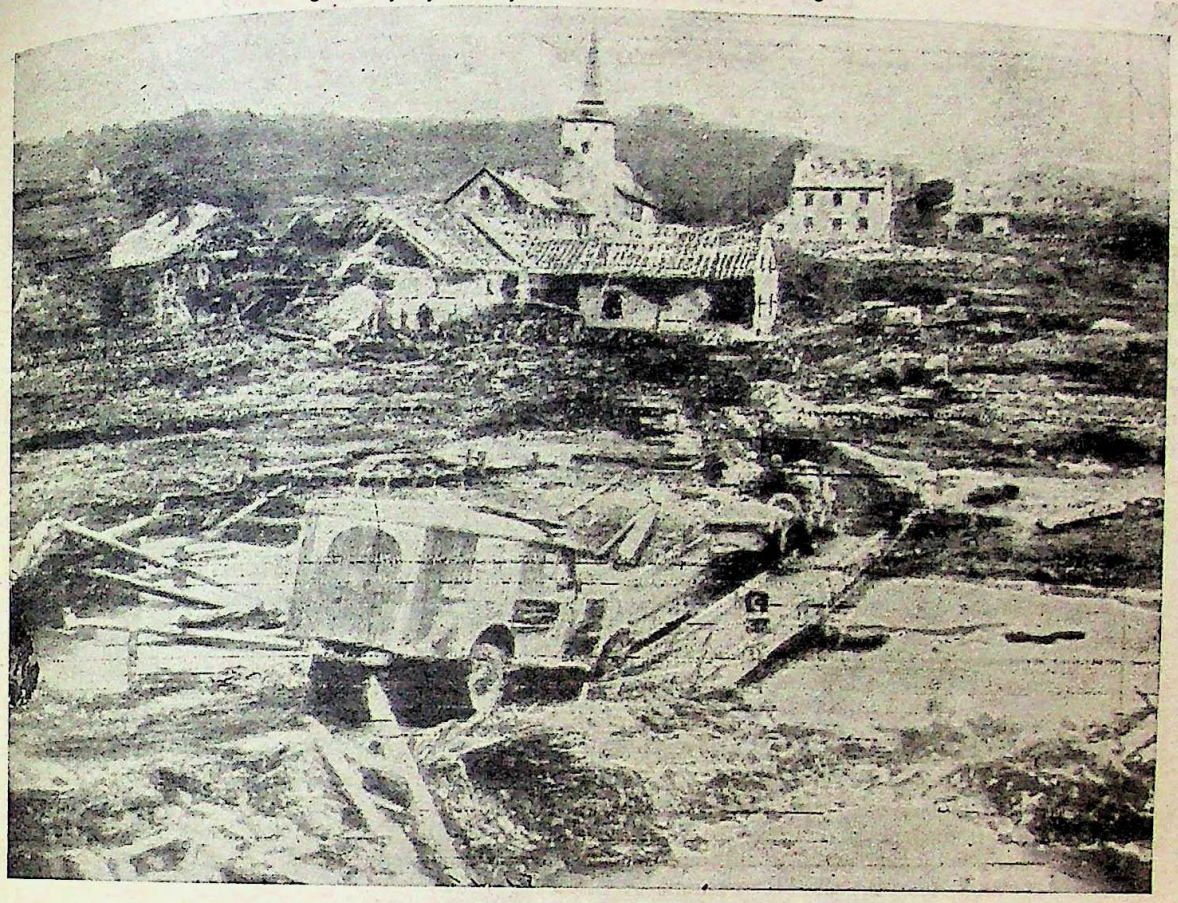

En route to the Rhine, a 3rd U.S. Army convoy crosses a tread-way bridge built by U.S. combat engineers over the Prum River

After crossing the Roer River in Germany, infantrymen of the ninth U.S. Army march through a wrecked town

Courtesy : USOWI

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The Japanese set fire to the Manila buildings to bar the progress of U. S. troops

U. S. Marines fire at Japanese positions on Iwo Jima

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RIGHT OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION

Its Theory and Practice

By Prof. C. L. GHEEWALA, M. A.

The demand for the right of 'Self-determination' on behalf of small nationalities is one of the most complicated and baffling problem of modern politics. Theoretically almost every nation pays homage to the principle but in actual practice varied and conflicting interpretations, dictated by political and economic considerations, have been put upon it. The history of post-war Europe provides numerous examples of the application of this principle leading to the fragmentation of the middle and eastern Europe into a number of sovereign states in the name of national Self-determination.

The most eloquent exponent and champion of this principle of Self-determination was President Wilson who was responsible for formulating the "War-aims" during the last World War. Emphasizing the "rights of small nations" he laid down "that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful." He further observed in his address to the Congress in February 1918 that "Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which the statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril." However, it is amply demonstrated by the post-war period that these pronouncements that the war was fought for the defence of democracy, justice and liberty, were largely meant for popular consumption and that the Allied Governments utilized the slogan of Self-determination primarily to encourage the disruption of the enemy states.

The principle of Self-determination must be examined in the context of the three important aspects arising in the process of its application. Firstly, the basis of the demarcation of a nation; secondly, the channel for the expression of the nation's will; thirdly, the limits of the national will.

(1) The first aspect raised a number of complicated questions. What is a nation? By which criterion can it be determined? Different writers have emphasized different aspects of group homogeneity ranging from language, race, religion, civilization, and territory. Space does not permit any discussion of the various theories relating to the term nation, but it may be stated that in the contemporary world the demarcation of a nation is based on either the criterion of race or language. It is almost impossible to demarcate a group on the basis of race. Biologists and scientists authoritatively tell us that "pure races" are a myth of the pseudo-scientist. The population of the modern world is so closely mixed through migrations, wars, conquests, and miscegenation that any attempt to establish the racial purity of any group is doomed to failure. The real fact is that under cover of the racial myth, the Nazis and the Fascists have exploited the volcanic forces released by such irrational appeals to the 'blood', for rationalizing their designs of aggrandisement or persecution of certain minorities. Again, hardly any relation can be established between race and language. As Schuman points out, the one is a biological phenomenon and the other is a part of the cultural legacy of the past. If the Swiss nationals can use French, German or Italian and yet be Swiss, the Belgians can speak French or Flemish and yet be Belgians, it is difficult to accept language alone as the criterion of nationality. A nation is a product of a complex of historical forces, and a number of strands combine to produce the sentiment of national consciousness.

A nation in this sense is a very evasive and elusive group claiming a territorial demarcation and political independence on the basis of unity in regard to race, language, religion and civilization. Numerous difficulties were experienced at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, when a demand was made for translating the principle of Self-determination into a political reality. It became patently clear that in a large number of cases the political boundaries could not be made to coincide with the racial, linguistic or religious boundaries. Central Europe presented the spectacle of a veritable tower of Babel with its numerous intermingling languages. Mr. N. Brailsford gives us the classic example of Macedonians who were claimed by six nations as their nationals! "The question as to which nationality the Macedonians really belonged to was the despair of ethnologists and the nightmare of European Cabinets." Though the Macedonians did not speak the Greek language, they were claimed by the Greek propagandists on the basis of a common Greek civilization. The Bulgarians argued that the majority of them were Bulgarians both in speech and sympathy. Serbians challenging the Bulgarians, asserted that they had much in common with the Macedonian dialects and folk-lore. The Albanians claimed them on the basis of race, whereas the Rumanians discovered affinity in language and civilization with a certain section of the population. And lastly the Turks, like the British in India, claimed to hold an even balance between the conflicting interests of minorities and establish an impartial government! Of course, the principle was applied to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Jugoslavia, Albania, Finland, Estonia and other states, but the new boundaries demanded for these states were dictated more by considerations of political, economic and military strategy and territorial aggrandisement than by purely national considerations. It may be even asserted that where such changes were likely to thwart the power or ambitions of the victors, these very champions of 'Self-determination' in the name of democracy and justice, stoutly opposed such changes. Thus the Germans in Tyrol, Alsace and Polish corridor were transferred under foreign rule without their consent, and likewise, the Hungarians were placed under the Rumanian, Czech and Yugoslav authorities. Self-determination thus became a principle of expediency rather than an imperative principle of action as President Wilson claimed it to be.

Again the U.S.S.R. solution of the problem of nationalities is both instructing and illuminating. The Bolsheviks flung the slogan of Self-determination at a time when Lenin both anticipated and desired what Zimmern describes as 'the break-up of that bourgeois nationalist society which he so detested.' Soviet Russia has evolved a unique constitution which seeks to hold within itself as many as 180 nationalities with 151 different languages. The federal structure of U.S.S.R. has constitutive units which themselves are federal in structure. From the point of view of the application of the principle of Self-determination, it is significant to note that the right to secession as granted by the Article 17 of the Constitution of 1936, applies only to the eleven Union Republics. Here too, the condition laid down is that they must be situated on the frontiers and that secession must be geographically feasible. The twenty-two autonomous Republics are independent only in the management of local affairs, and cannot assert 'Self-determination to the point of secession.' On this issue Stalin frankly admitted that the policy in 1917 was dictated more by "the concrete facts of the international situation and the interests of the Revolution" than by any allegiance to the democratic principle of Self-determination. "This is why," he said, "the Communists fight for the secession of colonies from the

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entente, but they must at the same time fight against the severence of border regions from Russia."

In addition to this, we must bear in mind the character of the Soviet political system which is described by Sir John Maynard, 'as one of intense centralization.' The constituent units of different grades have no right to formulate independent policies in regard to subjects like foreign policy and Defence, and economic programme. All such subjects are to be centrally determined and regulated. What the constituent nationalities actually enjoy in practice is the right to cultural autonomy. In fact any attempt at a declaration of independence or even a movement in that direction, or enacting of any legislation contrary to Bolshevik ideas or the directions of the Communist Party, as was amply demonstrated during the Purges of 1937-38, would be interpreted as 'treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities' and as such would be ruthlessly suppressed.

The Soviet achievement in this direction and the propaganda carried on most assiduously in countries like India at the present juncture by the Communist party, need to be accepted with considerable qualifications. It must be remembered that the right to secede is a right on paper only. And, further 'the exercise of the right of secession is effectively prevented by the structure of the Soviet State and the Communist doctrine that governs it.'—(Michael T. Flounsky). Again, the centralisation of power at the centre in important matters and the dictates of Bolshevik ideology through the Communist Party render 'autonomy' of the constituent bodies practically nugatory. What exists in Russia is the recognition of the cultural autonomy of the nationalities involving the freedom to use their languages in the sphere of education and administration, and the encouragement of their literature and cultural institutions.

It is undesirable, nay dangerous to bring about a fragmentation of the world into a large number of small sovereign-states. They had a chance of surviving in the days of Balance of Power and Nineteenth Century economic liberalism. But with the rise of economic nationalism in terms of economic self-sufficiency, the small nation-states have no future. Whereas, when the modern world recognises the need for larger federal unions with a view to minimise national frictions and future wars, the demand for a small independent nation-state represents a revival of an outworn anachronism. It is necessary to pay heed to the warning given by the eminent writer Frederick Hertz "that national Self-determination is intended for nations and not for fragments of nations. It would be absurd to allow every province or town of a State to claim the right of secession. This would lead to a paralysing instability in everything and to political and social disintegration."

(2) With the progress of democracy the method of Plebiscite has received increasing recognition as a means of expressing national Self-determination. The two Napoleons made a successful use of the method for securing popular approval of their capture of power or annexations. Plebiscites were resorted to by the Italian States before their amalgamation in the present kingdom. By virtue of the treaties of 1919 nine popular referenda were held, in Schleswig. Allenstein, Marienwerder, Upper Silesia, Eupen, Malmedy, Klagenfurt, Burgenland, and the Saar Valley. In Schleswig, the population preferred to remain under German rather than Danish and the East Prussians in Allenstein and Marienwerder voted for German rather than Polish control. Eupen and Malmedy former German territories chose the Belgian rule. In Upper Silesia, the League Council divided the area to the disgust of nationalists in both countries; and by the Plebiscite of 1935, Saar territory was restored to Germany. In our days, Hitler has proved himself to be a master in the art of mani-

The method of Plebiscite presents numerous dan- and difficulties in its actual operation. It is al- impossible to create the necessary conditions condu- for its normal exercise. In order that the people must- free to record their decisions, the atmosphere must- free from pressure, terror and suggestion. Even w- an adequate electoral procedure and neutral po- are provided for, as Schoman points out, plebiscite- embitters national feeling and leads to bribery, coer- and terrorism on both sides. The method fails to se- the free expression of the genuine national will. Ins- the people record through their votes their fears, p- judices and economic interests, in accordance wit- dictates of political expediency and the verdict of i- It is well-known that the Nazi method of plebis- aims at hypnotizing the masses by an extraordin- technique of suggesiton, ranging from the use of exci- speeches, intoxicating slogans, clever allurements - sinister intimidations through the press, the platf- and the radio. The big drums, martial music, the f- of flags, dazzling illumination, the roar of bombers, - have contributed to the creation of an atmosp- under which critical judgment or intelligence can h- function. In the light of this, even the most thoro- going democrat will be justified in being skeptical ab- the utility of plebiscites as a practical basis for the - pression of national self-determination. In this co- nection it may be of interest to note the opinion of - League Council expressed when it refused to approv- plebiscite in the Aaland Islands, occupied by Finl- and claimed by Sweden. The Committee observe "- to concede to minorities either of language or - religion or to any fractions of a population the ri- of withdrawing from the community to which th- belong because it is their wish or their good pleas- would be to destroy order and stability within sta- and to inaugurate anarchy in international life; it wo- be to uphold a theory incompatible with the very id- of the State as a territorial and political unity."

(3) The third question refers to the necessity - recognising the legitimate limits to the rights - national self-determination. Nationalism in the post-w- world has assumed a bellicose and bellivolent charac- and has found expression in the doctrines of aggres- economic nationalism and military megalomania. - Germany and Italy have demonstrated, such dema- for national self-determination merely serve as a fa- for advancing their annexationist ambitions. Once - right of self-determination is accepted, other dema- emerge in terms of 'historic' frontiers, 'manifest desti- and economic self-sufficiency. It becomes a basis - national irredentism, a fruitful source of conflict a- annexationist policy in the international sphere. Als- Lorraine, Upper Silesia, Danzig, Memel were all in - form or other the part of the national 'irredenta' to - liberated or redeemed. As pointed out by Freder- Hertz the militarization of the Rhinelands by Hitler - defiance of international law, was no extension of - democratic principle of self-determination but was - first step towards his policy of world-conquest a- world-enslavement.' In a world of close internati- interdependence it is imperative to recognise that - nation-state in the name of self-determination can cl- to exercise unlimited powers of Sovereignty. The hist- of Europe after 1919 is full of tragic experiences arisi- out of the application of the principle of self-det- mination. Having 'Balkanized' Central Europe, - principle assumed its most dangerous form in the ha- of the Nazis and the Fascists. The German minori- became the 'Trojan horses' bringing about the destr- tion of the very states in which they lived. If the w- is to live in peace after this second World War, we - to relegate 'Sovereignty' and 'Self-determinati- to their proper place and recognise the limitations a- out of the imperative needs of a larger world ord-

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A REVIVALIST

Our Debt to the Swami Shradananda

PART III*

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

XXIV

WE fancy one thing. We build another. Often quite another.

Has the love from which sprang the design proved capricious? No. At least not in nine cases out of ten.

Has the purpose changed? We think it has not. In reality, it has, however.

When the image of our fancy is placed upon the anvil of reality and the ten-ton hammer of actuality is striking against it at an interval of every tenth of a second, it begins taking a shape. That shape, whatever it be, fascinates us.

That fascination prevents us from discerning that the forehead has not the protuberance that we gave it in our imagination. We do not see that the eyes are oblique—not almond-shaped. The nose is snub, not aquiline; the chin ends in a point instead of being square, as we had made it in our minds.

But for the purblindness superinduced by our partiality, we may throw away in sheer disgust the figure that comes out of the factory of fact. With the pride of paternity, however, we hug it to our breast. We hiss and spit at critics who point to the flat forehead, the slitlike eyes, the upturned nose and weak chin. We deride these men, for, to us they are fools or knaves, or more likely both.

XXV

I watched this great Punjabi, known as Munshi Ram then and as Shradhanand later, as he was coming to terms with reality in the early years of this century. Watching from a distance—half the world was between him and me most of the time from 1905 onwards—I had the advantage of perspective that I otherwise might have lacked.

Since Drona the Acharya was putting the princes and peasant boys from the Kuru and Pandava kingdoms through the paces, the world had moved on. Knowledge had been accumulating during these thousands of years. Science had been evolving, particularly after the Middle Ages. Art had been finding its way into man's life and giving that life an irresistible lift from materiality towards the upper regions of the senses and even towards the spiritual stratosphere.

Peoples who, in Drona's day, had hardly discarded skins and furs for homespun had perfected mechanical processes that archery, however cleverly practised, or the handloom, no matter how skilfully plied, could meet or match. Distance had been largely abolished. What remained of it was being pushed almost to the vanishing point.

The sky had been invaded—tentatively as yet. The ether was being punched and pushed by waves of Hertz's discovery, popularly known as the radio waves.

The aggressive spirit that characterized this transition had invaded every nook and cranny of outer life. This invasion was, however, of little consequence compared with the conquest of the mind and the heavy shadow lengthening against the soul.

XXVI

The vision splendid that Munshi Ram, now the Acharya, brought from the banks of the Beas as it flows near Jullundhar to the forest clearing across Ganga Mai near Hardwar, had, of necessity, to be mated with reality as it had been twisted and turned in the lathe of eternal transition. It was really the child of this duality that he was to wet-nurse, often, I ear, oblivious of the duality.

Ah me! Even this nursling of his was not to be permitted to grow undisturbed. Its eyes were to be extracted and glass eyes put in their place. Its face was to be lined—furrowed—tattooed. One limb was to be lengthened, another shortened. Wholly new feet were to be given it—feet pulled about by wires instead of having the play that Nature gives through nerve-impelled tendons and living muscles.

Worse still was to happen. Acharya Munshi Ram's right to lay down the law as to what was and what was not to be done was to be questioned. He was to be regarded as an amateur in education—indeed, a rank outsider. The respect—even the awe—in which he had been hitherto held was to wear thin. The giants of the forest upon which the axe had not fallen and which stood sentinal over the *Gurukula*, were to be disquieted with the impatient noise of disruption whereas, not long before, they had heard only the chirrup of birds and the yauping and yelping of their four-footed fellow-denizens of the forest.

What agony was to be Munshi Ram's portion! How it was to give his life an entirely new direction!

XXVII

All this was destined to happen. It could, however, have been discerned only by a seer. To most mortals the institution had begun under the most favourable auspices.

The boys were the *Guru's* own, those of his kinsfolk, friends and admirers. It could not have been otherwise. Without faith in Munshi Ram, the risk involved in the *Gurukula* education could not be taken in the twentieth century.

Fortunately his was known to be a great heart—leonine yet tender as a woman's. Against it youngsters could snuggle. In snuggling they would forget the pangs of parting from their parents. That thought consoled mothers and not merely fathers, more easily consoled.

The bosoms of the helpers swelled with pride for the preceptor. Was he [illegible] transmuting an age-old

* For Parts I and II of this series, please see *The Modern Review* [illegible] April 1945

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vision into a twentieth century reality. Each man of them hung upon his words—longed to carry out any and every behest of his with the literalness that is supposed to have vanished from this earth since it rolled out of the Middle Ages.

XXVIII

The path that the boys were to tread was, moreover, made. It was straight, broad and smooth. There was no mistaking it. For years it would need no mending, certainly no adding to or broadening.

The path ?

The old Aryan path. Of Munshi Ram's conceiving, to be sure, but that conception quickened by mellennia-old tradition. It led directly—inevitably—to the treasures of the ancient arts and sciences—treasures valuable for the body, mind and soul—valuable for this life and for the life everlasting.

In Munshi Ram's estimation, he had planted in the first decade of the twentieth century, the feet of his boys to tread over the foot-prints left behind by boys of India's Golden Age. As they trod it they chanted *mantrams* from the *Veda*—the self-same words and in the self-same intonations of those youngsters of the far, far-away yester years. These verses, he expected, would inspire them in identical fashion.

XXIX

The more tender the age at which he put the boys to learning the Sanskrit, he felt, the better it would be for them—the better for society as a whole. Their minds would be the more receptive—their vocal organs the more pliable and, therefore, their utterance (*uchcharana*) the more perfect.

Persons who had accepted the Mahatma's dictum that education was to be broad-based upon Aryan culture had no difficulty in appreciating, with full force, the emphasis he placed upon the acquisition of the Sanskrit. That language was to be mastered by every pupil, whether he intended, in the course of years, to qualify as a Vedic missioner, or a healing physician, or proposed to obtain only an arts degree, with which to enter the *shastra*-prescribed "householder's stage" that lies next to the *vidyarthi's* (student's).

XXX

Instruction in the *Gurukula* was to be imparted through the medium of what Munshi Ram called *Arya bhasha*. This may be translated as the language in use to-day by us, the descendants of the Aryans.

It was called, in my childhood, *Nagri*—literally of, or pertaining to, the metropolis—the speech of polite (urban) society. Some spoke of it as Hindi.

The effort to popularize it in the Punjab antedated the Swami Dayanand's coming there. The pioneer was an Indian who, even to-day, would be considered remarkable but in the eighteen-sixties and -seventies had hardly any peer in northwestern India.

Babu Nobin Chandra Roy by name, he had been born in Meerut in 1838 A.D. In a circumstance so distressing that it would have disheartened any one less courageous, he, while in his early teens, learnt English. He had already acquired a good working knowledge of Persian. All this the boy did while supporting his mother, who had become deserted through her husband—his father—turning away from the world. He taught himself higher mathematics with tattered books picked up from booths vending cast-off articles; qualified as an engineer's assistant; became an accountant; rose to the top of the accounts service; and in the evening of his life was the trusted Minister of a Maharaja in Central India.

Associated with Roy in the Brahmo Samaj, of which he was, I believe, the first convert in the Punjab, where he served, was a drawing master from what we now call the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Known as Shri Dev Guru Bhagwan, he spoke and wrote beautiful Hindi.

After the coming of the Swami Dayanand, with his soul ablaze with enthusiasm for Vedic revival, the use of *Arya Bhasha*, as he styled it, made new converts. It must, however, be remembered that even in the eighteen-eighties, when I first became cognizant of men and matters, the progress made in the Punjab in this direction was slight.

XXXI

The creator of the *Gurukula* was certainly no child of the free institutions of the Golden Age. He had, on the contrary, been bred and born—grown to manhood—in the era of subordination. He had, in consequence, climbed up the educational ladder manufactured by Thomas Babbington (Lord) Macaulay or by men who, like him, suffered from race and intellectual arrogance. He had not learnt Hindi in boyhood. He had, in fact, had no choice but to study, at first Urdu and Persian and later English. He was taught no Sanskrit. To the end of his days the *Veda* in the original remained largely a sealed treasure to him. Judging him and appraising his work, we must bear such limitations in mind—limitations for which he was in no wise blameworthy.

When Munshi Ram finally saw the light, he took to the *Arya Bhasha* with zeal. This, however, exposed him to the wrath of Punjabis who were keen upon furthering the cause of the language of the province—the Punjabi.

My father, for instance. How many times I heard him protesting to this friend of his :

"My mother-tongue is good enough for me. You may regard it as the language of yokels all you please."

Some work had, of course, been done in manufacturing text-books in Hindi. It had been begun by Nobin Chandra Roy. Under his inspiration and with his help, Bhanu Dutt, a Punjabi Brahman, and others carried it on with some vigour.

I am confining my remarks to the province of the Five Rivers. Upon going to Benares in the early years of this century and settling down at Sarnath for a time, I found that Pandit Ram Narain Misra, originally from Amritsar, and his colleagues of the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, were actively and enthusiastically at work.

With the *Gurukula* in being, the endeavour was greatly accelerated and the composition of text-books was taken in hand. It was pushed forward energetically. As the boys advanced in age and studies, they found that their needs in this respect had been anticipated and their progress was not held up through lack of books.

XXXII

As the original batch of *vidyarthis* completed the elementary stage of education, a new phase in the history of the *Gurukula* opened. It was a phase of difficulty, complexity, contention and contest.

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Higher studies must now be taken in hand. Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture must needs be assigned an important place in the scheme for secondary and college education. Even for young men who were to be missionaries in the cause of Aryan revival, these subjects could not, however, be deemed to be wholly adequate. They must learn something of sister systems of logic, psychology, ethics, dogma, exegesis and other branches of culture. Without at least an elementary knowledge of comparative religion, they would be pitched and tossed on the sea of controversy in which they, upon leaving the educational haven, would soon find themselves embarked.

Then, too, there were the others whom the Acharya, with all his enthusiasm for *Vedic* revival, could not prevent from making for other channels. They would need to acquire intellectual and technical equipment for making a success of their "householder's life."

XXXIII

Impelled by these urgencies as Munshi Ram was, he made a manful effort to hold fast to the past—the past that, to other mortals, was dead and had better remain buried: but to him was alive and life-giving. The other hand, however, he extended to grab the new.

The vision splendid that he had beheld did not blind him to this need. The training to be imparted in the medical faculty serves to illustrate this duality of objective.

The students were to be instructed in the discoveries made by the ancients versed in the science of life (*Ayurveda*). They were to be taught all there was to learn about the simples and herbs, potions and applications, which the physicians and surgeons had found effective during the preceding three millenniums. They were to be instructed in the cures prescribed by Susruta, Charaka, and a host of others, and the guides for health and hygiene they, by acute observation in clinics, in hospital, sick room and life in general, and by careful experimentation, had perfected.

The knowledge gained in other lands, particularly in Europe and America, during recent centuries was, however, not to be boycotted. Since the Middle Ages medicine had progressed from witchcraft to science. The advance had been rapid, especially during the nineteenth century and the pace was becoming accelerated.

With a few exceptions, foreign doctors looked superciliously upon *Ayurveda*. Indians who had studied medicine under them had become largely alienated from the past. Aping their teachers and associates, they derided their forbears' achievements. In their view the ancients were merely quacks. What could medical science (to them only the imported system was "science") have to do with quackery?

If ever there was wrong-headedness, it was this. Munshi Ram was fortunate in having at his beck and call Indians who had the eye to perceive it as such. Some of them helped him to work out a scheme that enabled the *vidyarthis* to derive benefit from both the Eastern and Western schools.

XXXIV

The teaching of history, too, presented a problem, seemingly insusceptible of quick solution. All the books available were written in English by men who suffered [illegible] "[illegible]" or those who had grown up under their influence and, as a consequence, suffered from the "inferiority complex."

Some of these historians were actually cogs in the administration that held any and every Indian in subordination. One may be a member of the Indian "Civil" Service or may have retired a little earlier. Another may be or may have been a unit in an adjunct of that "Service"—the Education Service. A third may have been connected with a learned body in Britain that regarded India as a market for its living products. No openly commercial interest was more solicitous of keeping to itself a market than these graduate-manufacturing agencies.

When the history texts had been written, moreover, the fires of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny had hardly been extinguished. Passions still burned in the British breast.

Even the men sent out to dig our ruins and to decipher our lithic inscriptions and our numismatic legends, were not free from bias. To them Hellas was the *parens parentes* of civilization. They, therefore, read into our antiquity an imitative impulse.

XXXV

What good opening the *Gurukula* if teaching of history, pre-history and proto-history was to be based upon text-books emanating from such sources?

If, however, the text-books were discarded, what was to be substituted in their place?

Improvisation in a department of research such as this was risky. Yet improvisation was the only means that could serve the institution's purposes during its early years—improvisation plus the spirit with which the students handled the hastily prepared text-books in *Arya Bhasha* under the guidance of the professors.

Upon my shelves repose certain paper-bound volumes in Hindi that were among the products of such improvisation. They are from the pen of Rama Deva, of whom I have already written and to whom I shall refer again in the instalment that follows. Considering the rapidity with which they were compiled and rushed off to press, they are no mean achievement.

The soundness of teaching in history is attested to by the work done by some of the *Gurukula Snataks* (graduates). To this I shall refer in the article that follows this.

XXXVI

What I have said of the "history schools" applied with equal force to the departments of politics and economics. As text-booked and taught in institutions dominated by Universities, themselves not independent of a Government, itself in the Whitehall leading strings, they have been the politics and economics fit only for people in subservience.

The *Gurukula* authorities could not possibly escape that conclusion. Not having escaped that conclusion, could they have rested until they had evolved literature in their own medium of instruction that would nourish the students' minds and inspire their spirits to bring nearer the day when we, too, would walk among the peoples of the world with head held erect and high, like theirs.

XXXVII

Lastly—or was it initially?—was the problem pertaining to the place to be assigned in the scheme of

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linguistics and literature to our rulers' mother tongue. Firstly, was it to have any place there at all?

The Acharya Drona and his contemporaries could never have been bothered by that question. If they had heard of it at all, they would have quickly dismissed it from their minds, as a language insufficiently developed to be of any great use for the purposes they had in view.

Had not Macaulay, however, boasted, in 1835 :

". . . The claims of our language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us: with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature, with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisdiction, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of men. Whoever knows that language, has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which 300 years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together."

To quote Macaulay further, he declared :

". . . I have never found one among them (Orientalists) who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."

And again :

"It would hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But, when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical and moral philosophy the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same."

XXXVIII

There seems to have been method in Macaulay's madness. The reader may judge of the real *raison d'etre* from this extract made from a letter he wrote his father a little later :

". . . The effect of this (English) education on the Hindoos is prodigious. No Hindoo who has received English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profe[illegible] it as a matter of policy; but many profess the[illegible] selves as Deists, and some embrace Christianity. [illegible] is my firm belief that, if our plans of education [illegible] followed up, there will not be a single idol[illegible] among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty ye[illegible] hence. And this will be effected without efforts to proselytize; without the smallest interference wi[illegible] religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection."

Macaulay's brother-in-law, Sir Charles Trevel[illegible] put the copying stone on these statements when [illegible] wrote, in a memorandum he submitted to the Comm[illegible] tee set up by Parliament in 1853 to enquire into Ind[illegible] affairs :

". . . Familiarly acquainted with us by mea[illegible] of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease [illegible] regard us as foreigners. They speak of our gr[illegible] men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same pursu[illegible] with ourselves, they become more English th[illegible] Hindoos, just as the Roman provincials became m[illegible] Roman than Gauls or Italians . . .

"As long as the natives are left to brood o[illegible] their former independence, their sole specific [illegible] improving their condition is, the immediate a[illegible] total expulsion of the English. . . It is only by [illegible] infusion of European ideas that a new direction [illegible] be given to national views. The young men brou[illegible] up in our seminaries turn with contempt from th[illegible] barbarous despotism under which their ance[illegible] groaned to the prospect of improving their natio[illegible] institutions on the English model . . . they h[illegible] no notion of any improvement but such as i[illegible] their connection with the English and makes th[illegible] dependent on English protection and instruction."

The comparison between our culture and theirs [illegible] as odiously phrased as it was inaccurate in substa[illegible] Despite the lapse of time, it stinks. I make no co[illegible] ment concerning the political motive behind [illegible] educational effort. The language used is plain. [illegible] stands in no need of gloss.

XXXIX

Though the references to the treasures created [illegible] the Sanskritists and Arabicists emanated from [illegible] completely ignorant of those languages, and lit[illegible] teurs, Macaulay knew something of the creative e[illegible] of his own people. Since his time that effort [illegible] continued.

It would have been madness for any Indian [illegible] have turned a blind eye towards this acquisition [illegible] knowledge. I am glad that the creator of the G[illegible] *kula*, who himself spoke English fluently and w[illegible] English effectively, did not display such perversity.

He fitted it into the scheme of studies much as [illegible] carpenter would put an adze from Europe into his [illegible] chest. This was, in my view, the right course [illegible] pursue.

To ignore English would have been as fatuous as [illegible] set it up as a fetish. I am glad that either extr[illegible] was avoided.

(To be continued)

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THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

Britain's Responsibility and Duty

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III

The Declaration of August, 1940

I have dwelt above upon the question of separate representation through communal electorates and some of its evil effects. I shall now refer to the second factor which has contributed to the complication of our communal problem and the consequential intensification of communal bitterness in this country. This factor is the Declaration issued by the Governor-General of India on 8th August, 1940, with the authority of His Majesty's Government—popularly known as the Declaration of August, 1940—, and the explanatory speech which Mr. Amery made in this connexion in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940.[56] Among other things, that Declaration contained the following statement :

"It goes without saying that they (*i.e.*, His Majesty's Government) could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

On the face of it, this statement is very innocuous, and apparently breathes a flattering sympathy with minorities. But in effect it has, in the peculiar circumstances of India, materially contributed, together with what Mr. Amery said in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940, by way of its explanation and justification, to inordinate ambition, communal or sectional fanaticism, and political intransigence on the part of some of our minorities. Moreover, it has practically invested them with the power of "veto" on even all reasonable proposals for the solution of our constitutional problem. "Apart from Congress," said[57] Mr. Amery in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941, with reference to the Declaration of August, 1940, "the Government's major policy for the constitutional future may be said to have relieved the anxieties of the various elements which compose India's national structure." This was only natural, in view of the power of "veto" which the said policy in effect placed in the hands of some of these elements, on all proposals for constitutional reform to which they were opposed.[58] But it could not be forgotten in this connexion that in a subject country, particularly on the eve of its attaining freedom, conflicting, sectional interests do naturally tend to emerge, or are even sometimes, unfortunately, made to emerge by *interested* parties. We all know what is happening today in the "liberated" countries of Europe. And I really feel tempted here to ask the British Government whether it is prepared to act upon the principle embodied in the statement quoted above from the August Declaration, in relation to those "liberated" countries, and also to what extent it has so far followed the same principle in practice in France, Belgium, Yogoslavia, and specially in Greece.

Further, although I do not support all that the Congress has done in India since 1937, yet I cannot help feeling that what Mr. Amery said, in the course of his speech in the House of Commons referred to above, with regard to the position of "the great Moslem community, 90,000,000 strong," to quote his own words, *vis-a-vis* the Congress, is open to criticism and challenge. The same thing also applies to his statement in the speech, with regard to the Scheduled Castes. Considerations of space, however, do not permit me to go into details here. "Agreement, consent," said Mr. Amery in the course of the speech, "is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy." True, but what is to happen if a fanatical section of the population of a country, intoxicated by the spirit of exaggerated egotism and the lust of power politics, is determined to pursue a course of policy which is based upon unreason, which is definitely anti-national, and which is certainly destructive of the future peace, prosperity, and security of the country? How to deal with men in such a state of political intoxication, who will not even listen to the voice of reason? And what value is to be attached to their views either? And what policy, I ask again, has His Majesty's Government itself pursued in "liberated" Greece with regard to such men? I would, therefore, earnestly request His Majesty's Government to think over these points in a *dispassionate* and *unprejudiced* mood. And I would, in particular, request Mr. Amery, *author* of the famous speech on "India First,"[59] seriously to reflect upon them, also in a passionless spirit.

IV

The Draft Declaration of 1942 or the Cripps Offer

The third factor which has contributed to the present situation in India is what is popularly known as the "non-accession" or "non-adherence" provisions[60] in the Draft Declaration embodying the "conclusions" of His Majesty's Government with regard to the future Constitution of India, which was published on 30th March, 1942, together with the Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons on 11th March, 1942, foreshadowing the said Draft Declaration. These non-accession provisions have undoubtedly given a great fillip to the partitionist movement in India. Among other things, they declared that with such Province or Provinces of British India as were "not prepared to accept" the proposed new Constitution for India, His Majesty's Government would, if the Province or

56 See Amery, *India and Freedom*, Appendix I and pp. 66-76.

57 See *ibid.*, p. 85.

58 See in this connexion the Proceedings of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, held at Nagpur

59 See Amery, *India and Freedom*, pp. 34-39.

60 See clause (c) of the Draft Declaration as published on March 30th, 1942. According to Professor Coupland (*The Cripps Mission*, p. 27), the Draft Declaration was first announced by Sir Stafford

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Provinces in question so desired, "be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, *giving them the same full status as the Indian Union.*"[61] Now let us see the full implication of this declaration.

During his Press Conferences at Delhi on March 29th and 31st, 1942, certain questions were put to Sir Stafford Cripps, and he gave his answers to them, obviously as the spokesman of His Majesty's Government.[62] Among others, there were the following questions and answers[63]:—

"Will the Indian Union be entitled to disown its allegiance to the Crown?

"Yes. . . . The Dominion (*i.e.*, the Indian Union) will be completely free either to remain within or to go without the Commonwealth of Nations.

"Will the Indian Union have the right to enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world?

"Yes.

"Can the (Indian) Union join any contiguous foreign countries?

"There is nothing to prevent it. Canada can join the U. S. A. tomorrow if it wants to.

"Can it?

"Of course it can.

"Exactly at what stage does the British Government propose to leave this country?

". . . . the moment the new constitution comes into operation, the change-over takes place."

And in reply to another question Sir Stafford stated[64] that the Indian Union would "be free to take all measures *which are open to a sovereign State to take.*"[65]

Now these were to be some of the rights and privileges of the Indian Union as envisaged by the Draft Declaration. And, as we have seen before, a non-acceding Province of British India, say, on the North-East or the North-West of India, was to have, under the terms of the Draft Declaration, "the same full status as the Indian Union", and, therefore, all the rights and privileges of the proposed Indian Union. That is to say, it would be entitled to take all measures open to a sovereign State. It might, for instance, "go without the Commonwealth of Nations"; might "enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world" and even join any contiguous foreign country; and might not have, if it so chose, any relationship with the Indian Union itself, although located within the geographic unity of India. If we now put all these things together, what really we obtain, as a result, is a partition of India—and I am, for the time being, leaving out of consideration the question of the Indian States—, pure and simple, into two or more sovereign, independent States. This is exactly—if not, in some respects, more than—what Mr. Jinnah had demanded. I am, therefore, not at all surprised to find that "the reaction of Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League to this part of the scheme (*i.e.*, its non-accession provisions) was naturally favourable", and that "it apparently contented Mr. Jinnah."[66] It is, however, a thousand pities that some of our foremost leaders claiming to be nationalists, concentrated, in their shortsightedness their opposition more to the not-very-important, interim constitution provisions in the Draft Declaration than to the fundamental change insidiously proposed to be introduced into the body politic of India by its non-accession provisions—a change fraught with incalculable danger not only to the unity and integrity of our Motherland but also to its future peace, prosperity, and security. And in so far as His Majesty's Government was concerned, I really wonder how it could, with a clear conscience and a full knowledge of what was implicit in it, recommend an innovation which went against the fundamental principle in all the past declarations of British policy towards India! These declarations, it is well-known, had never envisaged anything other than a *unified*—although not necessarily a *unitary*—political system for the whole of this country. "We have spoken of unity", said the Parliamentary Joint (Select) Committee[67] on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1933-34, over which the Marquess of Linlithgow presided, "as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India." And in 1942 His Majesty's Government decided to destroy this "greatest gift" of British rule in India, thus completely undoing the work of generations of British statesmen in the past. And did not this decision amount to a great betrayal of the trust which the latter had left behind as a sacred legacy to the former? And what was behind this decision? I sincerely trust that it was neither Congress-phobia nor League-mania. Was it the presence of the enemy "at the gates of India"? "The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance," said the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on 11th March, 1942, "has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life, to guard their land from the menace of the invader". If this was the objective behind the proposed change, then His Majesty's Government, I am constrained to say, betrayed a deplorable lack of imaginative insight by trying to "save" India by dividing India—by destroying its unity and integrity and, thus, endangering its whole future. It should have had political foresight enough to see that it would never be able to enthuse nationalist India and rally its forces to face the crisis in front of India, by pursuing a policy destructive of the future peace, prosperity and security of this country.

It has been insinuated by some people that the Draft Declaration was an astute piece of Machiavellian on the part of His Majesty's Government; that it knew beforehand that the constitutional scheme embodied in it, would founder on the rock of its non-accession provisions; but that the British Government would take credit before the whole world that, although it had offered full self-government to India immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, yet nothing came of this generous offer owing to its serious internal differences. I do not know how far this insinuation is based upon facts. I can only hope that this is not true. But I cannot, having regard to the past attitude of the British Government towards the aspirations of the Indian people, account for the undue—and almost unseemly—haste it showed in 1942 in trying to meet the particular demand of the Muslim League, namely, the demand for the partition of India. This Muslim League demand for the partition of India had been made by a resolution adopted at Lahore on 26th March, 1940, and before even two years had elapsed the Brit-

61. The italics are mine.
62. See R. Coupland, *The Cripps Mission*, Oxford, pp. 25-32.
63. See *ibid.*, pp. 31-32.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
65. The italics are mine.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
67. Para. 26.

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Government resolved to concede to it, in defiance of the opposition of nationalist India and in total disregard of the principle of unity which it had consistently followed with regard to the governmental system of this country ever since 1773. It should not also be forgotten in this connection that only in August, 1933, the spokesman of the All-India Muslim Conference and the Muslim League had declared before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform that the scheme of "Pakistan" was "only a student's scheme", and that another member of the Muslim delegation had said before the same Committee: "So far as we have considered it, we have considered it chimerical and impracticable."[68] Thus what had been considered in 1933 by responsible Muslim opinion as "only a student's scheme", "chimerical and impracticable"—and the whole scheme of "Pakistan" is really nothing else than that—received in 1942 the solemn approval of His Majesty's Government. This is, indeed, strange, if not mysterious!

In a speech[69] delivered before the House of Commons on April 28th, 1942, Mr. Amery tried to defend the "solution" offered by His Majesty's Government through the Draft Declaration as one "which struck as fair a balance between contending points of view as it was possible to attain," and also as one which was "essentially sincere and fair." But what had the same Mr. Amery repeatedly said before as the responsible spokesman of His Majesty's Government in his capacity as the Secretary of State for India? In the course of a speech on "Our Indian Record" made before the English-speaking Union on November 21st, 1940, he said:[70]

"India, within the rough quadrilateral of her mountains and seas, has no natural internal frontiers. That is the fundamental historic and political feature of the Indian problem . . . Only in political unity can India find peace and stability."

Also, in the course of his speech on "India First" on 12th December, 1940, at Foyle Luncheon Club[71]:—

"Once broken up into separate independent entities India would relapse, as it did in the decline of the Mogul Empire, into a welter of contending powers, in which free institutions would inevitably be suppressed, and in which no one element would have the resources with which to defend itself against external attack whether by land or by sea."

Also, in the course of his speech on "the Indian Constitutional Problem" on 19th November, 1941, at the Manchester Luncheon Club[72]:—

"Beneath all the differences of religion, of culture, of race and political structure, there is an underlying unity. There is the fundamental geographical unity which has walled India off from the outside world, while at the same time, erecting no serious internal barriers. There is the broad unity of race which makes Indians as a whole, whatever their differences among themselves, a distinctive type among the main races of mankind. There is the political unity which she has enjoyed from time to time in her history, and which we have confirmed in far stronger fashion than any of our predecessors in a unity of administration, of law, of economic development and of communications. I would say, indeed, that *if some sort of Indian unity had not existed it would have to be invented.*[73] If India were broken up and reverted to chaos tomorrow, Indians would have to set about trying to invent for her at any rate some minimum of unity against the dangers from outside. Why then should they not take her over now as a going concern, though one remoulded nearer to their own heart's desire?"

Again,[74] in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941, with reference to the Muslim-League demand "for the complete severance from the rest of India of the north-western and north-eastern zones . . . and their establishment as completely independent states controlling their own defence, foreign affairs and finance":—

"I am not concerned here to discuss the *immense practical difficulties* in the way of the so-called Pakistan project, stated in this its extreme form. Nor need I go back to the dismal record of India's history in the eighteenth century or to the disastrous experience of the Balkan peoples before our eyes, in order to point out *the terrible dangers inherent in the break-up of the essential unity of India* in its relation to the outside world, *a unity of whose achievement we have every right to feel proud.*"[75]

And lastly,[76] in the House of Commons on 1st August, 1941, with reference to the League demand "for the complete breaking-up of India into separate Hindu and Moslem dominions":—

"I need say nothing today of *the manifold and, to my mind, insuperable objections to such a scheme,*[77] at any rate in its extreme form. I would only note this, that it merely shifts the problem of permanent minorities to somewhat smaller areas without solving it. It is a counsel of despair and, I believe, of wholly unnecessary despair."

In spite of these declarations, Mr. Amery had no hesitation in defending in 1942 the proposal of His Majesty's Government for the partition of India in certain circumstances! In his Essay on "Self-Reliance" Emerson has said:

"A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines. With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do. He may as well concern himself with his shadow on the wall."

I do not know how far Emerson is right in this view, or whether Mr. Amery belongs to this category of great souls. One thing, at any rate, is true: A politician is perhaps above this *foolish weakness* of consistency and Mr. Amery is a politician.

In this connexion, I should like to touch on another point. The persistence of the Muslim League in unreason and intransigence has naturally provoked a serious reaction in a powerful section of the Hindu community, and it has begun to insist that since India—and, particularly, the northern half of it—has been known for centuries and centuries together as Hindusthan—the Homeland of the Hindus—and inhabited by the Hindus from times long, long before the birth of Mahommedanism in Arabia, it should be governed by the Hindus alone. May I ask Mr. Amery, and through

68. See Coupland, *Indian Politics*, 1936-1942, Oxford, pp. 199-200.
69. See Amery, *India and Freedom*, p. 104.
70. *Ibid.*, 21.
71. *Ibid.*, 36.
72. *Ibid.*, 48.
73. The italics are mine.
74. See *ibid.*, p. 80.
75. The italics in this quotation are mine.
76. See *ibid.*, p. 92.
77. The italics are mine.

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him His Majesty's Government, whether they are prepared to pay any heed to this demand on the part of these Hindus—a demand as absurd and as unreasonable in the present circumstances of India as the demand of the Muslim League for the partition of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan? We know what the answer will be, and should be, to this question.

V

Conclusion

I have analysed above the factors which have *primarily* contributed to the present political deadlock in this country. I am quite prepared to admit that some of the policies pursued by the Congress "High Command" and some Congress Ministers during the period from 1937 to 1939 may have given the immediate provocation to a section of the Muslim community in India and accentuated communal bitterness in it. But these policies in themselves could not have led to the suicidal demand by the Muslim League for the partition of India but for the seed of separatism carefully and deliberately sown, as we have seen before, by Lord Minto in 1906, and then duly watered and nurtured into a big tree by some other Britishers in responsible position. And the action of these people has been endorsed and confirmed by the British Government and the British Parliament. Britain, therefore, is primarily responsible for the present situation in India. It itself has created the monster of communalism through the institution of communal electorates, and then duly fed and nurtured it with the August Declaration of 1940 and the non-accession provisions in the Draft Declaration of 1942; and the consequence is the present deadlock. How can it, honestly speaking, disown its own responsibility in the matter and shirk its duty to India at this stage? It has created the tangle and it must conscientiously do everything possible to unwind it. Otherwise it will be guilty of a serious dereliction of duty, and may legitimately be charged with political insincerity, hypocrisy, and dishonesty. Mere professions of sincerity of purpose or intention on its part are not enough: They must be so translated into action as to convince others of this sincerity. At the same meeting on 26th October, 1943, at the Caxton Hall at which Mr. Amery spoke, Sir Alfred Watson also spoke. And what did he say? "Speakers that afternoon", Sir Alfred has been reported to have observed,[78] "had fallen *into the too common error* of saying that responsibility for the future was wholly Indian. The British could not divest themselves of responsibility. The present uneasy balance of parties in India created conditions in which India in the future might become the centre of another world war. Our responsibility was the greater, inasmuch as *we had imposed upon India* a form of constitution which was utterly out of touch with democratic principles. When we consented, unwillingly (?), to communal representation we clamped upon India a form of government in which there could not be an alteration of parties in power such as there was in this country. Practically the composition of the Legislatures was settled before a vote was cast by the electorate. The system of communal representation was not confined to the Muslims and Hindus. . . . . This system had to be got rid of if progress was to be made. There (then?) we could say that the responsibility for change rested upon India and not on ourselves. . . ."[79] This is, *the whole*, an honest and straightforward attitude. In more or less similar vein spoke Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P. when he said at the same meeting: "Either India was our responsibility or it was not; the answer was that it was our responsibility; we could not escape it by saying to India, 'You must work out your own constitution'."[80] This remark may have been a little blunt and forthright; but it is at any rate refreshing compared with the sanctimoniousness we often notice in some of the speeches of Mr. Amery and some other British politicians.

In conclusion, I should like to say that if Britain means well by India, as it always professes to do, it must, in the first place, bring under control the Frankenstein monster of communalism which it has itself created and, if this monster is not amenable to logic, reason and persuasion, it must either take steps to destroy it, or, if this is not feasible, ignore it altogether. And I believe that Britain can do any of these things if it wants to. It must, for instance, make a categorical and unequivocal declaration that it will not destroy with its own hand its own child of "unity" upon which it often prides itself as its "greatest gift" to India; that, speaking geographically, economically, politically, ethnologically, and strategically, India is a single unit and does not, consistently with its true interests, permit of any division into two or more sovereign independent States; that the maintenance of the unity and integrity of India is one of its primary obligations; that it will, therefore, never be a party to any partition of India as contemplated by the Muslim separationists; and that it stands by the Cripps offer minus its non-accession provisions. It is true that, since this offer was made, Britain has in a way done so through some of her responsible representatives. The parting message[81] of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester to India in 1942, the speeches of His Excellency Lord Linlithgow and His Excellency Lord Wavell before the annual meetings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, on 17th December, 1942, and 15th December, 1944, respectively, the speech of His Excellency Lord Wavell before the Indian Legislature in February, 1944, and, lastly, the speech of Mr. Amery himself in the House of Commons on 28th July, 1944, have all laid stress on this geographical unity of India and on its economic, political, and strategic implications. Yet, what is now necessary is not any further policy of drift and temporization, but a firm and unequivocal declaration by His Majesty's Government that the future Constitution of India must duly recognize the fundamental unity of India and respect it in its provisions.

Secondly, His Majesty's Government must reaffirm its faith in, and its adherence to, the ideal of an All-India Federation as the only proper and legitimate solution of the Indian problem, and must declare that it will henceforth stand by this ideal and do everything possible in its power to hasten its realization within the shortest possible time. If words have any meaning and there should be no shilly-shallying about it on the part of His Majesty's Government—, then the message

78. See *The Asiatic Review*, January, 1944, pp. 32-33.

79. The italics in this quotation are mine.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

81. "India is a country fashioned by Nature to be one. Divided against herself she would be very weak; united she would be great and powerful beyond measure."

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of His Royal Highness and the speeches of their Excellencies Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery referred to above, unmistakably point to the imperative necessity of the establishment of an All-India Federation composed of autonomous constituent units, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial and religious minorities in India, in respect of their language, religion, culture, traditions, and other reasonable rights and privileges.

Lastly, pending the final settlement of the Indian constitutional question on the lines of the Cripps offer minus its non-accession provisions, Part II of the Government of India Act, 1935, popularly known as the Federal Part of the 1935 Act, must be immediately brought into operation after a few such minor amendments in it as may be considered absolutely necessary for its smooth working. In particular, sub-section (2) of Section 5 of the Act which has laid down an almost impossible condition for the establishment of the Federation of India, should either be altogether deleted with consequential changes in the preceding sub-section, or so amended as to make the establishment of the Federation easy. This may entail one or two other minor amendments in the Act. Besides, a few healthy conventions in regard to the constitution and powers of the Federal Executive and its relation to the Federal Legislature may be agreed upon so as to ensure the harmonious and successful working of the Federal Part of the Act. Let the nucleus of an All-India Federation be once brought into being, and it will, in the course of its working and accretion, gather sufficient momentum and then everything will be all right. It was to my mind a sheer stupidity on the part of some of our leaders to have opposed the introduction of the Federal Part of the Act of 1935 in spite of its defects and anomalies, and it was a serious error of judgment, if not an exhibition of moral cowardice, on the part of His Majesty's Government to have yielded to this foolish opposition in 1939. Perhaps it was hoist with its own petard, and paid the penalty for its folly in framing sub-section (2) of Section 5 of the Act in the way it had done. More than once in recent years Mr. Amery has characterized the India Act of 1935 as "a remarkable feat of constructive statesmanship", and I, therefore, sincerely hope and trust that he will have courage enough to bring the most important part of this Act, namely, its Federal Part, into immediate operation, notwithstanding any opposition on the part of the irreconcilables in India or elsewhere. A diseased system sometimes requires a drastic remedy as the only cure. This is as much true of the body politic as of the body natural. His Majesty's Government should not again try to make, as a plea for inaction, a fetish of "consent" or "agreement" on the part of this party or that in India. How often in the past did it wait for the consent of parties in India for bringing into operation constitutional Acts? And did it wait for obtaining the consent of parties in India when it involved it in this present War? And we all know what this involvement has meant to this country! If His Majesty's Government acts as I have suggested, there may be a little squealing here, a little frothy ebullition in another place, or, at most, a few paper shot in the form of wordy and angry resolutions in a third place. But we shall be able to stand all this *brutum fulmen*. The central body of opinion in this country will support the action of His Majesty's Government out of sheer disgust at its present situation, and there will be no difficulty whatsoever anywhere. What is now really needed on the part of His Majesty's Government is true sincerity of purpose and a genuine determination untainted by any selfish or Imperialistic considerations, to end the present deadlock in India. Perhaps His Excellency Lord Wavell who has already made a good name in this country for his well-meaning frankness and realism may play a great role in this connexion.

(Concluded)

A POPULAR FOLK-SONG OF BUNDELKHAND

By AMBIKA PRASAD VARMA 'DIVYA', M.A.

"Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

Bundelkhand, though a beautiful parlour of nature, is not wanting in sad things. Each nook and corner of this land has, rather, a certain tale of woe to tell.

By the side of the river Betwa, a few miles away from Jhansi, stands the deserted city of Orchha, the ancient capital of Bundelkhand. Although the city has now dwindled into a village, the few palatial buildings, which have not yet surrendered to the ravages of time bear testimony to its past glory and grandeur. The splendid Jahangir Palace, the majestic temple of Ram Raja, and a few other historical monuments standing here and there, yet present exhibits to a visitor worth his toil. The fresco paintings in the Rajmahal and Laxminarayan temple afford a curious subject for study and an interesting pastime as well. The natural scenery which the city has about it, will not fail to attract even a layman, little gifted with aesthetic sense.

Last, when I had the occasion of visiting the city, was delefully reminded of a folk-song which I had heard long before from the women folk of my house at the time of my marriage. It related an event which had happened at Orchha during the reign of Maharaja Jujharsingh, a contemporary of Shahjahan, the Moghul king.

Jujharsingh had a younger brother named Hardol. Jujharsingh's wife, the Maharani had, as ill luck would have it, conceived some motherly affection for Hardol and used to meet him very frequently. Some mischief-mongers of the court thought ill of their relation and informed the Maharaja accordingly. Jujharsingh became suspicious of the Maharani and subjected her to a very severe ordeal. She was asked to invite Hardol to a dinner and serve him poison in the food. The Maharani pleaded her innocence as best as she could, but the Maharaja was adamant.

She had at length to yield to the dictates of her husband and poison Hardol to death. Hardol who had come to know the will of the Maharaja bravely accepted

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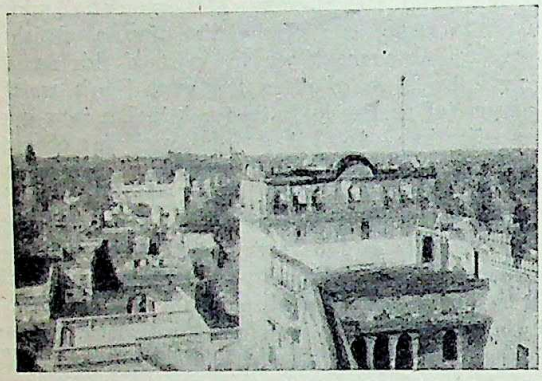
poison at the hand of the Maharani and died the death of a martyr. The song runs thus :—

Lala[1]! rest you ever before my eyes,
You were born at Airach,
You are known far and wide,
You sojourned over the world's domain
As you have blessed me with your Darshan, bless all.
You loved me as people do their mother,
Nothing foul betwixt us there was.
No social laws we violated,
As you have behaved hitherto, behave on.

* * * *



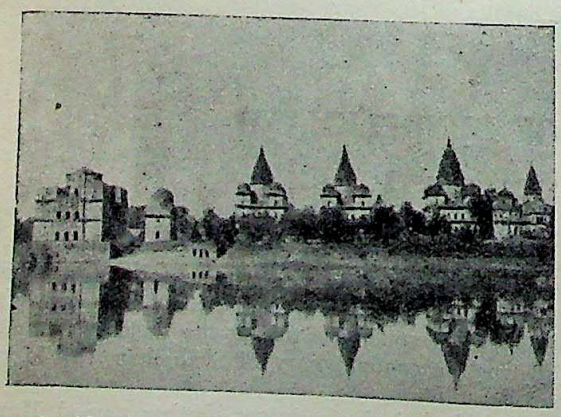
A general view of the city of Orchha wherein still haunts the spirit of Hardol

Beloved! carry home to your heart my advice,
Cook the food with such skill,
As may prove your worth aright.
Your Lala is from his birth my enemy, poison him off.

* * * *

My Lord ! lend me your ears please,
How have you harboured this evil thought,
Who is it that led you astray,
Let not your wing be broken off.

* * * *



A side-view of the river Betwa which still bemoans the death of Hardol

Oh Lala! please bless me with your Darshan,
Your Khawasin[2] has come to invite you,
Your Bhabhi[3] is bewailing aloud.

* * * *

Wherefor does she, asked Hardol,
Let me know the cause Khawasin,
Her own sons may prove disloyal, not I.
Be it: what she has been advised to do
Will descend on me as my fate.
Hence you go back Khawasin,
And console my mother thus.

* * * *

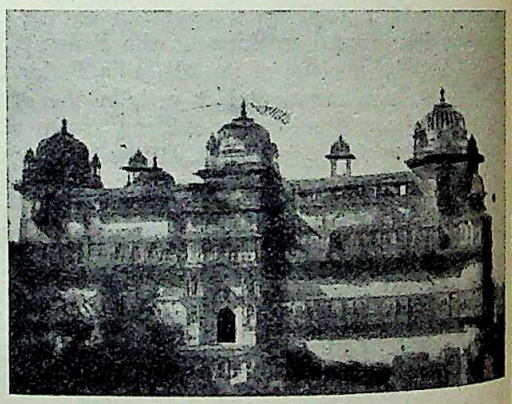
Lala! you are invited to dinner.
How may I serve you a separate dish.
Ill omens forecast evils,
Take care of your life hence,
So saying the Bhabhi fell down in a fainting fit.

* * * *

All his paraphernalia went with him,
His pigeons, his parrots and Mainas,
All breathed their last with him.
As to you, you reached heaven, take care of me too.

* * * *

Kunja wept to hear the sad news,
She struck her forehead against the ground,
Let the living ones go to their doom, she said,
Hardol though dead will stand by me.
She sent for a bullock cart,
And loaded it with all necessaries,
She undertook the marriage of her daughter,
And at Datia she invited Hardol.
When Hardol made his appearance,
A great tumult was there afoot.
Kunja ran to accord him a welcome.
The mariage post cracked by his mysterious appe



A part of the fort which witnessed the great tragedy

Kunja beheld him come.
Harold served the marriage party so well
That all talked very highly of.
The bridegroom persisted on having his Darshan
Hardol had to accede to his request at last.

The theme of the song is worthy of notice. It is simply a narrative facts beginning and ending like fable. All that can touch the subtle human feel has been wisely accumulated and put effortlessly sweet homely language. The final is a tragedy and reach it without limping with the burden of superfl

Hardol and his Bhabhi, the Maharani, are accu of unlawful morbid relations, which are not uncommon and unbelievable. Really it is very hard to sp oneself innocent of such accusations, for people such occasions generally become indiscriminate revengeful and leave no room for reason and sympa

But Hardol uses the word "Mother" for his Bhabhi No person however bad is supposed to misuse it. Hardol instantly wins over our unshakable sympa and is spared all pleadings against the charges anger rebounds upon the accusers themselves fabricating such base and hateful allegations against an innocent person.

1. Lala: Younger brother of the husband.
2. Khawasin: Female barber.
3. Bhabhi : Wife of the elder brother.

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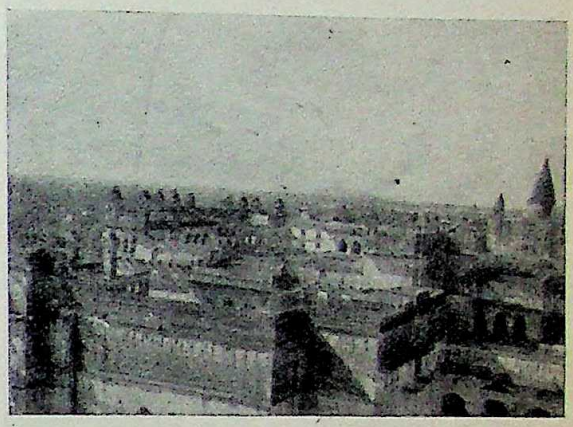
The pleadings of the Maharani are no less appealing and striking. They have a simplicity, only characteristic of guiltless souls. Thus she too wins over our hearts and we feel inclined to share all her impending sorrows.

Thus the words which she utters at the time of giving poison to Hardol, inject in our minds all the restless agitation which she was subject to. Between motherly love and womanly duty we too fail to determine which way to turn. Resignation to fate seems to be the alternative. Thus when the Maharani finds herself helpless, and the mother in her overwhelms her, she gives a desperate warning to Hardol to save himself from the poison, and falls down in a fainting fit. Here we reach the climax and cannot help our tears.

With Kunja, the sister of Hardol, another chapter of our sorrow begins. Brothers and sisters, as we all know, have by nature a certain well-marked affinity. More so in Bundelkhand where the girls think it a great curse to have no brothers at all. To see their brothers at their husbands' houses coming to fetch them is an unparalleled joy to them. On the occasion of their sons' and daughters' marriages their brothers' presence is supposed to be even an indispensible necessity. The bereavement of a brother is an untold misery on such an occasion. What a melancholy fate Kunja had. Her brother died just when her daughter's marriage was going to be celebrated. The news fell upon her as a bolt from the blue. She struck her forehead against the ground and began to weep. Hardol, it is said, had given her word, when alive, to look after her daughter's marriage personally as a token of special affection to her. How this word must have now tormented Kunja, one can hardly imagine. In the heat of agony she made a vow not to celebrate the mariage at all, if Hardol did not keep his promise. Our faith in the omnipotence and immortality of the soul is so strong that we cannot but give credence to even the greatest of absurdities. Kunja had her victory. Hardol's spirit, it is said, appeared before her and served the wedding party incognito according to his promise. But it could not pass off as a secret. The bridegroom came to know of it and persisted upon having Hardol's Darshan. In Bundelkhand it is supposed to be a holy precept with the Hindus to accede to the requests of the bridegroom and Hardol did not forget it even after his death. He blessed the bridegroom with his Darshan and made the occasion ever memorable. Since then he has come to be worshipped in Bundelkhand as a presiding deity of the wedding festival.



A view of the fort where Hardol used to see the Maharani

Notwithstanding the historical value of the song it has something most enjoyable. It has so impressed my memory that Orchha seems to me to be resonant with it. Each dome and turret of the mysterious buildings, each splash of the waters of Betwa, each breath of the moaning breeze tunes with the song in a vibrating symphony. Sadness seems to reign supreme. But it is not so painful. My very inner self, transcending above earthly limitations feels free from all worldly pangs. Be it the magic of the song or the place surrounded all around by the emblems of mortality, or of both combined, it has a very soothing affect upon my mind.

But as I left the place all the outlines of its picture grew faint in my memory. But the song still rings in my ears fresh with all its sweet and soothing sadness.

THE MAN WHO MADE COAL MINING SAFE

By DAVID THURLOW

On looking back through the records of achievements in the scientific field, one will find endless examples of inventors who, being presented with a problem, never rested content until they had found the answer to it. These were not men to whom some precious revelation, some flash of inspiration came to dispel the gloom through which they were groping in their normal course of study. They were men who applied themselves to a task and found the answer to it—an answer which, perhaps for generations, had eluded their fellows.

Such a man was Humphry Davy, the British author of a score or more of the most important scientific discoveries, who will always be remembered for his invention of the miners' safety lamp.

Coal is Britain's most valuable natural resource, but Britain's coal mines, like all coal mines throughout the world, face the almost constant risk of explosion.

On an August day in 1815, Humphry Davy, who was already famous for his inventions and discoveries, received a letter calling his attention to the distressing loss of human life due to explosions in British coal mines. The problem which confronted Davy was this: how was it possible to provide miners with a light which could be guaranteed not to explode the firedamp which is present in every mine?

Davy Sets to Work

In spite of the fact that he was burdened with a great deal of other work, and that his health, which was so soon to fail him, was even then not of the best,

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Davy set to work on this new task. If he could find the answer to it, it would mean that countless thousands of his fellow men would, in the course of succeeding generations, be saved from almost certain death.

Sir Humphry Davy, as he appears in a contemporary print

Within three months Davy was able to reply to that letter saying that he had discovered a lamp which would be safe to use in mines. He had discovered that if a piece of metal-gauze were placed between a flame

Sir Humphry Davy examines the safety lamp which he devised and which still forms part of the lamp used in modern mines

and an explosive gaseous mixture, the heat of the flame would be absorbtd and conducted away so that the gaseous mixture, or firedamp, would not explode. At the same time he found that firedamp would not explode in tubes or feeders of small diameter. At first, glass tubes were used in the experimental lamps, but Davy discovered that tubes of wire-gauze equ[illegible] resisted the passage of flame, so he surrounded the [illegible] of his lamp wilth wire-gauze. That, reduced to sim[illegible] terms, is the principle of the Davy Lamp.

In its original from this lamp consisted of a [illegible] cylindrical oil burner covered with a tube of wire-gauze about six inches long and 1½ inches in diameter. Across the top of the tube was a flat piece of gauze [illegible] double thickness as a precaution against the m[illegible] being worn into holes by the combustion. The g[illegible] was mounted in a simple frame, the upper part of [illegible] frame carrying a handle for the miner to hold, [illegible] lower part being fixed to the oil container at the bo[illegible] of the lamp. The flame of the lamp, thus encircled [illegible] its tube of metal-gauze, could not escape at a te[illegible] perature high enough to fire the explosive mixture [illegible] the mine.

Accidents Reduced Eight Times

That lamp was devised by Humphry Davy nea[illegible] 130 years ago. It has seen many developments a[illegible] refinements since then, and the number of accid[illegible] due to explosions in British coal mines has been red[illegible] from an average of as many as 80 a year to only ten [illegible] a dozen a year.

Michael Faraday assisting Sir Humphry Davy with his work on electrolysis

British miners' lamps now not only provide [illegible] men with light, but act also as gas detectors. [illegible] watching the appearance and size of the flame in th[illegible] safety lamps today, British miners can calculate [illegible] very fine degree of accuracy the amount of fired[illegible] present in the seam where they are working. W[illegible] this knowledge it is infinitely easier to take the nece[illegible] sary extra precautions in the more dangerous sec[illegible] of the mine.

Humphry Davy, strangely enough, was a poet [illegible] well as a scientist. The poet Coleridge said of D[illegible] that if he "had not been the first chemist, he w[illegible] have been the first poet of his age."

Humphry Davy was born on December 17, 17[illegible] at Penzance, at the extreme end of the Cornish [illegible] of England. He went to school in Cornwall, but he [illegible] not show any indication then of his later scienti[illegible] ability. This was not revealed until he was appren[illegible] to a surgeon-apothecary at Penzance. It was when [illegible] was 19 that he first began to specialise in the study

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chemistry and mathematics. He was astonishingly keen, and nothing would keep him away from his experiments which he conducted with any materials and odd bits of apparatus he could find.

Early Discoveries

When he was only 20, Davy was appointed superintendent of a scientific institution at Bristol which had been established to investigate the medicinal properties of gases. He made several discoveries there which brought him and the institution to the notice of prominent scientists in London. The result was that Davy was engaged in 1801 as Assistant Lecturer in Chemistry and Director of the Laboratory at the Royal Institution in London.

His fame and reputation spread quickly. He was soon appointed lecturer and professor. His chief interest at the Institution was the study of electro-chemistry. His paper on "some chemical agencies of electricity" won for him from the French Institute the medal offered by Napoleon for the best experiment made each year on "galvanism."

Davy, for all his wisdom and success, was at heart a youth, and his cousin, who was his laboratory assistant, recalls how Humphry Davy used to dance about the room for sheer joy when he had made some fresh discovery.

Faraday as Assistant

When he was 30 his health broke down, and he had for some time to take a rest from his concentrated research work. When he was only 34 he was knighted for his services to science. In the same year he was married, and then soon afterwards went with his wife on a tour of Europe, taking with him as "assistant in experiments and writing" that other famous scientist, Michael Faraday, who had been helping Davy in the laboratory at the Royal Institution.

It was a few months after his return to London in 1815 that Sir Humphry Davy, as he then was, invented the miners' safety lamp which brought him still greater fame.

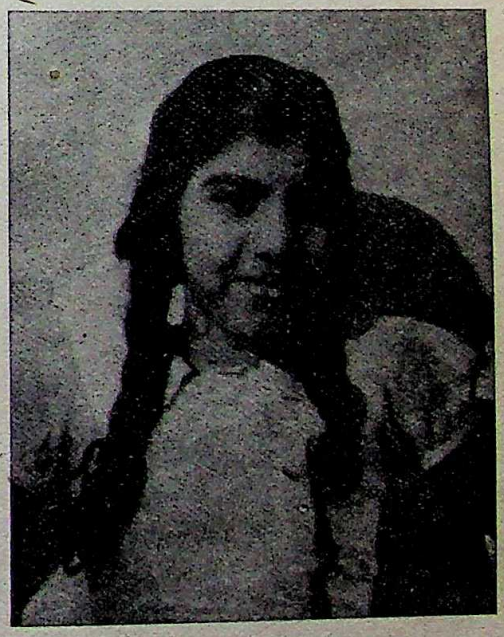
Yet another honour was conferred on him in 1818 for his signal service to industry. He was made a Baronet. Within five years his health, impaired by his ceaseless devotion to his work and his long and tiring periods of research, showed seious signs of failing. By 1826 he had to take a complete rest, and after spending the remaining three years of his life abroad in an effort to regain his flagging strength, he died at Geneva on a spring day in 1829.

CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By RAMNIK V. SHAH

Balkan-ji-Bari is a Sindhi phrase which, according to Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, has been adopted in Hindustani, and it means "children's garden". It is the name of a wellknown Association, the chief aim of which is to keep children as happy as possible and to let them develop by themselves. According to our President Shri B. G. Kher who recently spoke about Balkan-ji-Bari should become a body which could be referred to for solutions of all problems connected with children up to the age of sixteen years. The Association has been progressing slowly and steadily, and it is hoped that it will be able to achieve its aims in no time.

Mr. B. G. Kher, Chairman, Balkan-ji-Bari, The All-India Children's Association



Miss Sheila Motwani, Child-Editor of "Pushpa—The Children's Own Paper", a monthly organ of Balkan-ji-Bari

Balkan-ji-Bari was started in 1926 by a brother in Sind who prefers to be known as Dada (an elder brother). He felt that as we grow older in years we become more selfish and hence we begin to

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lose our real happiness. He thought that children who were already happy should be able to retain their happiness even as and when they grow old. Thus happiness which everyone is after, which everyone yearns for, would come to stay. With that idea in view he first started writing for children, then collected a few of them and arranged programmes for and by them, and later their provincial and all-India gatherings were held. Children who did not know even one another's language felt happy in one another's company. And Dada's expectations of children of all castes and creeds forming into one great brotherhood were going to be realised.

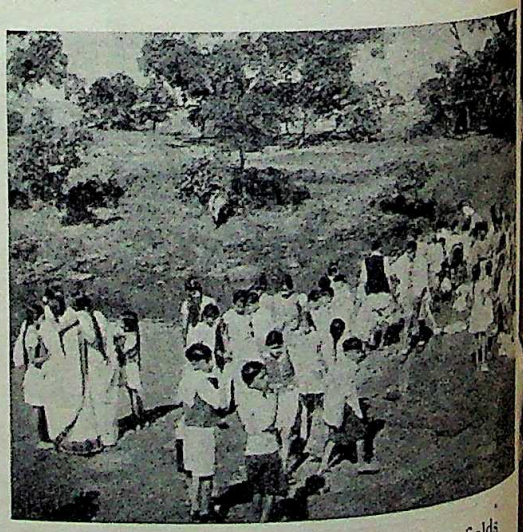
Children's Guard of Honour to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu during her visit to Balkan-ji-Bari

At present Balkan-ji-Bari has provincial organizations only in two provinces, Bombay and Sind. Its branches, however, are spread almost all over the country, including Bengal, Bihar, U. P., Delhi, South India, and the Punjab, totalling more than 120, and its membership is nearly 24,000. At Bombay there is a network of local branches at Vile Parle, Santa Cruz, Khar, Bandra, Matunga, Ghatkopar, Tardeo, Chowpatty and Marine Lines. Boys and girls meet in these centres once a week at least, and oftener at certain places, and arrange different programmes every time. Besides, the Association has a Pen-Friendship Section which brings children of different places in contact with one another. It has also its own children's schools, in number, one at Karachi and another at Sukkur.

Balkan-ji-Bari has two Children's Own Libraries Khar and Karachi, which comprise books for children different languages. They, however, are small libraries

Shrimati Parvati T. Gidwani, President, Sind Provincial Balkan-ji-Bari

and need to be expanded. It also has a Poor Children's Fund, out of which study scholarships are awarded to its poor deserving members. It contributed last year about Rs. 500 each to the Sind Flood Fund



Balkan-ji-Bari children "out in the fields with God"

Bengal Famine Relief Fund respectively, and about 4,000 to the Kasturba National Memorial Fund. Association conducts its own four monthly journals *Pushpa* in English and Gujarati, *Hamare Bal* Hindustani and *Gulistan* in Sindhi, as well as Children's Corners in *Bombay Chronicle* and *Free India* (English

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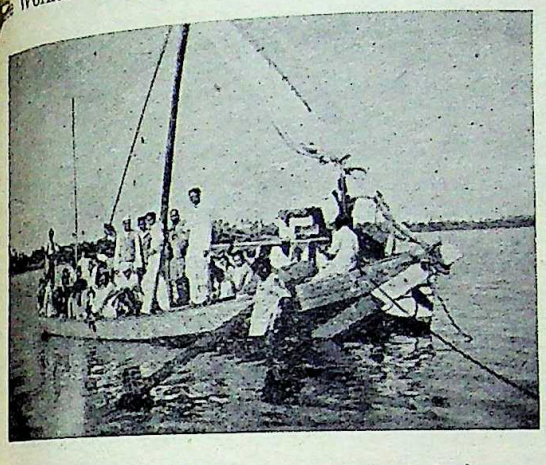
Yugantar (Gujarati), *Swadeshmitran* (Tamil) and other papers.

Balkan-ji-Bari has been holding its periodical excursions and tours, as well as Workers' Camps. During the last year the biggest children's excursion for Bombay and Suburban children was arranged at Uran in which nearly eight hundred boys and girls took part. Workers' Training Camps were held at Kandivlee, Borivli and Ghatkopar. The last time that children were taken on a distant trip was in 1941, when a party of forty Bombay children went as far as Sind and toured round Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana, Mohen-jo-Daro, Sukkur and other places. At that time an All-India Balkan-ji-Bari Workers' Conference was also held. During the present abnormal times, owing to difficulties of travel and food, it has not been possible to hold all-India gatherings of children or workers.



Balkan-ji-Bari children on a boat excursion

What concrete results the Association intends to achieve with a view to fulfilling its aims and objects is narrated here. First of all, it wants to educate children in such a manner that they may grow up to be patriotic and self-reliant Indian citizens having power of endurance and self-sacrifice. To achieve this, undoubtedly the process would be a very long and sustained one, but our organisation will continue to put forth its efforts. However, whatever it is able to do will more or less be symbolic, inasmuch as education is the concern of parents and homes first and then of schools and wholetime institutions.

Balkan-ji-Bari, at present, is able to do some work only for about ten or twelve hours spread over one whole month, as it is active only on Sundays, and that too for not more than two hours. Within such a short time the work that the organization would be able to do, could just be symbolic and a directive type of work. Wherever the organization has a centre or a branch, it will do only such work as is necessary in the interests of the children, and which will be a sort of pointer in that direction—a pointer both to the parents and schools. Over and above all this, this organization will, in short, try to supplement the home and school activities with a view to directing the children's emotions in a proper channel.

The organization has a desire to start an All-India Children's Volunteer Corps and thereby to increase the children's physical and mental efficiency. Then it wants to become for all-India children a single common platform bringing about unity—cultural as well as social—irrespective of class, creed, religion, condition, and provincial difference. Besides, it intends to establish a Children's Mutual Aid Centre in each of its branches. Balkan-ji-Bari aims at becoming an organization whose branches will be ready, willing and able to solve any difficulty or problem for parents, society or the Government in relation to children.

Teaching the Balkan-ji-Bari children to spin

Lahore (Punjab) Balkan-ji-Bari boys have their own music band

The Children's Own Library of the Balkan-ji-Bari will contain all kinds of books meant for and relating to children. Its All-India Children's Own Museum will contain whatever the boys and girls might collect for hobby or as their aesthetic sense directs, as well as things and materials which interest and educate them. It will establish study classes on Child Psychology and on legislations regarding children of the country and also of other countries, and whenever necessary the orga-

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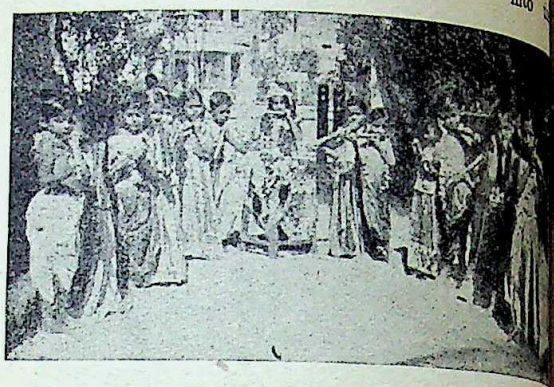
nization will agitate for their betterment. It will try to have a network of Children's Schools on idealistic lines everywhere. To sum up, it will establish an All-India Children's University.

I would like to remind the readers at this stage, after having enumerated a number of things—both as a realist and as a visionary—that the Balkan-ji-Bari will work along the lines indicated above, only with a view to so educate children, that they may become patriotic and self-reliant Indian citizens with enough power of endurance and self-sacrifice for the toughest days that are still ahead of us. To-day the organization works on these lines but on a very small scale. Nonetheless, it is the Bari's ambition to show that all these things are realised and not merely visualised.

I need not stress here the necessity of a large number of sincere workers for the cause in every town and every village of India. One can well understand that if the vision set forth herein is to be realised, work—hard and genuine work—as well as faith, courage and hope, is of the utmost importance. Children are the hope of the future and as such need to be so trained that they may be able to acquit themselves well when the heavy burden of duties falls on their shoulders. In our own case, have we done really what is expected of us? Let the Balkan-ji-Bari try to infuse into the



A group dance by Balkan-ji-Bari boys and girls

children the spirit of freedom and love for our country so that they may be able to bring about a thorough change and an improvement in the economic, moral, material and cultural condition of India. Let the Balkan-ji-Bari step forward on the path of progress.

THE MALAYAN LESSON FOR INDIAN STATES

By A. N. ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A., B.L.

The resignation of the Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor and members of the Standing Committee of Princes early in December, 1944, brings to the fore the question of joint administration of smaller Indian States which is supposed to be one of the major issues over which this dramatic step was taken.

It will be realised that the separate resources of smaller States are infinitely slender and an all-round administrative machinery is not always within their individual means. Even so, functioning on modern standards is considered to be the criterion of their political existence and they have therefore been the source of perplexing constitutional and administrative problems. The essential features of present-day administration include High Courts, efficient police force, popular education and transport facilities, and the question as to how the smaller states could afford an administration with such equipment had engaged the attention of the authorities concerned.

As a matter of fact, the semi-jurisdictional or non-jurisdictional estates or taluks of Western India and Gujarat have been merged by Parliamentary legislation in a large State. But the solution generally outlined with regard to comparatively larger units, is their co-operative grouping and the pooling of their resources. "In no case is the need for co-operation and combination", observed Lord Linlithgow, "more potent, more pronounced and more immediate than in the case of smaller states. Those states whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards have indeed no other practical alternative before them. I would take this opportunity to impress on Rulers of such states with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so far as this is practicable." In a similar vein wrote Sir Stafford Cripps that "the first step for smaller states should be to get into groups or into federal relations among themselves and for this purpose the spirit of the scheme for co-operative grouping should be extended to wider units."

Though new in India, the process of co-operative grouping had before now been introduced in one other part of the British Empire, and as borne out by facts its ultimate usefulness is dependent not so much on theory as on its actual working. It will be appreciated that a system of joint administration necessitates a central administrative authority, and the extent of powers exercised by this authority is chiefly the determining factor for the success or otherwise of co-operative grouping consistently with the distinct sovereign entity of the individual state. The demarcation between federation and centralization is rather fine, and what is *prima facie* a federation may under certain circumstances, turn out to be really nothing different from de-facto unification or a merger.

The suggestions made by Lord Linlithgow and Sir Stafford Cripps had received the consideration of the regional political authorities, and it seems that the idea in this respect is to divide the administration of a group of states into various branches, each branch being assigned to the care of a joint officer designated as adviser. The Rulers are expected to accept the advice of the joint officer who in all matters relating to the group is also to have more or less direct access to the crown political authority concerned. The position of the advisers vis-a-vis an individual state is therefore likely to be somewhat anomalous, since, though virtually exercising jurisdiction within the states, the adviser is not ordinarily subject to the sovereign authority of any of the states which each state is supposed to retain. In the circumstances, there is no danger

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the fact that joint administration involves some adjustment in the status of both the Rulers and the people and it does not seem that the scheme in its broad sense has received general approbation of the princes and the chiefs. Sometimes, there is even hardly any scope for approval, for, as in the case of Eastern States, the "Sanad clause" in the Sanads makes it mandatory on them to agree to any such changes initiated by the authorities.

On the whole, however, the scheme for joint administration in some form or other has gone ahead and the spheres of administration that have been considered to be of prior importance are Police and Justice. Thus, joint police forces have been formed or are already functioning in certain groups of states. In Northern India, the states council of a certain group has a scheme of affiliation of administration, in which even leading states have joined and which embodies reciprocal arrangement for mutual assistance in relation to Police, Finance, Justice, Revenue, Education and Medical relief. In Eastern India, some states may avail of a board of medical officers in the agency to inspect and advise the state at their request in matters medical and Public Health. Also, the states in this group which had not got adequate veterinary facilities can make use on a basis of voluntary co-operation, of opportunities provided by the neighbouring states having suitable arrangements. In Central India, certain states have informally evolved a scheme which provides for the formation of regional groups for specified subjects, while other subjects of general applicability are reserved for the whole of Central India States groups. Yet another group of some small states has a scheme of employment of expert advisers in such spheres as may be found suitable, and of a common District and Sessions Judge. The Control of Advisers is to vest in one Ruler at a time by rotation, who will act in consultation with other Rulers. The appointment of the advisers is also to be allotted to different Rulers of the group by mutual agreement.

As has been mentioned above, in Western India and Gujarat, the problem of some small states has been met by their merger in a large state for the reason that there has arisen in this part of India geographical, administrative and economic fragmentation[1] on a scale unknown anywhere else in the country." It may be remembered in this connexion that the purpose either of co-operative grouping or merger is "not only remedying their administrative deficiency but also facilitating their inclusion in any federal arrangement applicable to India as a whole"[2]

To ascertain how far this object is likely to be met by any mere process of co-operative grouping or merger, it is perhaps relevant to examine the evolution of the Federated Malay States. These States in Malaya were a confederation of some four states with a common administrative service and a principal administrator designated first as Resident-General and later as Chief Secretary. The States were thus made one for all administrative purposes. Their early history reads: "The Malay States were at first only places whose nominal Rulers had so failed to keep their house in order that the unruly subjects had become a danger to neighbouring British settlements and the Queen's Government sent advisers to strengthen the hands of Malay States and assist them in establishing peace and good Government. Of course, Malay States were not British possessions and could not be so treated but as matters settled down and the States began to prosper, they required many servants and much material which could best be supplied from England."[3]

The idea about Malaya entertained at the beginning will be more apparent from the following words of Lord Curzon: "If I were asked to sum up what were the lessons which Eastern States had given me I should say they were these : In the first place remember always that you are not in India or in any foreign dependency for the benefit of what is called your own nationals."[4]

Despite these ideas, however, as the federation grew the Resident General came to exercise in the words of Sweltenham, "a very large control over the protected states and from that date (1896), the Colonial office in some important matters made its authority felt."[5] Thus the system though suitable as regards cost and efficiency vested very large powers in a person other than either the legal ruler or the representatives of the people. To be more explicit, writes Mills, "The evolution of the federated states has been very different and by the twenties federation had become amalgamation. . . . The four Sultans were dignified figure heads and indirect rule had become a little more than a facade. The Chief Secretary, the principal British Official, had become an uncrowned ruler who paid little more attention to his nominal head, the Governor and High Commissioner at Singapore, than the four legal rulers. The situation had neither been expected nor desired by the Government of Great Britain which had an unhappy feeling that the Sultans had been reduced to a position which had never been intended when the federation was established in 1896. The whole development had been so inevitable and gradual that the result was hardly appreciated until it was *fait accompli*. Reform was extraordinarily difficult owing to the need for uniformity which had created excessive centralisation; and for the past twenty years the problem of State rights versus federal control had been the chief political question of the federated Malay States. . . . Direct orders took the place of advice and the final and perfectly logical result was that control became centralised in the federal departmental heads and the Chief Secretary at Kuala Lumpur while the four Residents joined the Sultans as the one essentials of the Federated Malay States."[6]

Sir John Anderson, at one time the Governor and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States likewise felt "that the Rulers had lost more than what they had anticipated when they agreed to the treaty of Federation."[7] A Federal Council was established in 1909 by an agreement signed by the four Sultans but the vague and careless draftsmanship of this agreement surpassed that of the treaty of 1896 : it created a Federal legislature and referred only incidentally to the grant of legislative powers. The problem of over-centralisation at Kuala Lumpur was however discussed on various occasions from 1922 onwards and there was

1. Government of India communique, dated April 16, 1943.
2. *Ibid.*

3. Sweltenham : *British Malaya*, 1907, p. 280.
4. Quoted in Sweltenham's *British Malaya*, 1907, p. 304.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 338.
6. Mills: *British Rule in Eastern Asia*, 1942, pp. 5-7.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

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a growing feeling that the Sultans and the Malays had been overlooked in the rush for economic development. The Chief Secretary and even the unofficial members of the Council cared mainly for the tin and rubber industries and the principle that "whatever is best administered is best" blinded the eyes of the authorities to the substance of the form of the Federated Government originally in view. The result was that neither the Rulers nor the Malays were happy and a time came when the Malays gradually felt for changes which admit them to Government employment and authority. In an article in the *Malay Times* of November 12, 1931, a small politically-minded group referring to the Council, pointed out that the members of the Council were usually relatives or favourites of the Sultans and urged Malays to show themselves capable of using new powers through State Council. The question had ultimately drawn the attention of the Home Government and the result was a visit to Malay in 1932 of Sir Samuel Wilson, the then permanent Under-Secretary of State for colonies. Decentralisation was considered, and Sir Samuel reported that "from a purely economic point of view, it would no doubt be advisable in a country of the size of Malays to have one central Government administering the whole territory."[8] Decentralisation in his view was however necessary due to the discontent and uneasiness of the Sultans. His views about the people were not much positive since he thought that "encouragement of indirect rule will probably prove the greatest safeguard against political submersion of the Malays which would result in the development of popular government on Western lines."[9]

The recommendations of Sir Samuel Wilson did not consequently fit in with the growing political outlook of the Malayan public, for, the *Times* correspondent in Malaya wrote thus in the issue of the paper of October 17, 1933: "When the report was first published it was clear that it had done nothing to reassure the antagonists to decentralisation or to justify its supporters. The minority who looked upon it as the inevitable and just recognition of the rights of the Malays found little support of their views in the report itself." About the attitude of the authorities the writer goes on to say, "What more do the Malays want, it is asked. The prosperity is solely due to the activities of Europeans, Chinese and Indians who developed their country. If the powers of the Rulers had been limited it is because of the speed with which development had taken place. The Malays had neither the experience nor administrative machinery to cope with it; or those responsible for opening up the country had themselves set up the necessary political machinery. The point of view of Malay Rulers that indigenous Malays were in danger of being swamped numerically and politically in their own country by the impact of new prosperity is equally true. The non-indigenous people are not averse in theory to the ultimate assumption of political power by the Malays but it is always referred to some vague and distant date when the Malays have proved themselves capable of it."

In this background came the war in the Far East and the fall of Malaya with amazing quickness. [illegible] a time, public attention was focussed on the inte[illegible] conditions of Malays prior to the fall and it was [illegible] gested that the disaster was in part due to the ap[illegible] and indifference of the local people. As remarked [illegible] Lord Cranborne on December 3, 1942, in the Ho[illegible] of Lords, "There had been people here and abroad who [illegible] had drawn the hasty conclusion that we had [illegible] Malaya because the local inhabitants had not been [illegible] associated with the Government of the country." [illegible] April 3, 1942, Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., also said in [illegible] House of Commons "that a number of people [illegible] seriously concerned at the fact that we have never [illegible] the loyalty of the native population."

One view was that the British administration [illegible] established no roots in Malaya and about the colo[illegible] policy in general, a *Times* correspondent commented [illegible] follows in the issue of the paper of August 1, 194[illegible]

"Whenever large issues were at stake, the [illegible] certainty of road ahead made for official timidity. [illegible] Colonial Government was inclined to shy away [illegible] the important problems which raised political [illegible] even when postponement meant accumulation of [illegible] difficulties both perceivable and formidable."

Thus, the joint administration and the federa[illegible] set up at Malaya has ultimately been open [illegible] criticism obviously on the score that this was a pro[illegible] which conceded no actual powers either to the peo[illegible] or the rulers.

While initiating the merger of Western India [illegible] Gujarat States, the Government of India remarked [illegible] "the ultimate test of fitness of survival of any state [illegible] in his (Crown Representative's) opinion the capa[illegible] to secure the welfare of its subjects, and he regards [illegible] forthcoming qualified merger of these small states [illegible] a justifiable solution of any conflict in his obligati[illegible] towards the rulers and the ruled".[10] The underly[illegible] principle of this view is apparently the evolution [illegible] contented Indian India suitable for Federal arra[illegible] ment.

It will be seen that the schemes in respect of [illegible] co-operative grouping of the small states of In[illegible] introduced or suggested so far, chiefly relate to admi[illegible] trative efficiency. The question of the people or th[illegible] part in a changed system does not figure much in [illegible] connection, while, as regards the princes themse[illegible] and their Government, some adjustment of indivi[illegible] authority in favour of the joint advisers is an impo[illegible] feature of the proposals. In effect, necessarily, s[illegible] tantial authority is likely to vest in a machinery w[illegible] is neither based on popular participation nor is u[illegible] the absolute control of hereditary Rulers. The Re[illegible] are divested of their hereditary rights though remai[illegible] responsible to the ruled. The joint advisers, on [illegible] other hand, are to enjoy all their powers without [illegible] responsibility to the rulers or the ruled.

That the schemes may not, therefore, take [illegible] shape of the Malayan Federation and hinder fu[illegible] arrangement or the desired solution of any "conflic[illegible] his (Crown Representative's) obligations towards [illegible] ruler and the ruled"[11] is a matter which des[illegible] adequate consideration by the States concerned. [illegible] wishes they could profit betimes by the Malayan [illegible]

8. Report of Brig.-Gen. Sir Samuel Wilson on his visit to Malaya (Part Pap-Cmd 4296, Vol. X, 1932-33), p. 11.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

10. Government of India Communique, dated April 16, 19[illegible]

11. *Ibid.*

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WHY THE 'GANDHIAN PLAN'?

By Dr. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D.

Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal of Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha, has brought out a most timely publication under the title *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India.* The worth of the work and of its author is attested by the Foreword contributed to it by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi himself, whose economic thought and scheme it seeks to represent. Mahatma Gandhi himself certifies that the writer has not misrepresented him in any place. In his own inimitable words he explains thus the scope and aim of the work :

"It claims to be a comparative study of the Charkha economics based on non-violence and the industrial economics which to be paying must be based on violence, *i.e.*, exploitation of the non-industrialised countries."

I may add that the modern mechanised and industrial economics is based on exploitation not merely of economically less organised, and "non-industrialised countries" like India, but also of non-industrial classes within the same country, and, in the case of India, such classes form by far the vast majority of her population, her dumb-millions, and inarticulate masses, as they are tragically, but rightly designated, in view of their colossal illiteracy, and depth of degradation and poverty, rendering them incapable of self-defence against scientific exploitation.

There are many plans of economic reconstruction in the air such as the non-official Bombay Plan and the official plans of the Government of India, which are being fashioned and hammered into shape by so many of its Post-War Reconstruction Committees. In my opinion, no plan is more suited to the conditions and realities of India's Economics as established through the ages than the Gandhian Plan. Most other Plans overshoot the mark and become unrelated to the grim realities and the crying needs of India's economic situation. An economic plan to be effective must root itself in these realities instead of ignoring them and seeking to build on other foundations. Besides, a people's economic system is a part and product of its whole Scheme and System of life, its fundamental view and philosophy of life. The Indian way and outlook in life must determine the economic. Economic life is not an end unto itself but only a means of subserving the fundamental and higher ends and values of life. As Gandhiji states in his *Hind Swaraj,* the characteristic of modern civilisation "lies in the fact that people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life," inspired by a "mad desire to destroy distance and time." But this is not the Indian ideal of life which believes in limiting wants, luxuries and pleasures, and in economic self-sufficiency for every individual achieving it as far as possible through his own manual labour, leading up to the economic self-sufficiency of every individual rural unit, or village, functioning as a self-governing Republic, as every village was constituted in the indigenous scheme of Indian Polity. A graphic picture of this indigenous political scheme and of the working of her untold number of rural republics and democracies which made Ancient India has been given in a work which I wrote more than twenty-five years ago under the title *Local Government in Ancient India,* and was published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. It gives a picture of the system by which India was able to preserve her culture and her soul against the vicissitudes of her political fortunes and changes in sovereignty. India must recapture this political and economic heritage for purposes of her coming reconstruction. As Lord Haldane put it in commenting on the work, "The life of a nation consists in growth and not in external causation, and that organic growth solves questions that are not capable of treatment from any mechanical point of view alone."

The fundamental and unalterable fact of India's economic life is that more than 300 out of 400 millions of her total population are on land, pursuing agriculture, and its allied occupations, and that these agricultural millions have to remain out of work in enforced idleness for more than half the year in the off-seasons of Agriculture. This I discovered, to my utter dismay, as a Member of the Bengal Land Revenue (Floud) Commission investigating rural problems of every description in typical regions all over India. Thus the main problem of economic reconstruction is to feed these starving millions by giving them work when they remain without work, and this work has to be brought home to them. They cannot find it out of their homes and native villages. The nation in India still lives in the village and in the cottage from which they cannot be easily divorced. This hard economic fact is as old as India's hills and rivers, and is as unalterable and fixed as her geographical features. No amount of centralised industrial planning can reach these dumb-millions in the villages where lie the roots of India's life. India's whole civilisation has been built up as a rural and not an urban civilisation. India has thought out her best and highest in her woods and wildernesses, away from the stir and strife of the city, in the silence and solitude of her hermitages and sylvan schools which count as their products the Vedas and the Upanishads, the record and repository of the highest thought ever evolved by mankind. Even now, as shown in the last Census, India still means, as she has been through the ages, a country of about 7 lacs of villages as against only about 40 towns of the Western standard, with a population of a lac and above. The only difference is that whereas in Ancient India, in the days of her national government and planning, every village was a centre of life and light under its suitable government as a self-governing republic, the present-day villages of India are dead institutions without a spark of corporate life left in them, and are centres of decay and degradation with the indigenous scheme of life and government being swept away by the onrush of a Western system of centralisation and over-government to which they were not used and were not able to accommodate themselves. The only way to reconstruct and revive these dead or dying villages is to make them self-governing once more so that the social tissues by which their corporate and communal life can be sustained may be restored by their exercise.

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The planning experts cannot but themselves admit that large and heavy industries located at centres and cities here and there can absorb and employ only a fragment of the vast agricultural population of India. It has been estimated that "90 per cent of India's total population are employed in agriculture and allied occupations, 10 per cent in industry of whom only about 2 million (or less than 1 per cent) are working in large-scale industries." On the most optimistic estimate these industries at their best cannot absorb more than 5 per cent of India's rural millions in less than 25 years. But these starving millions are already on our hand. We must feed them at once and cannot leave them to feed on the hopes of the future.

The only possible programme of economic reconstruction in India is to promote the good of its greatest number by a scientific planning of those handicrafts which they can ply to profit in their homes and villages. Such a planning must start with the plying of the *Charkha*. It has been rightly called *'Charkha Economics'* as distinguished from the other types of centralised and mechanised industrial economics of the capitalist, socialist, or communist variety, or American, British, or Soviet systems. Charkha Economics is the indigenous Indian system of Economics, the economics of the small industry, of the cottage and home handicrafts.

In the Gandhian Plan, there is a comparative study of the Charkha-Economics and the other systems of mechanised and scientific Economics. It rightly points out that Economic planning should mean the least amount of control and coercion by the State. That Government is the best "which governs the least". The maladjustments of the prevailing economic systems are well brought out by Professor G. D. H. Cole :

> "And what are we to say of the World in which a farmer, when he sows his crop, has to pray for a bad harvest in order to rescue him from financial difficulties?"

The Fascist Plan involving the totalitarian control of the individual by the State is totally foreign to India's tradition. It has established "the most dangerous idolatry of all ages, the deification of the state."

The British Planning has been a planning of drift, of piece-meal and un-coordinated planning. It has recently produced the Beveridge Plan seeking to guarantee to every citizen the Minimum of the necessaries of life by means of Employment Insurance, Disability Benefits, Old-age Pensions, Children's Allowances and Medical Services by taxing the rich and the *have's* for the benefit of the poor and the *have-nots*, thus dividing the country, as Dean Inge puts it, into 'two nations of the tax-payers and the tax-eaters'. After all, earning a living by honest and honorable means is preferable to these artificial devices for securing it by doles and unemployment insurances.

Much has been made of the Soviet Plan on account of its ideals, but in practice it is falling far short of its ideals. Soviet society was planned as a classless society, where the State alone will count and own the factors of production. But the difficulty is as to the ownership of the State itself which under totalitarian control has passed automatically to a Dictator and a new managerial class. The complete regimentation of the people in regard to their political and economic affairs has crushed out individual initiative and freedom. The list of fundamental rights granted to its citizens by the Stalin Constitution does not include the most fundamental and elementary of such rights, the right of freedom of moving from place to place, freedom of circulation, or free choice of one's place of residence. The Constitution assigns everyone to a given domicile, and a place of work to which he remains tied, the factory or the warehouse, which he cannot leave except by permission of its managers. A citizen cannot be absent from home even for 24 hours, without first securing a passport and a special visa. The Soviet System is even producing inequalities of income which it was out to abolish. These inequalities are daily growing, showing a difference of as much as 80 : 1. A more human, natural, and scientific system will be that based on decentralisation and self-government, if we are agreed as to the ultimate values of life and not making mere well-being of the body, by feeding, clothing, and housing it, as best as possible, the chief aim of life and civilisation. Civilisation should not be reduced to mere Matter and Motion. There is no point in conquering Space and Time if it is only for the benefit of the body and not for Mind and Soul which are left to be starved. There is no point in going in for labour-saving machinery if it only degrades labour. As Bernard Shaw puts it :

> "Those who try to make life one long holiday find that they need a holiday from that too. The best definition of hell is perpetual holiday."

That is why the Bible says that "man must earn his bread by the sweat of his brow."

In this new Economics, production will be for immediate consumption and not for distant profitable markets. As Gandhiji puts it, it will be still production by masses instead of mass-production. Under his system, it is the labour that is the current coin, not the metal. It does not taboo machinery as such. "The spinning wheel itself is a piece of valuable machinery." Only, as he says, dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machinery represented by the villagers scattered in the 7.00.000 villages of India. As he further states, "The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages. The problem is how to utilise their idle days which are equal to working days of six months in the year." Labour-saving machinery is out of place in this situation. Man is more important than machinery. He must be fed by work. Already the number of workers employed in the domestic industries is about five times that employed in large-scale production, while the percentage of workers in the large-scale industry is also on the decrease. In 1941 it was only about 4 per cent of India's total population.

In the *Gandhian Plan* instead of mass-production on a large-scale, it is production by masses on a small scale in the people's own homes. The system will, however, "welcome the machine that will lighten the burden of crores of men living in cottages."

As my brother, Professor Radha Kamal Mookerji puts the case :

> "The object of planned economy for India is neither economic autarchy and national aggression as sought in the Fascist countries nor economic imperialism based on the power and prosperity of a small capitalistic and directive class, as in the democratic countries, nor a collectivist and materialistic and regimented culture as in Soviet Russia. The ideology behind economic planning in India is the broadening of the economic

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base of a peaceful agricultural civilisation for the purpose of national defence, on the one hand, and the full and free expansion of her ancient, moral and social virtues in the changed economic world, on the other."

I may conclude this note by referring to the observations made by that great administrator and historian, Colebrooke, towards the end of the 18th century with reference to the economic conditions then prevailing in Bengal and are even now prevailing all over agricultural India :

"To a Government as enlightened as British India, it cannot be a trifle consideration to provide employment for the poorest classes. No public provision now exists in these provinces to relieve the wants of the poor and helpless. The only employment in which widows and female orphans, incapacitated for field-labour by sickness or by their rank, can earn a subsistence is by Spinning, and it is the only employment to which the females of a family can apply themselves to maintain the men, if these be disqualified for labour by infirmity or by other cause. To all it is a resource which, even though it may not be absolutely necessary for their subsistence, contributes, at least, to relieve the distresses of the poor.

In this view, it appears essential to encourage an occupation which is the sole resource of the helpless poor."

Colebrooke thus stands out as the champion of Charkha Economics as the most suitable Indian economics, on the success of which he bears the following testimony :

"India has in all times been the country most celebrated for Cotton Manufactures, and even now the finest Muslins of Bengal remain still unrivalled by the fabrics of Great Britain."

CHEMICAL FERTILISERS VERSUS COMPOST

By "CHITTAGONIAN"

Before India is irrevocably committed to the expenditure of large sums of money on the erection of plants for the manufacture of chemical fertilisers it may be of interest to examine the history and potentialities of chemical fertilisers and to compare the result with the possibilities of compost manuring.

The obvious object of applying fertilisers to the soil is to increase production from the soil. Up to about a hundred years ago chemical fertilisers were practically unknown. Farming all over the world was carried on in small units, the soil being worked by hand, by the farmer and his family, with a varying amount of hired labour at sowing time and harvest time. The cultivators had an instinctive knowledge of the soil, its characteristics, its moods, and its possibilities. They knew, above all things, of the necessity to conserve the different components in the soil and achieved this by maintaining a correct balance at all times between woodland, arable land, pasture, water supply, fallow land. They developed the right rotation of crops, never growing a crop of the same species on the same land two years in succession and they returned to the soil everything they took off it, in the form of farmyard manure or compost. They knew the soil was a living organism requiring culture and care like every other living organism.

The rapid advance of Physical Science in the nineteenth century created a school of thought which made the cultivators' conception of the soil appear to be "old-fashioned." Physical Science reduced the soil to its component parts, mineral ingredients, water, organic matter from living plants, organic and inorganic substances originated from the decay of roots, leaves or even entire plants. The purely mineral components in themselves are unfertile. Fertility is determined by the quality and amount of humus present. Humus is organic and has so far defied Physical Science to evolve an exact chemical formula for it. All that is known is that in humus we have a mixture of the products of disintegration, more or less rich in carbon, nitrogen and oxygen. Soil bacteria and earthworms are the chief factors in the formation of humus. Bacteria also assist in setting free phosphoric acid already in the soil. Usually only very small amounts of phosphoric acid are present in an available free state in any soil, so bacteria perform invaluable services by helping to release it. Bacteria also assist in the process of nitrogen-fixation, equally invaluable to the cultivator. When Physical Science had established these facts the theory was postulated, and accepted with enthusiasm by many, that if you found out by analysis what amount of nitrogen, phosphorus or other component a particular crop had extracted from the soil and replaced that component by its equivalent in the form of chemical fertiliser you re-adjusted the balance in the soil and could, with impunity, grow a similar crop on the same soil the following year. From this it was a short step to applying chemical fertilisers not only to replace components extracted by crops but to change the very composition of the soil so that, for instance, wheat could be grown on the same soil year after year, or sugarcane, or tea. When applied first, it was found that chemical fertilisers increased yields. Coming at the time when the industrial revolution was increasing the cry for cheap food chemical fertilisers were widely welcome. America with its vast provinces just being developed, particularly welcomed them and farming there rapidly became scientific. Wheat was in demand overseas. The small, hand-cultivated farm of the old world rapidly gave way to big, intensively cultivated areas operated solely with an eye to yielding the maximum number of dollars from the minimum expenditure. Woods were cut down, single trees torn out by the roots, pasture ploughed up, nothing allowed to remain fallow. The Biblical injunction to Moses, "For six years you may sow your land and gather in your crops, but every seventh year you must let the land alone, to lie fallow", if ever read, was considered out of date. "It might have been all right," Kansas thought, "for the Israelites in the desert, but it doesn't apply to us." Statistics as to the quantities of chemical fertiliser poured in to the soil in U.S.A. within recent years are not available, but there is no reason to suppose they would not be comparable with statistics for the European continent. There, it has been established, the consumption of chemical fertilisers increased by something like three hundred per cent between 1914 and 1937. The yield of barley from an acre in the same period went down from just over 2,100

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pounds to under 2,000 pounds. So the era of diminishing returns seems to have been reached. What has been established in the U.S.A. is that lands very fertile even twenty years ago are now desert. In postulating the theory of returning minerals to the soil by means of chemical fertilisers science forgot that the soil is alive and is not composed of lifeless mineral ingredients only. The theory is all right so far as laboratory research goes but it fails in the same way as a theory to the effect that if you took the known mineral ingredients of the human body and fed a person on those ingredients in the form of synthetic chemicals only the person would continue to live. Few people would accept that theory as applicable to the human body. Yet they accept a similar one as true when applied to the soil, without question. They forget that the soil is a living organism, just as the human body is. The human body stands a lot of bad treatment in the form of wrongly balanced or insufficiently nourishing food. So does the soil. Some of the world's greatest men have been invalids. Many bumper crops have been taken off soils artificially stimulated by the application of chemical fertilisers. But sooner or later, the invalid dies. So does the sick soil. The brilliant invalid leaves his mark on the civilisation of his time. The soil, unfortunately, is gone for ever. Taking the once fertile prairie lands of the middle west of America as an example, the following is what happened.

Accumulating living soil at the rate of something like one inch in five hundred years Nature built up the prairie. The Red Indian inhabitants respected Nature and pursued "old-fashioned" agriculture. As the United States developed commercial farming spread westward, ousting the Red Indian and his methods. First the prairie was extensively over-grazed by cattle, then, in more recent years, large crops of wheat have been taken off it in addition. Such crops were only made possible by increasing quantities of chemical fertilisers. But as the quantities of chemical fertilisers increased, so the humus content of the soil decreased. Humus, it will be remembered, has defied science to produce an exact chemical formula for it. The soil bacteria and the earthworms, the main manufacturers of humus, left the prairie soil in exact relationship to the quantities of chemical fertiliser poured in. Deprived of its humus manufacturers, who are also its aerating agencies, the soil developed a hard crust. This, because of its inability to absorb moisture as well as before, started soil erosion and disintegration. High winds came along, the now much dreaded "dust storms" were created, as much as an inch of topsoil was lost in a single year (that Nature with so much patience had taken five hundred years to prepare), the prairie is now in a fair way to becoming desert. This is in no way an over-painted picture. Many tens of thousands of homesteads have been abandoned within recent years. In thirty years the nitrogen and the humus-content of the soil in Missouri have fallen about thirty-five per cent as compared with the original prairie. How much nitrogenous chemical fertiliser has been poured in in that period is not known, but it must have been a very large quantity indeed. The region being devoured by dust storms is moving steadily eastward and it is estimated at least a third of the cultivated area of the United States of America is on the way to becoming useless. Chemical fertilisers alone are not responsible but the very important point for India to appre[illegible] is that chemical fertilisers are symbolic of the unna[illegible] methods of agriculture which have created these con[illegible] tions in America. Without the extensive and ev[illegible] increasing use of chemical fertilisers the wheat-grow[illegible] of the prairie could not have abandoned rota[illegible] farming to the extent they did. The worms would not have gone away, humus would have been produced, the wind would have fulfilled its traditional function adding small quantities of beneficial dust to the soil.

Yes, even the wind's functions are effected adver[illegible] by the excessive use of chemical fertilisers. W[illegible] blowing over mountain areas with a sufficient humus c[illegible] tent, whip up invisible particles of dust and dep[illegible] them on the plains below. These dust deposits hel[illegible] restore the exhausted bases in the cultivated areas a[illegible] add soluble salts such as calcium, iron, potassium, e[illegible] The soil of Alpine meadows is largely formed by d[illegible] particles from the neighbouring mountains. The Sw[illegible] peasant does not use chemical fertilisers. He kn[illegible] their use would crust his soil, then the wind, which [illegible] brings him invaluable dust deposits from the mountai[illegible] would become an enemy and whip away all his soil [illegible] "dust storms" in a few years. At no place in th[illegible] world, it is reckoned, is humus-containing soil deep[illegible] than twenty-four inches. So we see how short a [illegible] agriculture has when one inch is lost in a year as it h[illegible] been recently in America. As a direct result of the l[illegible] of prairie lands the United States this year is bei[illegible] compelled to import wheat. With that example bef[illegible] us are we in India to blindly follow them in the ado[illegible] tion of chemical fertilisers? If we do we shall cre[illegible] conditions which will inevitably lead to crop fail[illegible] in a few years such as will make the famine of 19[illegible] appear small in comparison. Millions yet unborn w[illegible] curse our blindness.

Protagonists of "scientific" agriculture allege t[illegible] chemical fertilisers are harmful only when used [illegible] excessive quantities and say they should always, a[illegible] only, be given in the correct proportions in accorda[illegible] with soil analysis. Like medicine to an invalid. H[illegible] completely impractical this is, is shown when we con[illegible] how many variations can be found in analyses of [illegible] soil of one single field, let alone a farm or distric[illegible] practical farmer walking along the furrows of a ne[illegible] ploughed field can see with his knowledgeable eye [illegible] least a hundred variations in soil composition in [illegible] hundred furrows. Laboratory analysis confirms [illegible] "Weathering" action, through sun, rain and w[illegible] assisted by soil bacteria and earthworms help to [illegible] duce conditions suitable for sowing by the time s[illegible] time comes round. Soil analyses taken then w[illegible] give different results from analyses taken at plough[illegible] time. Analyses taken after a shower of rain [illegible] different results to analyses taken in dry weather. T[illegible] the practical farmer may wonder on which analys[illegible] he to base his calculations for the application [illegible] chemical fertiliser.

Another very strong objection to chemical fe[illegible] isers lies in the fact that many contain soluble [illegible] such as potassium or ammonium sulphate or [illegible] corrosive substances which quite definitely injure [illegible] destroy the micro-organic activity in the soil, to [illegible] an extent that soils intensively treated with che[illegible] fertilisers for a number of years lose entirely [illegible] former biological activity. The number of [illegible] before this stage is reached depends upon

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humus content when the first application of chemical fertiliser is given. In parts of India where it is proposed to apply sulphate of ammonia extensively, the humus content already is low, so complete cessation of biological activity would not be long delayed. Are we prepared for that with all it implies?

It is not only the soil that re-acts unfavourably to excessive use of chemical fertilisers. The cow does too, "Scientific farming" is not content with allowing the cow to produce the quantity of milk, Nature intended she should. So she, in commercialised dairy farms in Europe and America nowadays, is fed excessively on certain proteins and salts, in order that her milk output shall be increased. Here too, a factor not amenable to test-tube analysis has been encountered, the fact that milk production is a part of the animal's sexual activity. By over-straining the production of milk inevitably the organs of re-production are weakened. The result has been such an increase in diseases attendant upon the birth and rearing of calves that scientists are now being asked to intensify their investigations in the possibilities of test-tube calves. Could Nature be outraged more? The quality of milk output increased in this manner, similar to the quality of outputs from soil stimulated by chemical fertilisers, is often of very doubtful quality. Hence the increasing insistence by Public Health Officials on the need or pasteurisation.

Compost manuring, with all it implies, is the very antithesis of chemical fertilisers treatment. Compost, being itself alive, assists in the rejuvenation of the soil whereas chemicals artificially stimulate it. Again comparing a sick soil to a sick person, who does not know that a cure eventually depends on a rejuvenation of the patient's system? Chemicals prescribed by the Doctor help but the medical profession itself is the first to admit that overdoses are definitely harmful. Yet India's sick soil is being prescribed doses of chemicals in quantities such as no sane doctor would ever prescribe for his patients! Compare the action of compost. To understand its action correctly it is necessary to remember, we do not feed plants when we apply manure of any description. We feed the soil. (Plants actually obtain most of their sustenance from the air, which is another factor overlooked often by advocates of chemical fertilisers). Nature maintains the vitality of the soil by humus-developing activities, bacteria, earthworms, roots that break up the soil, and weathering. Well-prepared compost supplies additional quantities of humus-developers, bacteria and earthworms in an active, living, organic form. These merge in the soil naturally and help Nature in the maintenance of the soil's vitality. The underlying idea is to return to the soil everything which comes out of it. The aim is to develop in compost heaps a controlled fermentation which allows only a minimum loss of nutritive elements and provides the maximum quantity of humus. Often haphazard attempts result in disappointment. Complete success can only follow experience in the preparation of compost heaps, including a knowledge of what is being attempted. But our cultivators know what is required and there need be no fear of them failing India if encouragement of a proper nature is given to them to take up compost-manuring on an extensive scale.

To prepare compost it is first necessary to dig a shallow pit, not more than ten inches deep. The pit should not be longer than twenty-five feet nor wider than twelve feet. When material is plentiful it is better to have numerous comparatively small heaps than one big one. First a layer of cowdung is placed on the bottom of the pit, as fresh as possible. Then all sorts of plant refuse, straw, chaff, kitchen garbage, egg shells, fish remains, village sweepings, tank cleanings, leaves, hedge trimmings, wood and charcoal ashes, slaughter-house refuse, horn and hoof remnants, in fact anything that will disintegrate into humus, are systematically placed on top. It is essential to keep the heaps covered while in preparation. Banana leaves, spread daily immediately after the kitchen garbage, are ideal for the purpose. Farm-yard manure should also be deposited daily. When the heap is about twelve inches high a layer of earth should be deposited, not more than two to three inches thick. Remembering that the fermentation which will now be going on inside is a living process, the deposit of earth should be such as to form a skin, just thick enough to hold the heap together, yet thin enough to allow it to breathe. Care should be taken to see that the soil covering is not taken from land which has been treated with chemical fertilisers which are hostile to bacteria. The process of layering, with a covering of earth at every foot in height, should be continued until the heap is five feet high. The heap should slope gradually inward as it grows in height and should not exceed six feet in width at the top. This form of structure is convenient to work and also helps in aeration. Along the top a shallow trench should be cut, not so deep as to expose the highest layer of compost material. In this water should be poured daily from a tub into which cowdung and urine has been deposited. It is necessary to keep the heaps moist. An effective way of assisting in this is to insert a few bamboos through the trench at the top. After about a month the heap should be turned, the outside of the original heap being put inside, the bottom at the top. Over-dry sections should be mixed up with over-damp. Experience teaches perfection. Soon a composter becomes proficient. After another month another turning is necessary. In most parts of India fermentation is complete in about three months though this varies somewhat with the seasons.

The final result is a fine sweet-smelling powdery earth. It can be applied to the soil at all times in quantities great or small. The cultivator knows when he applies compost he is assisting the soil's rejuvenation and is adding to the humus content, that invaluable factor in crop production. The process of fermentation in the heaps attract large numbers of soil-bacteria and earthworms, a certain indication that the work is proceeding on the right lines, Nature's way.

As farms exist to-day in most parts of India, denuded of trees and not using correct rotation of crops, it is probable there would not be available sufficient material for compost-making to successfully rejuvenate the soil quickly and we cannot expect the cultivator to put his farmyard manure in a compost heap so long as we impose conditions on him which compel him to use cowdung for fuel, or die. This aspect is not insoluble. Given the will on the part of the leaders of public opinion to solve it, it could soon be solved. Compost from the villages can be supplemented by compost made in the smaller municipalities and by fertilisers of a very similar nature made by passing corporation refuse through sludge plants in bigger towns and cities. The process is exceedingly

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simple and the sale of the resultant fertiliser at a nominal price per bag would bring in large sums of revenue from departments at present causing considerable strain on municipal budgets. The benefit to the soil would be incalculable.

The results from using compost are not so spectacular as from chemical fertilisers. Being a natural method and Nature's law being gradual, it takes some years before an appreciable change is noticeable.

In five years or so both the quality and the quantity of crops are quite definitely increased, and, what is equally important, the humus content of the soil has also increased. Animals as well as human beings fed on crops from compost-treated land improve in health. The crops are so nutritive that smaller quantities suffice, another important aspect, and one which should appeal to India in her present position. It is on record that cows in Bavaria reared on crops grown on compost-treated soil refused to eat when transferred to a farm where chemical fertilisers were used.

How long will it be before descendants of the present-day cultivator's half-starved cow in India are in a position to do that?

That the benefits to be obtained from widespread compost farming are real and not merely matters of theory is well illustrated in Pennsylvania, U.S.A. There peasant farmers of Dutch descent adhere to it, the traditional method of their forefathers. The result they are still a healthy, happy, prosperous commun little affected by booms and slumps in the commer world. They are very nearly self-contained, most their wants apart from food (which they grow the selves). coming from nearby villages. In the depressio in the early thirties none of the people in this com munity required State relief whereas people neighbouring sugar farms (where rotation farming ignored and chemical fertilisers used extensive required very large sums in State relief. The finan aspect is serious enough but the mental, moral spiritual one is worse.

The choice before India is clear. To elect to fol the example of the unbalanced farming of the pra lands assisted by chemical fertilisers and thereby b certain tragedy and desolation or to return to Natu way of developing Nature's bounty by encourag widespread compost farming (including compost m from municipal refuse), thereby starting India on t road to that rejuvenation of her people, throu rejuvenation of the soil, which is the first essential preparing the country to take its proper place in t world of the future.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ TO HINDU RENAISSANCE

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

Prof. D. S. Sharma of Madras in his recently published monumental work entitled *Renaissance of Hinduism* devotes one chapter to the study of Rammohun Roy and Brahmo Samaj and considers in his book, first of all, their contributions to the modern Hindu Renaissance which is still in progress. Raja Rammohun, the illustrious Father of Modern India, was born on 22nd May, 1772, in the village of Radhanagar in the Burdwan district of Bengal and passed away on 27th September, 1833, at Bristol, England. Rammohun was the first reformer of Hindu society and religion, and the pioneer of the present Hindu Renaissance. Rammohun, observes Prof. Sharma, is the morning star of the New Day which dawns with Ramakrishna Paramahansa and reaches its noon in Mahatma Gandhi.

The reaction of Hinduism to the impact of Western civilization first made its expression in and through Rammohun, and took the form of Brahmo Samaj founded by him in 1828. Brahmo Samaj that has in the course of full one century ramified into four branches, namely, Adi Brahmo Samaj, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Bharatvarshiya Brahmo Samaj, and Sammelan Brahmo Samaj—has creditably worked out its mission of liberalising Hindu society and religion. Brahmo Samaj, principally a reform movement, has greatly succeeded in removing from Hinduism superstitions and orthodoxies that accreted in the medieval age. The Hindu society is so liberal to-day that it is indistinguishable from Brahmo Samaj. A Hindu is as liberal today as a Brahmo. That the modern Hindus have a broad outlook on religious and social matters is due to the liberalising influence and activities of the Brahmo Samaj for about a century and a quarter. Brahmo Samaj is no longer separate from Hindu society. It is an important part, an advanced section, of Hindu society. Rabindranath the poet, Jagadish Chandra the scientist, Prafulla Chandra the chemist, Deshbandhu the patriot, Brojendranath the scholar, and a galaxy of great men, all of whom belonged to the Brahmo Samaj are the pride of the Hindu nation. Ramanand the founder and late editor of *The Modern Review* known all over the world as a Hindu journalist. "The Brahmo Samaj," remarks Prof. Sharma, "is a p force now, it has rendered useful service to Hindu in three ways: It popularised social reform, it preve conversions to Christianity by creating a halfway h and it roused the orthodox Hindus to organise th selves and work for a revival of their relig Historically speaking, as the Arya Samaj of Sw Dayananda saved Hinduism in West India fr Muslimisation so Brahmo Samaj saved Hinduism East India from Christianisation. Hinduism, b originally based on the Vedas, is rightly called Ve religion. When Buddhism exerted its influence Hinduism and was about to make it soulless and godl Sankaracharya appeared and revived the Vedic Dha and saved Hinduism from Buddhistic pressure. In modern age, the Vedic foundation of Hinduism strengthened and upheld by the Brahmo Samaj Arya Samaj—the former revived the Vedic Jnana K or the Upanishads, and the latter the Vedic K Kanda or the Samhitas.

There are ignorant Hindus (now even among educated section) who are unaware that Ramanand was born a Hindu, was brought up a Hindu and die Hindu. It is said that one of the last words the was heard to mutter in his death-bed at Bristol, the sacred syllable 'Aum', so dear to the heart of Hindu. He was as much proficient in Hindu scri as in Christian and Islamic scriptures, Ram

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was the first prophet of renaissant Hinduism and was in the words of Prof. Sharma "a zealous Hindu, proud of India's past . . . . proud of the achievements of his race and was eager to conserve all that was good and great in his ancestral religion." He himself says in his autobiographical sketch the ground which he took in all his controversies was not that of opposition to Brahmanism (Hinduism) but to a perversion of it. He made himself bold and came forward to fight the battle of Hinduism against the insolence of the Christian missionaries of Serampore who attacked Hinduism at the time in their Bengali organ called *Samachar Darpan*. But for the defence of Brahmo Samaj and its reforming zeal, a large portion of the Hindu society would have been converted to Christianity as evidenced by the fact that Madhusudan Dutta, K. M. Banerjee and other leading Hindus of the day embraced Christianity and was lost to Hindu Samaj. The Hindu philosophy of Vedanta was first revived by Rammohun, who during 1815-19 published his *An Abridgement of Vedant* and his translations of Isha, Kena, Katha and Manduka Upanishads and two papers on Defence of Hindu Theism. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar and is reported to have established a Vedanta College at his own expense. He started with his own money, for the free education of the Hindu boys, an Anglo-Hindu School, where Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, the second leader of the Brahmo Samaj, got his early education. It is a thousand pities that the great reformer was misunderstood by his people in his life-time as he is today by some biased and perverted minds. In 1816 he with his friend, David Hare, made suggestions to Sir Hyde East, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for the founding of the Hindu College which later became Presidency College of Calcutta. The idea was originated and sponsored by him but unfortunately for us he had to resign his membership from the Managing Committee of the College as the Hindu members resented his presence there. The orthodox Hindu leaders said that they would rather be reformed by anybody else than him!

By the adamantine efforts of Rammohun, the crude and brutal custom of 'Sati' was abolished and declared illegal in 1829 by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India. He agitated against polygamy, an extensively prevalent evil of Hindu society in his days and showed that it was contrary to Hindu Law except under certain specified circumstances like barrenness or incurable sickness of the wife. He studied the Smritis with their commentaries and quoted from twelve Hindu law-givers to prove his contention. Rammohun was the first Hindu who went to the West with a Mission. In England he was highly honoured and royally entertained. It is wrong to think that the Rajah had any intention of going against the best traditions of his country or breaking away from the religion of his ancestors. The mission of his life was to crush away some of the nasty impurities that had gathered round the Hindu traditions in decadent days, as well as to restore Hinduism to its original purity and develop its social and political aspects according to the needs of the times. In order to make his appeal authentic and supported by Hindu scriptures, he took his stand on the Upanishads and Brahma Sutras, the foundational scriptures of Hinduism. He regretted that the current system of religion adhered to by the Hindus was not calculated to promote and protect their political and social interests. He therefore thought it proper that necessary changes should take place in Hinduism for the sake of our political advantage and social uplift. He never contemplated radical reform of our religion or radical reconstruction of our society.

The Brahmo Samaj as conceived by Rammohun preserved its Hindu character throughout. The original meditation of the Samaj he founded consisted in the repetition of the Gayatri Mantra, and chanting of the Upanishadic Texts, followed by a *stotra* taken from the Mahanirvan Tantra. He was not an advocate of idolatry, but never was against it. Like a true and enlightened Hindu, he laid down in the trust deed of the Brahmo Samaj that "no object animate or inanimate that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become or be recognised as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightingly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to." He correctly defines the Hindu attitude of image-worship when he says, "It will also appear evident that the Vedas although they tolerate idolatry as the last provision for those who are totally incapable of raising their minds to the contemplation of the Invisible God of Nature, yet they repeatedly urge the relinquishment of the rites of idol worship and the adoption of a purer system of religion on the express grounds that the observance of idolatrous rites can never be productive of eternal beatitude."

The Brahmo Samaj during its second period which begins with the entry of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore as the leader, practically retained its Hindu character. It was not he but a section of his misguided followers who in their iconoclastic followers widened the gulf between Hinduism and Brahmoism. The Brahmopasana he conducted in the Samaj was almost the same as that of Rammohun. It consisted in reading selected texts from the Upanishads and collective chanting of a *stotra* of the Mahanirvan Tantra, of course, in an altered form. He sent four students to Benares for the study of the Vedas, so that they might serve the Samaj with their Vedic knowledge. The Maharshi and most of his adherents retained their sacred thread in spite of the opposition of Keshab Chandra Sen, the third Brahmo leader and his party. For the use of the Samajists, Debendranath compiled a series of extracts known as "Brahmo Dharma" from the Upanishads, the Smritis, the Mahabharata and other Hindu scriptures. "In spite of all his rationalism", rightly opines Mr. Sharma, "Debendranath was a conservative Hindu, whose spiritual life was nourished by the Upanishads and who was for introducing reforms in the Hindu society slowly but cautiously." Seceding of the Brahmo Samaj from the parent community and its rejection of the Vedas alienated the Hindus from this movement and this separatistic spirit dealt a death-blow to it. Pandit Sitanath Tattabhusan, a leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and the learned author of *The Philosophy of Brahmoism* rightly observes as follows in his *Autobiography*, published in 1943: "The discarding of Vedantism by the Brahmo Samaj under the Maharshi was a great mistake—one which had done and is doing a good deal of harm to the Brahmo Samaj. It had led to a neglect, on the part of the Brahmos, of our ancient scriptures and was thus discouraging scholarship and causing spiritual sterility. It had also created

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an unnecessary gulf between the old and the new society, leading many Brahmos to call themselves non-Hindus and cease from taking a just pride in the glorious and spiritual achievements of the Hindu race."

As Maharshi orthodoxly maintained some Hindu customs and usages in the Samaj such as 'Upanayan' rite, Keshab Chandra left him and started a new branch of the Brahmo Samaj. Keshab and his followers became more Christian than Hindu in their belief and outlook. They were in the beginning so influenced by Christianity that it gave rise to a popular saying that Brahmoism is Christianity minus Christ. But later on he gave a cosmopolitan character to his Samaj as evident from *Sloka Sangraha,* a book prepared for use in the divine services of the Samaj and containing passages from scriptures of all religions—Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian, Muslim and Chinese. Next to Rammohun, Keshab went to England and spent there six months preaching his message of religious synthesis.

Keshab came of a staunch Vaisnava family, hence he could not get rid of the Vaisnavite bent of his religious tendencies. He, therefore, introduced in the services of the Samaj, 'mridanga' and 'cymbals', the musical instruments used by the Vaisnavas in their Bhajans. In spite of the passing of the Civil Marriage Act in 1872, the marriages of Keshab's two daughters took place with the two Hindu princes of Cooch Behar and Mayurbhanj according to Hindu rites. Though he adopted some Christian rites, he retained the Hindu rites of 'Homa' and 'Arati' and some festivals. The banner of his Samaj bears the Christian cross, Islamic crescent and Hindu trident. "His religion", remarks Prof. Sharma, "was a sort of conglomerate of Brahmo rationalism, Vaisnava emotionalism, Christian supernaturalism and Vedantic mysticism." His colleague, Gour Gobinda Roy, was a great Sanskrit scholar and wrote a Sanskrit commentory on the Gita and an interpretation of Vedanta in Sanskrit. He met Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa in 1875 and frequently visited him with his party at Dakshineswar Temple garden. The close contact with this Hindu saint Hinduised Keshab gradually and consequently he introduced the formless worship of God as mother in his Samaj. Sri Ramakrishna loved Keshab dearly and used to come to him to his Calcutta house. Ramakrishna's influence gave a Hindu turn to the Samaj. Keshab's adoption of Hindu rites brought him perilously near justifying idol-worship which was abhorrent to the Brahmo Samaj from its very inception. He wrote at one time in the *Sunday Mirror* thus: "Hindu idolatry is not altogether to be rejected or overlooked. As we explained some time ago, it represents millions of broken fragments of God. Collect them together and you get the Indivisible Divinity. Their idolatry is nothing but the worship of a divine attribute materialised."

Ananda Mohan Bose, the first leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, became the President of the Indian National Congress held in Madras in 1898. Sitanath Tattabhusan of this Samaj has published good translations of some Upanishads and popularised Vedanta in the Samaj. According to Pandit Sitanath, the main contribution of Brahmo Samaj to the religious development of India is that, it has given a negative and antithetical turn to the old theism of our country. The late lamented Ramananda Chatterjee, another Brahmo leader, took active part in the Hindu Mahasabha and devoted his long life to the protection of the political rights of the Hindus. Rabindranath Tagore, characterised by Prof. Sharma as the Leonardo da Vinci of our renaissance, has played a very important part in the modern renaissance of Hinduism. He was the youngest son of the Maharshi and was once the Secretary of the Adi Brahmo Samaj of which his father was the head. Like a Rishi, he was saturated with the spirit of the Upanishads. The poet quotes freely from the Upanishads and his message is a restatement of the ancient Hindu wisdom to meet the needs of modern times. His 'Sadhana' which contains a series of lectures delivered at the Harvard University, U.S.A., shows "how deeply he pondered over the sacred texts of the Upanishads and how clearly he pointed out their significance to the modern mind." Prof. Radhakrishnan, who has written an interesting volume on the philosophy of Rabindranath rightly says that the writings of the poet form a modern commentary on the Upanishads and that the soul of ancient India is mirrored in them. The publication of his *Gitanjali* in 1912, the award of Nobel Prize to him in the following year, the founding of the Visva-Bharati in 1921 and his delivery of the Hibbert lectures in 1930 are memorable events in the history of the present Hindu renaissance, as these epoch-making events have made Hinduism known throughout the civilised world. Though Tagore was an opponent of Hindu orthodoxy, he was undoubtedly a prominent leader of Hindu renaissance. The Upanishads, the Himalayan source of the Upanishads, were the scriptures of his spiritual life. Like his father, he never considered himself as being outside the pale of Hinduism. His novel *Gora* contains an impartial criticism of the Brahmo Samaj as well as the Hindu orthodoxy. Tagore has broadcasted to the distant corners of the globe the age-old message of Hinduism through his poems, stories, novels, and dramas, which are now read almost in every country of the world.

In the light of history, Brahmo Samaj may be described as a Neo-Hindu movement, a protestant sect of Hinduism, like the Arya Samaj. Lala Lajpat Rai, a great patriot and leader of the Arya Samaj, says: "The Arya Samaj is a champion of Hinduism in more sense than one. Its members are proud of Hinduism. They have no hesitation and will never have any, in staking everything they possess in defence of the Hindu community. Hinduism created the Arya Samaj. Hinduism has vitality enough to save itself by other means, if the Arya Samaj should fail it." Miss Adrienne Moore in her thoughtful book *Rammohun Roy and America* observes that though Rammohun during his life-time was more esteemed by the West, yet after his death he has been more appreciated by India which now acclaims him as the Father of her Renaissance. Rammohun was more influential during the generation after his death," concludes Miss Moore, "it was Rammohun the Hindu, shorn of Christian embellishments, who lived on."

From the above short study, it is clear that the line of demarcation between the Brahmo Samaj and Hinduism is nothing but imaginary and that the Brahmo Samaj has made substantial and significant contribution to the Hindu Renaissance in which we live. None can deny that the Brahmo Samaj has broadened and broadcasted, widened and intensified, forwarded and fostered the modern Renaissance of Hinduism in all possible ways.

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MENACE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

By SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

It is reassuring to note that Mahatma Gandhi has advised Indian businessmen not to co-operate with British capitalists on fifty fifty basis. We are of the opinion that this and similar proposals would not have been made by responsible men like Professor A. V. Hill had not the Bombay Planners invited foreign capital especially from America to the amount of Rs. 700 crores. Speaking in 1916 on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission Sir William Clarke, the then Commerce Member, said, "The building up of industries where capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians is the special object we all have in view." He deprecated the taking of any steps which might "merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries." It is an irony of fate that exactly this has happened and sections 111-116, Government of India Act incorporating what is known as commercial safeguards for Britons run counter to the views expressed by the Commerce Member. In protected industries like paper and cement Britons hold the superior position. A Czecho-Slovak shoe factory is throwing millions of Indian shoe-makers out of employment without having to bear the burden of unemployment relief which in other countries falls mainly on industry. Two motor tyre factories, one near Calcutta owned by the British and the other at Bombay owned by Americans, can meet the needs of the country and, therefore, make Indian venture in this direction not only superfluous but impossible in view of the fierce competition that will follow. In soap, since the establishment of a British factory in the country, indigenous concerns find it difficult to maintain their existence. These are only a few instances. In old established industries like jute and coal the foreign concerns hang like a mill-stone round the country's neck. Indian-owned jute mills have been forced against their vehement opposition and under a Government Ordinance to obey the mandate of the ring of the British jute mills in the matter of working hours. Otherwise each such mill would have served the purpose of three or more such establishments and the position of Indians (which is negligible now) *vis-a-vis* the British in the industry would have improved. Indian colliery proprietors with their limited capital can not generally buy screening plants and coal-cutting machines with the result that their cost per ton of coal raised is higher than that of British-managed collieries. Judged by the pre-war wagon basis of each colliery Indian-owned mines have been getting very much less wagons than the British-managed since the beginning of the war. The same thing happened during the last war. Soft coke used by the poor and middle classes in cooking food has been placed down in the list of priorities. Otherwise Indian colliery proprietors who generally manufacture soft coke would have fared a little better. Foreign capital so much dreaded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale has become the greatest menace in modern India. The situation is more serious than we generally comprehend. Vested and sectional interests are being created in the country and fissiparous tendencies carefully promoted and financed. A section of the nationalist Press drawing a substantial part of its revenue from advertisements of foreign concerns no longer carries on, as in the days of Surendranath Banerjea and Matilal Ghose, the ceaseless propaganda against goods manufactured by foreigners but devotes most of its leading articles to Mr. Leopold Amery, which is rather a safe thing to do. The news of police shooting of strikers of an European concern near Calcutta could not be published until after 3 days' agitation culminating in a bonfire of certain newspapers. It is our considered opinion that in spite of Mahatmaji's warning Indian big business will ultimately form an alliance with foreign capital specially American if not on 50 : 50 at least on 70 : 30 or 75 : 25 basis. This fresh invasion in addition to what already exists will mean parcelling out India to different nations of the West and creating a second China. At this critical hour of the country the Indian National Congress which is the salt of this earth has lost its savour and become capitalist-ridden. The future historian will describe the entertainment of Mahatmaji and the Viceroy in different parts of the same house and at the same time as the first nail in the coffin of Indian nationalism. Our veneration for Mahatmaji is boundless but the serious danger that faces the country leaves us no alternative to presentation of truth in all its nakedness. History and literature, as in the case of Shakespeare's Brutus, provide examples of high-souled patriots being made tools in the hands of designing men who did infinite harm to society. The Radical Democratic Party whose leader is declared to be in the pay of the Government has very strong words against Indian big business but nothing against British industry which sets the pace of exploitation. The Communist Party about which searching questions should be put in the legislature tries to fasten all blame on profiteers whose nefarious career of crime would end in no time if high officials were not their partners. In the recent Kishan Sabha Conference at Netrakona, Bengal, it sowed seeds of discord between the peasants and the landlords keeping mum over the exploitation of jute-growers by jute mills mostly under British management. The annual income of landlords whose number is 783,000 does not exceed Rs. 12 crores while the undue gain made by jute mills in a year is at least Rs. 40 crores. Foolish criticism has been made of moneylenders. The Bengal Money Lenders' Act and the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act made it impossible for anybody to advance loan to agriculturists who had to sell their land outright during the last famine. The condition of rayats in Khas Mahal areas and in provinces not under Permanent Settlement is not better but far worse than in Zemindary tracts. At least 20 crores of rupees are allowed to fall into arrears in Bengal by Zemindars and may thus be considered as agricultural loan at a low rate of interest. This is inconceivable elsewhere. The speeches of the President and Swami Sahajananda at the recent Krishak Praja Conference at Rajshahi follow much the same lines of uninformed criticism. Now all these parties designed to vivisect India are gaining in strength only because the Congress does not dissociate itself from Indian big business which should be neither exterminated nor petted. The entire forces of the country should be marshalled against foreign capital within or outside the country. This can not be done until rural people get industrial goods like cloth at a cheap price, which means curtailment of profits at the top. Eire would not be a free country now if the Irish did not spurn the repeated offers of British capitalists to industrialise that country and boldly declare that they were content with their potatoes and sprat (fish). A strong movement should immediately be started in India for the boycott of goods even made with 5 per cent foreign capital. The technique of the Swadeshi movement of Bengal in 1906 may be followed.

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Book Reviews

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ENGLISH

WHY PAKISTHAN?—AND WHY NOT? : *By K. T. Shah. Published by Pratibha Publications, Peoples' Building, Sir Phirozsha Mehta Road, Bombay. Pp. 284. Price Rs. 5.*

Recognising the fact that nearly all discussions of the Pakisthan proposal as laid down in the 1940 Lahore resolution of the Muslim League have come either from those who stand for it or those who are opposed to it, and that they are all characterised by the lack of that detached outlook which only can bring about a solution, the learned author has gone back to a long disused form, the Socratic dialogue, in order to place all points of view before his readers. This has been done because he believes, and that rightly, that no problem whatever its nature, has ever only one side and that a scientific treatment presupposes the examination of all points of view.

It is therefore that Prof. K. T. Shah who already enjoys a unique reputation as one of our foremost economists and political thinkers has presented his thoughts on the Pakisthan problem in the form of a round table conference lasting for six days in which representatives of all shades of opinion find a place. These discuss the ethics, economics and politics of the proposed homeland of our Muslim brethren, and examine not only the Pakisthan resolution in all its implications but also such definite proposals as the Punjabi's, the Aligarh Professors', the Latif and the Sikandar Hyat schemes. Some reference is also made to the Ambedkar proposal.

Though it cannot be said that the discussions lead to any final agreement among those participating in them, there can be no doubt that the unbiased examination of every aspect of the problem has admirably clarified the issues.

While the nature of the form adopted has prevented the learned author from giving any definite solution of his own, those who read between the lines will not experience much difficulty in finding at least the outlines of what Prof. Shah seems to regard as a more or less satisfactory way of solving this problem.

This is one of the very few books which has attempted, and that successfully, to treat this vexing problem and the success attained has been due only because the author has handled his subject without prejudice and without passion. It is recommended as a thought-provoking work which should set every lover of his motherland thinking furiously.

H. C. Mookerjee

DARKENING DAYS : *By Ela Sen. Published by Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1944. Pages 179. Price Rs. 4-8.*

Pen-pictures of familiar scenes of the Bengal famine—pictures of the threatening clouds, the bursting of the storm, the human and social wreckage left behind and the general aftermath—pictures drawn by a deft and skilful hand, constitute the subject-matter of this bo[illegible] The authoress has not devoted much space to [illegible] assessment of the total human loss or to the appo[illegible] ment of responsibility for the Bengal disaster of [illegible] That remains a wide field of controversy. She has [illegible] more concerned, and rightly so, with the dis[illegible] consequences of the impact of famine on the [illegible] structure of Bengal's economic and social life. [illegible] bodies of children and the honour of women have [illegible] cheaply, and human greed no less than human cru[illegible] has deepened the tragedy, the ominous shadows [illegible] which have not yet disappeared from our midst. [illegible] mittedly, the book has been written from a wom[illegible] point of view and the entire tragedy has been [illegible] through the sufferings and humiliation of wom[illegible] trapped in the meshes of famine. That does not, how[illegible] ever, mean that the sufferings of men have been ov[illegible] looked. The short stories which make up the m[illegible] portion of the book bring back to life all those poig[illegible] scenes that have been imprinted on our memory [illegible] ever. Lakshmi, Juthika or Sukhi are not imag[illegible] characters; they are real, so are their tragedy [illegible] humiliation. If rehabilitation is to have any mean[illegible] it must secure, before everything else, the salvage [illegible] this human wreckage and the resurrection of their [illegible] of honour and self-respect. Ela Sen rightly focu[illegible] the attention of her readers on the extreme urgency [illegible] this aspect of the rehabilitation problem, even thou[illegible] in places the striking realism of her narration is clou[illegible] by the vapours of sentimentality. The sketches [illegible] Zainul Abedin have added to the realistic as well [illegible] artistic quality of the book. Abedin's treatment of [illegible] pariah dog and the scavenging crow is somet[illegible] unique in the entire gallery of artistic representation [illegible] this dismal tragedy. Frankly, I failed to appreci[illegible] the printer's choice of the crimson background [illegible] Abedin's sketches, and without being dogmatic. I m[illegible] say that a pale blue background would have perh[illegible] been more in consonance with the theme of the bo[illegible] as well as the spirit of the sketches.

Monindra Mohan Mo[illegible]

KEATS'S CONCEPTION OF THE POET[illegible] VOCATION : *By K. B. Roy, M.A. Messrs. Ram K[illegible] & Sons, Lahore. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Mr. Roy, while a research scholar in the Univers[illegible] of Lucknow, undertook the study of Keats's conce[illegible] of the Poetic Vocation as revealed in his letters [illegible] poems. Prof. Amaranatha Jha introduces the results [illegible] that study embodied in the volume under review [illegible] a valuable monograph. Certainly there is still sco[illegible] for much fruitful work in this direction. Dr. Ta[illegible] Saito broached the subject twenty years ago and [illegible] chapter on the function of poetry deserves [illegible] publicity even today.

Throughout his letters Keats had scatte[illegible] numerous observations on the poet and his voca[illegible]

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and they have been liberally laid upon contribution by all students of Keats ever since their publication. Some of them have been quoted in the book, but one feels that Mr. Roy might have used them more freely. Keats who found that he could not exist without poetry, who declared 'there is no greater sin after the seven deadly than to flatter oneself into an idea of being a great poet', thought a good deal on the greatness of his vocation and made strenuous efforts to advance towards his ideal. In his verses he says, with reference to poetry :

A drainless shower
Of light is poesy; 'tis the supreme of power;
'Tis might half slumbering on its own right arm.

Most of the chapters are descriptive and some of them are interpretative. But it is difficult to understand why there is duplication of matter. The *Odes* and *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* are both fondly dwelt upon again and again. Pages 145 and 167 may be compared. This might have been easily avoided. The interpretation of *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* appears also to be a little fantastic. Selincourt had no doubt referred to its conception as 'invested with a sense of tragedy' and Saito commented : "Sympathy could not be deeper." But that is a far cry from Mr. Roy's interpretation (?) of the 'hero' (the Knight) as 'self-effacement and self-annihilation and throwing one's lot in common with fellow-sufferers.' There are also certain typographical errors, in fact, too many of them. There is also a peculiarity (?) in the printing, the last word of a page is repeated in the next page just as they carry it on in typing. This unusual 'feature' might have been avoided without any loss of contents, and with some gain in space, etc.

P. R. SEN

UNITY : *Hamara Hindostan Publication, Bombay. Pages 79. Price As. 8.*

This is a very timely publication being a collection from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the late Mahadevbhai Desai, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas and Srijut K. G. Mashruwalla on Hindu-Muslim unity and other allied subjects with Gandhiji's interpretation of the Gita and Moulana Azad's interpretation of the Quran in the Appendices.

India in spite of differences of religion, race and languages is one and undivided and the same ancient civilization is claimed by all as their own. It is the third party *i.e.*, the alien rulers who are responsible for the gulf of the differences that divides the Hindus and the Muslims. So long the third party controls the political destiny of India there is hardly any possibility of a united India growing undisturbed. Almost all the political leaders and thinkers are of opinion that the Constitution of India must be drawn by Indians themselves and so long the British Parliament retains its sovereignty and the English nation refuses Indians the right of self-determination, the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and a compromise with other minorities and interests cannot take place. It is almost a vicious circle between Unity and Independence—which to come first.

A book of this nature deserves wide circulation among the politically-minded people of the country.

WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL : *By Karl Marx with an Introduction by Frederick Engels. Published by Central Publishing Union, Lucknow. Pages 32. Price As. 8.*

The original essays criticising the then classical Economists by Marx appeared in the form of leading newspaper articles in 1849. Subsequently Marx changed some of his views and these articles in a modified form (as Marx would have himself done) were edited and published by Engels from London in 1891.

This publication is a cheap reprint meant for the students of Marxian literature.

A. B. DUTTA

THE BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIONS : *By Sophia Wadia. With a foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Second Edition. Published by International Book House Ltd., Ash Lane, Bombay. Pp. 288. Price Rs. 3.*

The learned authoress is the distinguished editor of that high-brow journal, the *Aryan Path* and *Indian P. E. N.* as well as the leader of the Theosophical Movement, Bombay. Though English is not her mother-tongue, yet she is a charming speaker in English. She has devoted her life to the establishment of Brotherhood of religions in India, her adopted motherland. Deeply she loves India and her eternal wisdom and says that she is inspired by India, the modern heir of ancient Aryavarta whose immemorial wisdom has made India the motherland of all those who love the path of the spirit.

The book, under review, is a compilation of lectures "chosen from among many delivered at different places and under different auspices during five years" on almost all religions. These lectures, observes Mahatma Gandhi, in the foreword, "show at a glance how much similarity there is between the principal faiths of the earth in the fundamentals of life." Madame Wadia examines all religions with reverence and brings out pointedly the essential unity underlying them. She rightly distinguishes the essentials of religions from their non-essentials and emphasises the need of following the former and setting aside the latter as the *sine qua non* of true religious living. The root of all religious quarrels is an appalling ignorance of the essentials of one's own faith as well as other faiths. This ignoble ignorance will be dispelled and our religious outlook broadened by a comparative study of various faiths to which this book will serve as an excellent introduction and dependable guide. An elaborate index and a glossary of Pali and Sanskrit words used in the book are appended.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

DOCTRINE OF KARMA : *By Swami Abhedananda, Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19/B Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

This is the second edition of Swamiji's lectures on Doctrine of Karma and philosophy of work; and to these have been added two other lectures on Delusion and Heart and Mind. These are fascinating studies on Karma in all its aspects—on its nature, on laws governing it as well as on Karma Yoga. The lecture on the law of compensation will remind the reader of Emerson's lecture on the same subject and both should be read together.

ISAN CH. ROY

BENGALI

BANGLA SAMAYIK SAHITYA (Bengali Periodical Literature) : *By Brajendra Nath Banerji. Visva-Vidya-Samgraha Series No. 33. Visva-Bharati, Calcutta, 1945. Pp. 86.*

Any work from the industrious and careful pen of Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji hardly requires a recommendation but speaks for itself. The present sketch, included in the well-known Visva-Vidya Series, which has already popularised itself by thoughtful contributions of eminent writers, is a short and clear version, within the limits of some eighty pages, of his more elaborate and fully documented History of Bengali Periodicals; but it does not lose its importance on that

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account. Meant chiefly though it is for the general reader, no pains has been spared to make it complete, accurate and interesting; but the specialist also will find in it some matter which is new and valuable. No better work can be recommended to the busy reader who wants to have a short but reliable account of an extremely interesting subject.

S. K. De

KHELAR MATH : *By Jogendra Nath Gupta. Published by the Author from P.651A, Mahanirban Road, Calcutta. Pages 256. Price Rs. 2.*

Mr. Gupta as Editor of the *Sishu Bharati* (the Children's Encyclopaedia) is well-known among the juvenile readers of Bengal: He has contributed a good number of books to the Bengali literature and not a small number for the young readers. *Khelar Math* or the Play Ground—when it was being published in instalments in the *Kaishorak*, kept young readers anxious from month to month till the story was concluded. It is a fascinating tale with tit-bits of juvenile adventure—all around the game of cricket. School students, teachers, villagers all meet and part full of life and reality and the hobby of adventure to find the missing foreign stamps is really exciting and keeps the young minds in suspense. We shall not be surprised if some young readers fail to go to the play ground being absorbed in its study.

This is an innocent story of adventure for the young and as such deserves wide circulation among those for whom it has been written.

A. B. Dutta

HINDI

SHILINDHRA HAMARE MITRA TATHA SHATRU : *By Kameshwar Sahaya Bhargava. Allahabad University, Allahabad. Pp. 29. Price not mentioned.*

This is a pamphlet which deals with Fungus and its several uses in medicine, industry and food as well as some of its indirect uses. It traces the history of Fungus from the earliest recorded times both in East and in West. On striking the balance of its advantages and disadvantages, the writer—whose capacity for research is quite evident—comes to the conclusion that Fungus is at present more a foe of man than his friend.

PRAKASH-CHIKITSA : *By Dr. Sudhir Kumar Mukerji. Allahabad University, Allahabad. Pp. 72. Price not mentioned.*

This is a Hindi translation of two chapters of Dr. Nilratan Dhar's *New Conceptions in Bio-Chemistry*, dealing with the value of sunlight in curing certain diseases and in increasing the "vitaminness" of a number of edibles. Had the style been simpler, the usefulness of the book to the lay reader would have been enhanced considerably.

G. M.

CANARESE

CHARAKA SAMHITA—CHIKITSA STHANA Part I : *Edited and published by Ayurveda Teertha Adya Anantacharya, Bijapur. Price Rs. 6.*

The book under review is a Kannada rendering of the original Sanskrit work of the same name. Charaka and Sushruta are the two important works extant on the ancient lore of Ayurveda. Charaka is regarded as the most ancient and authoritative work on Ayurveda and as such is held in very high esteem. Its very ancientness has lent scope for variations in readings and interpolations. The editor has tried his level best to consult different texts available and determine the correct readings. He has further added a few prescriptions of medicines in the light of his own experienced practice ranging over a lengthy period. The translator has done a very useful work in appending the Kannada equivalents for different herbs and drugs. Sri. A... deserves well-merited praise for putting such a u... work on the market for the benefit of Kannada A... vedic students and public.

V. B. N...

GUJARATI

HRADAYANJALI : *By Mrs. Indumati Deo... Broach. Printed at the Patidar Printing Press, Kad... 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 84.*

These are rhapsodies in the vogue of Miran... devotional songs addressed to Krishna. They are b... in prose and verse, and show a good command o... language. She is a disciple of Arvind Babu of Pondi... and a genuine believer in the following verse which... prints on the last cover, "With the Divine all is b...

NAVIN KAVITAVISHE VYAKHYANO : ... *Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (Retd.). Printed... the Sadhana Press, Baroda. (1943). Pp. 189. P... Rs. 2.*

The Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, ... opened a Post-Graduate class, before which P... Thakore delivered lectures on the New or Mo... poetry of Gujarat. The lectures are divided into ... sections and embrace almost every phase of ... poetry, as represented by numerous young and ... composers. The lecturer writes that the period is ... of transition, and is bound to give rise to "Rev... tionary" writers. The reviews are so thorough ... couched in such trenchant and fearless language ... they have become a milestone in the path of critic... or review in the literature of Gujarat. It is not ... the reviews are unsympathetic or harsh : on the o... hand, at numerous places one finds words of encour... ment, and appreciation, which go to hearten the y... composer.

K. M. J...

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

My Pictures

We give below the first part of the article, as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, on "My Pictures" by Rabindranath Tagore, written in London on July 2, 1930 :

When, at the age of five, I was compelled to learn and to repeat the lessons from my text-book, I had the notion that literature had its mysterious manifestation on the printed pages, that it represented some supernatural tyranny of an immaculate perfection. Such a despairing feeling of awe was dissipated from my mind when by chance I discovered in my own person that verse-making was not beyond the range of an untrained mind and tottering handwriting. Since then my sole medium of expression has been words, followed at sixteen by music, which also came to me as a surprise.

In the meanwhile the modern art movement, following the line of the oriental tradition, was started by my nephew Abanindranath. I watched his activities with an envious mood of self-diffidence, being thoroughly convinced that my fate had refused me passport across the strict boundaries of letters.

But one thing which is common to all arts is the principle of rhythm which transforms inert materials into living creations. My instinct for it and my training in its use led me to know that lines and colours in art are no carriers of information; they seek their rhythmic incarnation in pictures. Their ultimate purpose is not to illustrate or to copy some outer fact or inner vision, but to evolve a harmonious wholeness which finds its passage through our eyesight into imagination. It neither questions our mind for meaning nor burdens it with unmeaningness, for it is, above all, meaning.

Desultory lines obstruct the freedom of our vision with the inertia of their irrelevance. They do not move with the great march of all things. They have no justification to exist and therefore they rouse up against them their surroundings; they perpetually disturb peace. For this reason the scattered scratches and corrections in my manuscripts cause me annoyance. They represent regrettable mischance, like a gapingly foolish crowd struck in a wrong place, undecided as to how or where to move on. But if the spirit of a dance is inspired in the heart of that crowd, the unrelated many would find a perfect unity and be relieved of its hesitation between to be and not to be. I try to make my corrections dance, connect them in a rhythmic relationship and transform accumulation into adornment.

This has been my unconscious training in drawing. I find disinterested pleasure in this work of reclamation, often giving to it more time and care than to my immediate duty in literature that has the sole claim upon my attention, often aspiring to a permanent recognition from the world.

—

Yeats on India

In the case of Yeats, the "superhuman" or "supernatural", in short the non-rational, played an exceedingly important part in his evolution as a writer and poet. Dr. Alex Aronson writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Yeats was not the first to discover that poetry is born out of a mystical experience, a kind of supernatural trance where all earthly conflicts are solved and the subconscious itself is transformed into artistic creation. Many before him had experienced a similar spiritual awakening.

The fact that, from his childhood onwards, he felt attracted towards things Eastern, and particularly towards India, indeed proves that not only intellectually, but also temperamentally he was drawn towards the subconscious of the human mind. And more than once he found in India what was so sadly lacking in the West : an intuitive approach to life, a religion born of an inner need, a challenge to materialism.

Yeats was a dreamer and more than once he deceived himself into believing in an India of his own creation, the India of the Romantics; indeed, as to so many other European thinkers and poets before him, India was to him a wish-fulfilment rather than a reality. And first and foremost it was an escape, a looking back rather than a looking forward, an India coloured by the nostalgic emotions of a dissatisfied European poet.

Yeats's discovery of India can hardly be called an intellectual and even less an academic achievement.

His poetry, indeed his love for all that is primitive and simple and rooted in the soil quite naturally led him towards India.

Yeats, in his early manhood, was intensely preoccupied with the past, that dim and primeval darkness of ancient times. "There are two ways before literature," he says, "upward into ever-growing subtlety . . . or downward, taking the soul with us until all is simplified and solidified again." (1906). This was written six years before Yeats discovered Tagore's English rendering of *Gitanjali*. And it was quite in the nature of things that he found in *Gitanjali* just those elements of poetry which were lacking in the West: the living tradition of the past, a continuity in the life of the people whose roots are deep down in the soil.

It is from this time onwards that we find Yeats definitely turning towards the East for inspiration. Sometimes, indeed, Yeats feels that Europe has outgrown her past, that every seed has borne its fruit; ". . . it is now time to copy the East and live deliberately."

A poet's approach to a foreign civilization must necessarily imply a valuation. In the case of Yeats we may safely say that many of his values, both literary and cultural in general, were derived from that revivalist movement which he himself helped to create and which was by no means determined by purely literary considerations. It was a return to the primeval simplicity of the past, the unsophisticated civilization of the "people." There is no doubt that India was to him the fulfilment of many of his dreams, a vision of the final harmony in human life.

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The Rhine Front

The New Review observes :

It is important to note that the Allied offensive could not get well under way earlier than one month ago. As the Ardennes counter-offensive was petering out in early February, Marshal Montgomery passed to the attack, but was stalled by the German skilful defence. Crerar's Canadians fought bravely through mud and water, hopping from dry spot to dry spot and from dike to dike, pushing their way across minefields in a murderous frontal assault which reached the Rhine. The American Third Army bored through the West Wall, painfully inching forward in the Eifel forest. But in the centre the American First and Ninth were stopped. The dams of the Roer and Urft rivers had been blown up by von Rundstedt, and let loose a flood which widened the Roer up to one thousand yards and barred the access to the Cologne plain. The Americans captured the Urft dam but had to wait for the ground to dry before resuming their advance. It was only by the fourth week of February that the Allied offensive could develop on a large-scale.

Then things went well, and in three weeks the Allies had taken 150,000 prisoners, many more than the Russians in their well-publicized Warsaw-Oder drive. Crerar's troops went on slithering through slime, slosh, sludge, and pushed from the Maas-Rhine corner southwards up the Rhine valley. The American Third plodded on east of Ptum. The American First and Ninth jumped the Roer, broke through in the centre, on and on, to Cologne, to Bonn, to Coblentz and even sprinted across the Rhine at Remagen. Then Patton's Third took on, rushed down the Moselle, leaped across the river, swerved south and hemmed in the German northern flank whilst the Seventh forced back the southern flank so as to squeeze and crush the German pocket. The west bank of the Rhine was clear of the enemy. The manoeuvring had been brilliant and the victory complete.

Several points stand out in a retrospective view of the last months. The first is the failure of the German High Command to gain the time they wanted. For three months they delayed the Allies by the Ardennes' counteroffensive, by timely flooding of valleys, by desperate delaying tactics. The delay partly worked against them since it meant a more thorough and prolonged bombing of their communications and war plants, but it was considered imperative since they relied on a turn of the war in April. By April, they hoped new secret weapons would be ready, and they knew that in any case a new class of 17-year olds would supply a number of fanatic divisions.

Lastly one remarkable development of last month's operations was the sudden appearance of an American Fifteenth Army and disappearance of the British Second. The American Fifteenth has no special feature, but the British Second is a very mobile weapon. It was the British Second under General Dempsey which, at the close of the Battle of France, made the spectacular rush to Brussels and Antwerp. Along with our Parachute Army, it was rested and refitted for the coming break-through.

The Way the Political Wind is Blowing in India

In the course of an article in *The Hindustan Review* under the above caption, 'An Onlooker' observes :

Islam is, on a correct interpretation of its teachings, as embodied in the Quran, a religion of concord and tolerance, and of goodwill towards all human beings, and it is not limited in its scope to Muslims alone.

It was in this very sense that the greatest Muslim born in India, under British rule, Sir Syed Ahmad, the founder of the great educational institution at Aligarh which had long since developed into the well-known Muslim University) interpreted the true spirit of Islamic teachings when, applying them to the political conditions of India, he observed, in the course of a speech, at Gurdaspur, in the Punjab, made in 1884, as follows : "From the oldest times the word 'nation' applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Muhammadan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burnt on, and buried under, the same soil? Do yiu not tread, and live upon, the same ground ? Remember that the words 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' are only meant for religious distinction, otherwise all persons—whether Hindu, Muslim, or Christian—who reside in this great country of ours belong to one and the same nation. As the different sects in this country can only be described as one nation, they must each and all unite for the good of the country, which is common to all."

Indeed, in a later speech, at Lahore, Sir Syed went further, and declared: "I call both these communities which inhabit India by one word, 'Hindu', meaning thereby that they are inhabitants of Hindustan."

One year earlier, addressing a public meeting at Patna, Sir Syed Ahmed had spoken to the same effect :

"Both my Hindu brethren and my Muslim co-religionists breathe the same air, drink the waters of the sacred Ganges and the Jamuna, eat the produce which God has given to this country, live and die together. Both of us had shed off our former dress and habits, and while the Muslims have adopted numbers of customs belonging to the Hindus, the Hindus have been vastly influenced by the Muslim habits and customs. I say with conviction that in all matters of everyday life the Hindus and the Muslims really belong to one community as children of the soil, and not two. I grieve at the sight of those who do not understand this basic point, and inculcate views which would ultimately lead to a permanent cleavage between two sections of the Indian community. I have always said that our land of India is like a newly-wedded bride, whose two beautiful and luscious eyes are the Hindus and the Muslims; if the two live in concord with one another the bride will remain for ever resplendent and beautiful, while if they make up their mind to destroy each other, she is bound to become squint-eyed and even one-eyed."

He was equally eloquent when speaking at Lahore a little later, he expressed himself as follows: "In the word 'nation' I include both Hindus and Mahomedans because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it. We inhabit the same land, are subject to the same rule, the fountains of benefits for all are the same and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both the races which inhabit India by one word, *i.e.*, 'Hindu', meaning that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan."

Contrast the above noble sentiments—inspiring to a degree—with those expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in his discussions with Mahatma Gandhi, in September last year, and the effect is a mental depression which is irremediable.

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An Account of Piracy During the Reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb

The neglect of sea-power by the Mughals cost them much. They were never able to secure their seas from pirates. Prof. S. P. Sangar writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Their ships were not well-equipped to repel the onslaughts of the pirates, who were ever on the look-out for Indian vessels laden with riches. They would seem, on the other hand, anxious to seek help from the European East India Companies. Every sort of pressure was brought to bear on their Presidents, resident at Surat, to grant passes of safe conduct for Indian ships sailing to other countries. Even the attitude of the English at Surat could not be sympathetic towards the nefarious activities of the pirates. In view of the mental and physical hardships in prison and the financial losses they had to undergo, including the serious menace to the safe prosecution of their trade, they themselves thought it essential to take measures to stop the robberies on the seas. The system of issuing passes was considered the best, though these passes were not always a guarantee against piracy. The pirates belonging to the English nation were requested not to molest the Indian ships furnished with English passes as that was likely to produce an injurious effect on their (English) interests. Moreover, expeditionary ships were sent by the English both from India and England to search out the haunts of the culprits, encounter and extirpate them.

The Mughal authorities did not, however, yield to the situation easily. If they were not strong on the sea, they were not weak on the land. They did not sit idle after a ship belonging to India had been subjected to the pirates' raids. They were not slow to inquire about the nationality of the culprits. This known, the government compelled the members of that nation in India to compensate the sufferers. If a ship was looted by some Englishmen, the President of the English East India Company at Surat had to face a difficult situation. The merchants concerned demanded justice from the Mughal authorities. The latter at once ordered a guard to be placed over the English Factory. The President was taken into custody and asked to make up the loss. Sometimes, the members of the Council as well had to suffer imprisonment. If this proved unavailing, they would threaten the English trade throughout India. The English factors at Agra, Ahmedabad and other places were imprisoned and their goods sealed.

The pirates, almost all of them, belonged to European nations.

They were English, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Swedes. Besides these, there were the Maratha warships which cruised about their newly built forts in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the "habshis." Then there were the *Sakans*; they were also notorious for their acts of piracy. But the Maratha and Sakan pirates were not so dangerous as the European ones. The piracy in the Indian seas grew with a corresponding growth of Indian trade.

Two Mughal vessels, one of whom had a pass from the Surat Factory, were looted in 1635 at the mouth of the Red Sea by Gobb, the captain of a ship licensed by Charles I of England.

The looting of a Surat merchant-vessel early in April, 1636 put the English to great trouble. As soon as the news of the piracy was whispered into the ears of President Methwold, he went to see the 'governor' (customs-officer). There he had to face the angry looks of the persons who had suffered losses. He returned home and soon found that his house had been placed under guard. A quarrel with the guard was followed by its being redoubled. A few days passed in efforts at compromise. The President, then, went to the 'governor's' durbar. At the end of the proceedings he and his companion found themselves prisoners. They were removed to a close and inconvenient room where 'chindus', a common vermin, allowed them no rest. Their most terrible experience was the 'clamorous swarme of the offended multitude of pretenders' which they brought upon us.' These people showered upon them two a whole tirade of contemptuous epithets. Meanwhile, the *Taufiki*, the looted vessel, arrived. Methwold was called before the 'governor' in the darbar where he cross-examined the *nakhuda* of the junk.

The English President was not prepared in any case to acknowledge the fault of his own countrymen. But he was helpless to make a stand against the facts.

To put further pressure, certain English goods from Agra and Ahmedabad were taken possession of and the English at Surat complained to the Company that unless the goods at Ahmedabad were released, the *Discovery* must sail partly empty. The outcome of all this was that the company had to pay the huge sum of Rs. 1,10,000 to satisfy the demands of the robbed merchants. The President and Council at Surat decided to send the *Blessing* to search and seize the offenders.

Just upon the heels of this incident came the news of another act of piracy. A Dieu junk was looted by some pirates and the charge was levied against the English. The merchants at Ahmadabad became clamorous for the satisfaction of their demands. The Dieu affair brought about, first of all, the imprisonment of the factors at Ahmadabad. They were not to be released until they found sureties. Then came the order forbidding them to go outside the city walls. They found, moreover, their effects sequestered. At Agra their house was seized and their broker kept under surveillance. They had to suffer in Sind as well; the goods and money there were confiscated. The Dieu merchants had petitioned the Viceroy for justice and the latter was making enquiries. Matters lingered on in this way for over a month, when the king ordered the release of the persons and goods at Agra, Ahmadabad and Thatta.

In October of the same year some English pirates again looted an Indian vessel. The departure of the interested parties for the court of justice frightened the English at Surat.

In 1638, Indian vessels were plundered and their crews tortured by an English Captain. The English at Surat had to suffer for these misdeeds of their fellow-countrymen. They were kept in prison for two months and could not secure their release before the payment of Rs. 1,70,000 as compensation.

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The Niagara Falls

Dr. H. L. Pasricha writes in *The Indian Review*:

Six million horse-power stampeding in wild waste over a 165-foot precipice—that was Niagara Falls up to generation or two ago. Countless generations of Red Indians wove the "Thunder of Waters" into their myths and legends. French missionaries of the 17th century, venturing through a wilderness, brought back amazing tales of wild waters leaping down a mountain-side.

It was an obscure fur-trader, Chabert Joncaire by name, who first saw both power and beauty in Niagara Falls. Sometime in 1757 he dug a little circular ditch just above the American Falls. With a six-foot fall he ran a saw-mill that may have used 20 horsepower. The lumber thus produced was used in building ships to bring down furs from the Upper lakes.

Modern methods in the Niagara power industry began in 1852 with the digging of what is known as the Hydraulic Canal. This canal was part of a project to take water from a point about a half mile above the American Falls and bring it across the city of Niagara Falls to the cliff wall of the gorge below the Falls. By letting the canal water flow over the cliff, power could be developed on a far greater scale than had ever been undertaken before. As in 1852 electricity had only been recently applied to telegraphy, the dream of the Niagara power pioneers of that generation never went beyond water wheels directly connected with machinery. Even so, it was a great dream.

Some pioneers sacrificed careers and fortunes to a dream they never saw come true.

Walter Bryant and his friends struggled against unexpected obstacles until they had lost $300,000. Horace H. Day and others who then took up the challenge sunk $700,000 in the project before they confessed failure.

But the hour produces the man. In 1877 Jacob F. Schoellkopf and his associates bought the canal property at public auction and set doggedly to work, building, experimenting, testing, perfecting. They struggled and persevered. Soon a flour mill was using 900 horse-power developed from the canal water.

Then came electricity which revolutionized the entire Niagara power industry. In 1879 Prospect Park in Niagara Falls was lighted by arc-lamps fed by Niagara power. By 1881 water wheels of 2,000 horse-power capacity were connected with dynamos by rope-drive, and the electric power developed was sold for commercial use.

Others came to share in the great power development. The trial had been blazed. Capital was slowly obtained for the necessary experimental work. Great electro-chemical industries spread about the Falls. Constant and dependable low-cost power in the quantity production of ferro-alloys, chlorine and alkalies, electrodes, graphite phosphorus compounds, sodium, potassium, aluminium, and a score more basic products was the magnet that attracted them.

New water-ways, tunnels, receiving basins, grew to mammoth constructions of cement and steel and stone. Improved electrical machinery continuously increased in size, efficiency and power, until units of 70,000 horse-power were reached and a vast web of transmission lines radiated from the Falls to serve wide country-sides and multitudinous populations.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Scientific Co-operation

A. L. Poole and I. E. Coop, both of whom are New Zealand scientists, discuss the need of 'scientific collaboration between the United Kingdom and New Zealand in war and peace' in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

The term scientific co-operation is axiomatic. Scientists the world over consciously or unconsciously assist one another in so far as they work upon and develop the accumulated knowledge of other scientists. It is true to say that the flow of scientific knowledge is free because of the practice, and indeed the necessity, for scientific workers to publish their results. Some work might remain hidden for a time, but eventually it finds its way out.

The importance of this scientific knowledge to a community cannot be gainsaid. It will be appreciated that any country, if it is to give a good account of itself in a world rapidly changing under the impact of science, must develop the science of those industries which are its main livelihood and keep abreast of scientific development in other fields. In times of war this becomes a matter of the utmost urgency.

New Zealand has attempted to do this: but with a population of only some 1,600,000 in a country a little larger than England, Scotland and Wales, she cannot have scientific services on the scale of larger countries; she must necessarily lag behind these, with their better equipped laboratories, in the development of fundamental science, as well as of much applied research. She endeavours, however, to keep abreast of this, particularly of applied research, by specialised co-operation, and has given much thought to the development of this service.

The foundation of wider scientific co-operation was laid in the early days of the history of the Dominion, when the University of New Zealand was established. The first teachers were recruited from Britain, and the University itself was modelled along the lines of British Universities. The practice of recruiting British scientists into the New Zealand University still goes on, and so keeps it abreast of the most recent British teaching.

The custom has also grown up of many New Zealand graduates in science coming to Britain, either independently, or as holders of scholarships, to further their training and experience. These graduates are not compelled to return to the Dominion and many remain in Britain. Those who do return take back with them the advanced learning of British Science and those who remain frequently impart a freshness of outlook acquired from a young country.

In medical sciences it is the practice for a number of graduate doctors to proceed to the great English hospitals to specialise in some branch of surgery or medicine.

When we look beyond the sphere of university training to the field of research, we again find the closest co-operation with Britain. The exchange of literature and the personal exchange of views and information between scientific workers in both countries is proceeding all the time. Moreover, visits of scientists from one country to the other are frequent, and scientific representatives from both meet at imperial and international scientific conferences.

All the above methods of scientific co-operation have become common between many countries. But because New Zealand is a small and isolated country she has deemed it wise to build up more highly specialised scientific co-operation in the form of scientific liaison services. This is being done under the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

War Artists of the USSR

Vsevolod Shevtsov writes:

In Stalingrad, in the Crimea and now in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Prussian territory, among tankmen, sappers and tommygunners you will come across people with a sketch book in their hands and knap-sack across their shoulders. They are war artists from the Moscow Studio called after the well-known Soviet battle scene painter Mitrophan Grekov.

Fifty studio artists have made it their goal to depict in their pictures the grandeur of the Patriotic War which the Russian people are conducting against the Nazis. In order to attain their goal they have selected front line surroundings to be their "workshop". All the artists in the Grekov Studio have been at the

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front as soldiers or commanders. They have seen quite a bit of fighting as tankmen or tommygunners. Some of them were in partisan units. They have had extensive experience in battle and they all have good knowledge of the technique of the war and people fighting it. For them the front has become a kind of "academy". Many artists were awarded orders for bravery and courage. Nikolai Obrynba, an excellent painter, destroyed 37 Germans with his tommy-gun while he was fighting in a partisan unit. When he was not fighting Nikolai Obrynba was busy in painting. During the three and a half years he spent in the partisan unit he painted ten pictures depicting the life of his friends, people's avengers.

Nikolai Zhukov, an outstanding Soviet graphic artist and Stalin prize winner, is at head of the studio. Together with studio artists he tours the front making drawings and collective materials for large canvases. In the last year and a half he has made more than 300 sketches at the front. Sketches cover a wide variety of themes.

In his poster-leaflet "Lebensraum" we see an endless snow-covered field dotted with upright crosses crowded with German helmets. Over the field a crow hovers menacingly. Another fine example of Zhukov's work is the series "Soldier's Slang." The word "In Order" is popular among fightingmen and is applied in a great variety of meanings. The artist created a series of sketches under this title. A picture showing a dead German is entitled "In Order", a soldier shaving in a trench "In Order" and so on. In the series "Frontline Lyrics" is the sketch "Frontline Vase". It depicts a mud-covered soldier's pot with a bouquet of field flowers. At the front artists portrayed heroes of the Patriotic War, Nazi war prisoners, trophy material, and events of the frontline life. Recently Zhukov returned from the front having marched with the troops of the Belo-Russian Front from the very beginning of its offensive to the banks of the Nieman.—(*Tass News Agency of the U. S. S. R.*)

Canada

In an article in *The Catholic World*, C. J. Eustace notes the conflict of interests in Canadian politics between the English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians :

It is an interesting fact that, according to the latest Canadian census (1940), Canadians of British stock ceased to be a majority. Today less than 50 per cent of the Canadian population is of Anglo-Saxon origin. The three major ethnic groups in Canada are the English, the French, and the European Canadians. The numbers of those of British stock are slightly in the majority amongst the three groups, but while the birthrate of the French and European Canadians is increasing, that of the British Canadians is on the decline.

Canada today is a melting-pot, in which the various racial and religious groups are attempting to find a *modus vivendi* which will allow them to develop, each according to their religious and cultural peculiarity, although welded together by the common federal basis of Canadian politics. This process of "becoming Canadian" is not achieved without difficulty, nor without bitter recriminations from the different interest groups, which attempt to exert pressure on the social structure, chiefly through the instrumentality of provincial politics.

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About 70 per cent of the Anglo-Canadian population is now born in Canada, so that although the first generation of immigrants spend most of their lives looking back to the "Old Country," to the soil of which they remain attached, their children become Canadians without much difficulty. On the other hand, the French-Canadians are 95 per cent Canadian born, and inherit the specifically French-Canadian culture of their forefathers, of which they are extremely proud and jealous.

French-Canada is solidly Catholic, and today, amidst the uprush of secular humanism which has in common with the other secularized countries of Western civilization, seized hold of the Dominion, Quebec is amongst the few Catholic nations that remain in the world.

Mutual recriminations between French and English-speaking Canadians have been violent during this war. The broad divisions between the two racial groups in matters of religion, language, and culture, have their repercussions in the political field, so that the cause of Canadian national unity has not been helped in recent years. French-Canadian provincialism, and their nationalistic ambitions, account for a good deal of the suspicion with which their English-Canadian compatriots view them, while English-Canadian pragmatism, financial and industrial exploitation, make the French suspicious where often no suspicion is justified. An early French-Canadian epigram describes aptly the temper of Quebec politics :

"The French, like the English,
Pretend to maintain their rights—
There is the resemblance;
The French by equity,
The English by duplicity—
Here is the difference."

Certainly Quebec is worth watching, being in sense a microcosm in which religious, racial, and tural traditions are clashing with the new colored, agnostic civilization of money and tech which threatens to engulf the world. The Fr Canadians are well aware of the advantages of taining a balance between the best of their Christian tradition, and the best of what scientific humanism offer them. Their task is the difficult one of a *via media* between these not irreconcilable tend of modern life.

Thomas Mann and Anatole France

Waldo Frank writes in the *Jewish F tier* :

When I was an undergraduate at Yale, I among my possessions the picture of a white-b man in a grey moleskin robe and a red satin skull above which was printed *The Greatest Living W* This was Anatole France. Thirty years later the quasi-literate middle class opinion would pred append the title to the portrait of a shrewd, shaven burgher, with the square head, cropped and prominent nose of a German peasant, Thomas Mann. Anatole France was not the writer of his time—not by a long shot. But his explained his vast contemporary glory. From V to Renan, from Proudhon to Flaubert, an atmos had gradually ripened in the bourgeois mind, w likes its reading to flatter its pride of connoisseur a stylish cult of anti-clericalism, social revolution a romantic harking back, under the guise of re satire and erudition, to colourful classical pasts. A France, in lucid prose and accessible mild

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mirrored this taste. The middle classes of the entire Occident accepted in him what they had been cool to in several generations of pioneer writers, who thus at last vicariously forced themselves upon them.

Mann is the very different paragon of an age with a very different climate. His democratic faith, no longer like the Frenchman's political and economic, moralistic. His realism reveals the decay, not of a class but of a world. His satire, unlike his predecessor's, is neither social nor (as in *La Revolte des Anges* and *L'Ile des Pengouins*) classically universal; but intimate and psychoanalytic. Whereas Anatole France, a skeptic in religion, was a believer in the rationalistic faith, in the simplistic psychology of nineteenth-century progress, Mann applies the psychology of Jung to the soul's arcana and to the myths behind history. And in place of the classical learning which helped Anatole France to write his delightful sensual tales of Gallic France, of Rome and of Greece, the new favourite—in the collapse of the whole classical world, of its modes of thought and modes of satire also, harks back to primordial Palestine and Egypt.

Mann's books, before he began his *Joseph* tetralogy, were adaptations of German romanticism to French realism. *Tristan, Tonio Kroeger, Der Tod in Venedig*, record the experience of hyper-sensitive sons of Novalis and Tieck, in a civilization rapidly going to pieces from within. The hour was ripe for great aesthetic syntheses of this collapse: hence Joyce and Proust. *Der Zauberberg* (1924) is Mann's more obvious inventory. The symbolism of the sanitorium on the top of Europe, where German, Italian, Jewish, French and Russian consumptives of the leisure classes depict the disease of the world through their personal pathologies, is too schematic for great art. The book's texture of character-portrayal is the competent, heavy, undistinguished realism of a whole generation of French novelists. Its psychology is too obtrusively Vienna. And the characters, unlike those of Proust, fail to reveal beneath their limitations of class and their unlimited discussions, the living human plasm. *Der Zauberberg* is far from being a great novel. But by catching up in accessible form a whole generation of trends which the average mind resisted or ignored in deeper writers, it gave perfect satisfaction to those who wanted to be "in the know" without paying the hard price of discovery and experience which new, great art exacts.

The first volume, *Die Geschichten Jaakobs* (translated *Joseph and his Brothers*), appeared in the year of Hitler's accession to power. For some time, Mann tried to carry on in Germany, honestly convinced that he could fight the enemy at home more efficaciously than abroad. Of course, it did not work: Mann, with his typical liberal mind, underestimated the demonism of the Nazis. He retreated to Switzerland—to Zurich, where, doubtless, he was in close contact with Jung whose psychology of the "collective-unconscious" was so strong a factor in his conceptions. Finally, he came to America. By this time, however, the first three tales of the tetralogy were written.

A North German author of high eminence, a contemporary of German anti-Semitism at its most virulent, a "good European"—having for a quarter century cultivated the gamut of Europe's thoughts and themes, chooses for his most ambitious, final work the retelling of a classic Hebrew story. This is an urgent sign of the times. And deeply significant it is that the Hebrew story has evoked from Mann the very best of his writings. Surely it could not have done so if the subject had been alien to his European spirit—if, indeed, it had not revived his European spirit. We have here a convergence between a man and a theme, too profound to be fortuitous.

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Discovery of the Central Temple of Tlatelolco

In *Mexico News* Martinez Del Rio tells us about the archaeological discovery of the central temple of Tlatelolco in Mexico City :

The majority of the writers of the daily press in Mexico are already acquainted with the archeological discoveries which have been made during the past few months in a big vacant lot which extends to the west of the old church of Santiago Tlatelolco. By a rather cruel irony of destiny, the territory just mentioned, so active in prehispanic times and during a great part of the colonial period, is today one of the most quiet and peaceful districts in Mexico City. It takes quite a bit of imagination to picture that the garden with its luxuriant trees and its green lawns which are so inviting, coincides (as has been proven) with the busy market place and the noisy fairs, as described by the conqueror Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and that the place was, without doubt, the greatest centre of all the New World.

The history of Tlatelolco can be summed up in a few sentences. Its date of founding is still far from being precisely figured out, even though there exists a sort of tradition that it was older than the twin city of Tenochtitlan. It is certain, however, that both cities were founded during the times when they were subject to the hegemony of Azcapotzalco. Much later, on the downfall of the political power there, conquered by the forces of Ixcoatl of Tenochtitlan, Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco and his colleagues, around 1428, Tlatelolco was made free and independent and was kept that way for about half a century when, in 1473 it was conquered by Axayacatl, master of Tenochtitlan, who took away its independence and made it part of his city. During the Spanish Conquest, Tlatelolco put up its final resistance, presented by Cuauhtemoc and his noble fighters. Shortly afterwards, on the ruins of the buildings of the old sacred temple (which lay in front of the market to the west and which coincide in general terms with the block today occupied by the church of Santiago, the Military Prison, and the adjacent barracks) there appeared a magnificent convent in which worked Sahagun, Torquemada, and other distinguished men.

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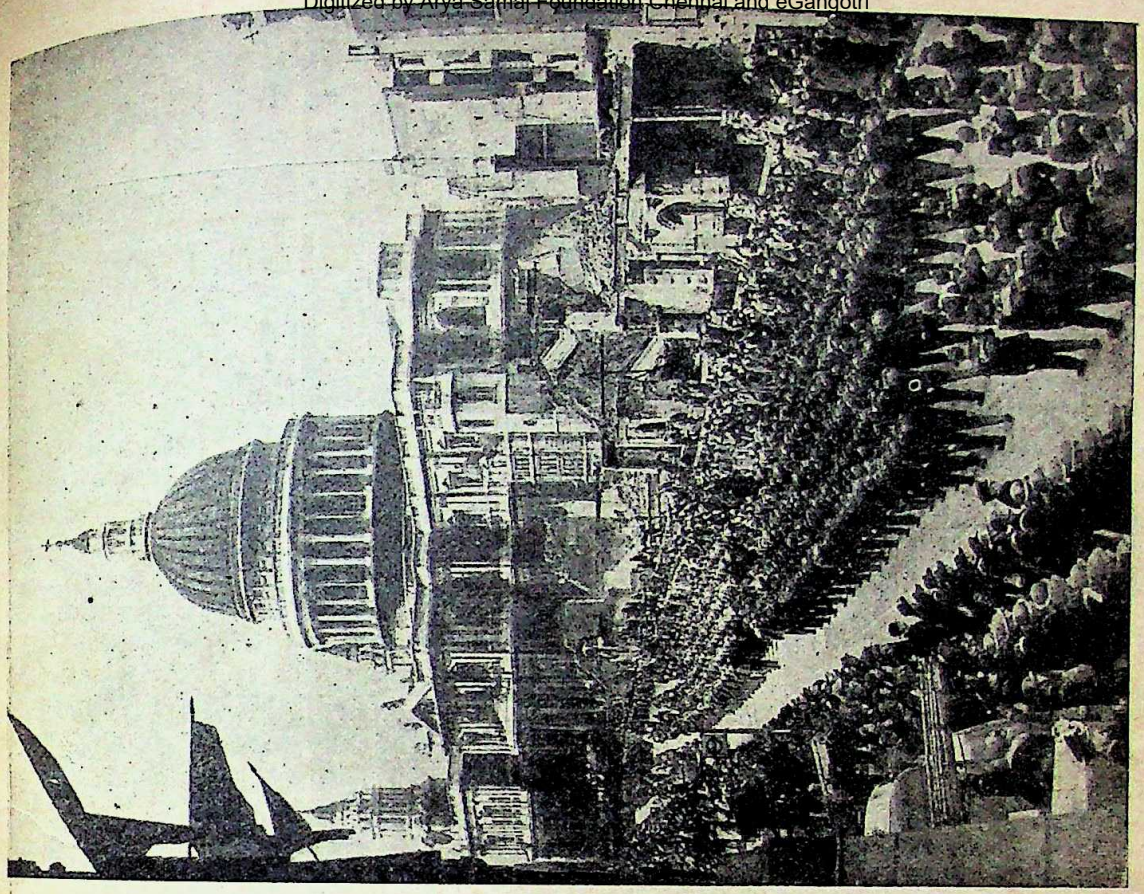

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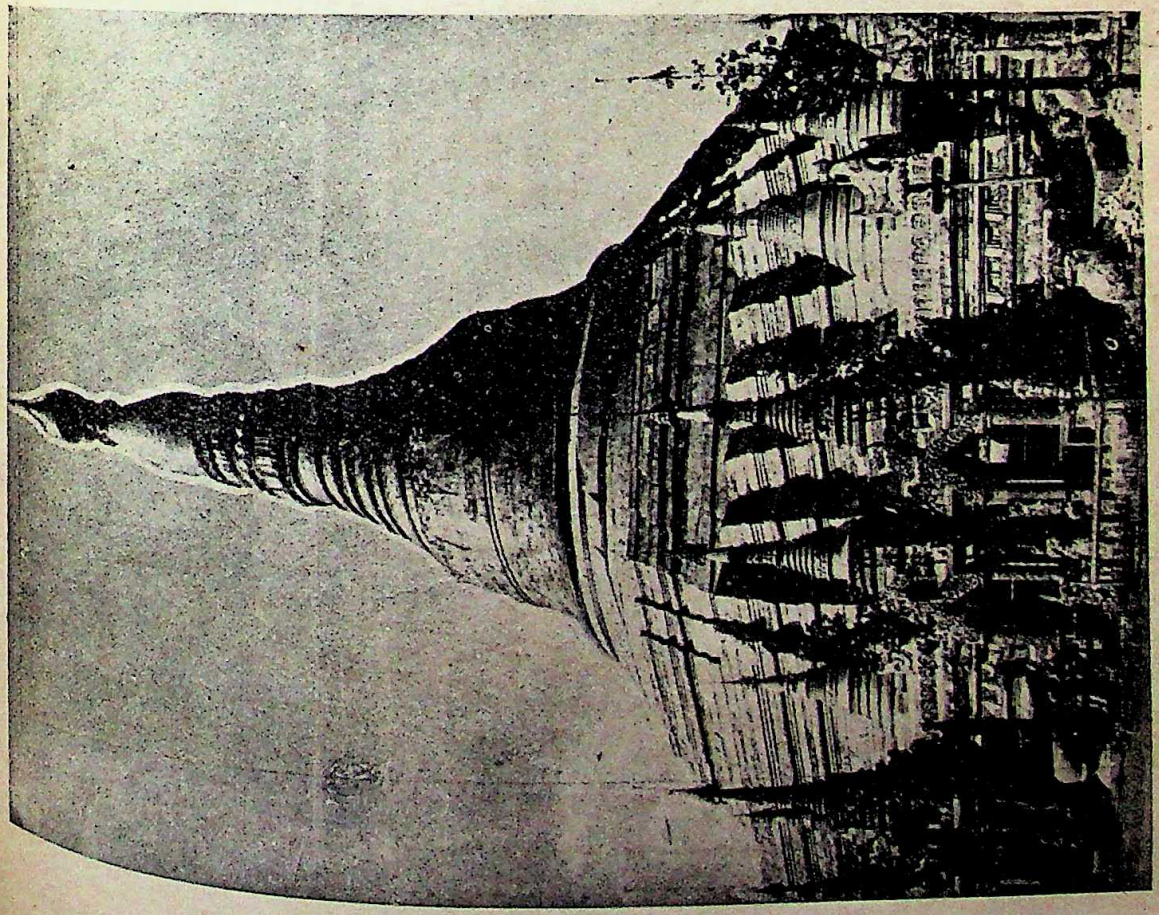

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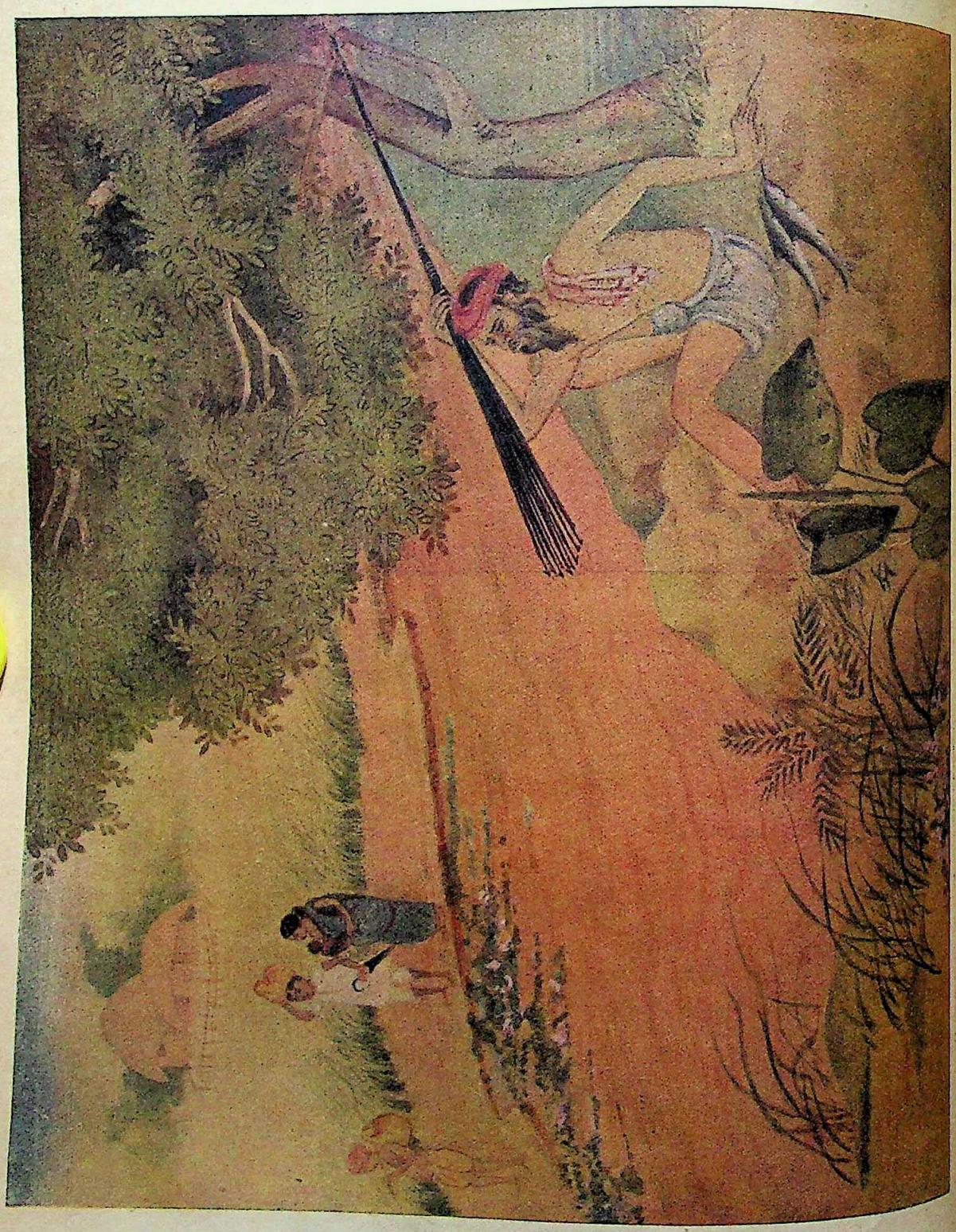

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NOTES

The Famine Commission Report

The Famine Commission's Report on Bengal has been published. In spite of shortcomings usual to such official documents, it is revealing. The chapter *Looking Back* gives one at least a good knowledge of how the devastating famine took its course and how the corrupt, inefficient and greedy people in charge of administration cleared its course instead of blocking it. We are no believers in official enquiries of this nature and we still think that much more would have come out had the Commission been composed entirely of non-officials of a high judicial status. The Governments of Bengal and India have been criticised, but not to the extent they deserve. The responsibility of the India Office has not been properly assessed. That the famine was man-made, that men, women, and children died as much because they could not pay for the food they needed as because food was not available, is now admitted and the Commission seems to be inclined to the same view. But the actions of the three most primarily responsible for the famine have not been fully discussed. Sir John Herbert and his worthless administration brought the famine, Lord Linlithgow's indifference fanned it and Mr. Amery's active apathy prevented outside help to come in time. Sharks under human skin thrived and made a thousand rupees for each life lost. The Commission has assessed that these people had made an extra profit of Rs. 150 crores, but has not tried to find out who these people were. All Government measures contributed to help the root then going on, abrogation of all vestige of price control at a moment it was needed most, delay in introducing rationing and entrusting procurement to private firms.

Bengal at this time was completely Pakistanised. Through intrigue, Sir John Herbert had succeeded to dislodge the progressive coalition ministry prepared to form an all-party government which, the Commission believe, might have done good and in its place saddled the Pakistanwallas with power. The League Ministry, set to achieve Pakistan had Ispahani the Pakistanwallah as their purchasing agent and another champion of Pakistan, Sir Md. Azizul Huque holding the Food portfolio at the Centre. Frantic recruitment of champions of Pakistan was made in the ever-expanding quarters of civil supplies. Both the Famine Commission and the Rowland Commission have told us that the entire administrative machinery in Bengal has become corrupt and inefficient. They have refrained from discussing the real cause of this breakdown, but the people of the land know that it is Pakistanisation under the communal recruitment rules that has brought down the administrative services to this level. Rationing was held up because sufficient numbers of adherents to the policy of Pakistan could not be found. In the villages, most of the presidents of the Union Boards were champions of Pakistan. We ask our Muslim friends to enquire whether any of them had starved during the famine. The Commission has carefully avoided a calculation of mortality on a community basis. Had it been done, it would have shown that almost all the deaths were confined to Muslims, the camp followers of Pakistan, the scheduled castes coming next. The caste Hindu, the target of attack of the Pakistanwallas, escaped with the least number of deaths, although they had to suffer heavily.

If any demonstration of what Pakistan would be like in practice was needed, it has been clearly provided in Bengal during 1943.

Bengal Administration Report

The Report of the Bengal Administration Committee has been published. It has been virtually admitted that the administrative machinery of this province has practically broken down, it has become so corrupt and inefficient. The Committee has sought to confine inefficiency and corruption mainly to the temporary staff and the lower grades, but there is no use doing so. The entire machinery from top to bottom is equally to blame and is thoroughly inefficient. The officials, high and low, have lost all touch with the people. The attitude of not *some*, as the Report states, but *almost all excepting a very few civil servants*, towards the public is one of aloof superiority—superior officials of all descriptions are equally inaccessible to the people. Even a few years ago this was not so. The Magistrates sat in their open offices in the court and were accessible to the people. Now the rules have been reversed, they lock themselves up in their *khas kamras* in their wherein the people have no access. The Report

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states that war has made "money-making easy." This vice of bribery is not merely confined to temporary officials appointed to grant permits for commodities in short supply, it extends to the whole machinery in one way or other. We don't know whether any effect has been given to the Ordinance of 1943 requiring an enquiry about the properties of Government servants. The Report considers it imperative that any sudden accretion of wealth by a Government servant must be accounted for and the onus must be on him to prove that it was not acquired by unfair means.

The Report is revealing although it has touched only a fringe of the problem. Its recommendations about recruitment are unconvincing. The Commission did not enquire about the working of the communal ratio rule in recruitment and has pronounced no opinion on it except that this rule should not apply to the technical personnel. We consider this rule to be one of the prime causes for this break-down. Inefficient people, safe in service for the sole fact of being a member of a particular favoured community, have been recruited in large numbers not only at the bottom, but even at the tops of the departments. A virtual Pakistanisation has been carried out in Bengal during the past few years. The Commission regrets that even minimum qualifications for recruitment have not been adhered to at several places. The tactics of promotion have not been discussed in the Report. The Pakistanisation of the services, particularly in the matter of 'capturing' the tops, seems to have been done in a very clever manner. The tactics has been this. At the heads of many departments a Hindu official at the end of his tenure is placed with a young Muslim posted next to him. In a few months or years, the Hindu officer retires and the next incumbent 'naturally' steps in, who is invariably always a Muslim.

We are firmly of the opinion that heads of all departments must be appointed irrespective of any communal consideration whatsoever. For about ten years, if not much more, the Co-operative Department has been under Muslim officers. We do not know if any special advantage accrued to the Muslims of Bengal on this score but it is a fact admitted by the Commission that the entire department is now dead, the worst sufferers being mostly Muslims. The Agriculture and the Public Health Departments also are under Muslim officials, but no special good even to that special community has come out of that.

The political aspect of the Report is extremely objectionable. A multiplication of districts or multiplication of officers will solve no problem. As many as four Additional District Magistrates have been appointed for the district of 24-Parganas, but all its vital problems of education, sanitation, public health, etc., remain unsolved and unattended. That the Sundarbans, within 50 miles of Calcutta is a disgrace to the administration is admitted by the Committee. The problem of the Bidyadhari remains bad as of old. Then what do these A.D.M.'s do? Are they drawing their salary merely to assist the police? Is not development work on which so much emphasis has been laid by the Committee, a part of their duty? Those who had occasion to visit the headquarters at Alipore have reasons to believe that these officials have not enough work to do. They are not even accessible to the public.

In the opinion of the Committee the spirit of adventure is lacking partly because all the actions of Government are liable to criticism by the Legislature, on this ground they recommend perfect immunity of the services from the influences of the Legislature. We do not agree. Parliamentary check on responsible officials is salutary and necessary, it helps to maintain some touch between the departments and the people. This system has worked very efficiently in Britain. Here the cause of Parliamentary interference is deeper. The Legislature itself is composed of backward people elected on communal grounds coming there for the benefit of their own small communities. These people are prevented from thinking in terms of the welfare of the nation or the province and are concerned only with the immediate interest of the respective communities, which naturally narrows down further to the welfare of families and groups. Loaves and fishes of political adventuring are naturally sought to be distributed and undue advantages sought. This will disappear at the moment when the character of the legislature is changed through the introduction of the electorates and when recruitment to services be made solely on a test of merit. Let every minority community have ample opportunity for qualifying their young for the services but let recruitment be made only through competitive examinations.

The Report seeks to officialise the entire life of the province down to the Union Board by increasing the number of Circle Officers and by placing a Government appointed Secretary for each Union Board. In the Union Boards also we find Pakistan in action. Almost all their presidents have been Muslims, and the Committee think that they have failed to serve the people, the majority of whom are Muslims. A mere officialisation of the entire machinery under a set of irresponsible officials themselves immune from the legislature will further complicate matters and will quickly bring about a complete destruction of the administrative machinery. Indeed the remedy would be worse than the disease.

Government of India's Industrial Policy

The Government of India's industrial policy, as stated in their press note, is in short a hybrid mixture of all the three kinds of economic doctrines the world has so far seen, *viz.*, capitalism, socialism and fascism or State-checked socialism. If their proposals are implemented, the industrial structure of the country would include industries: (1) owned and managed by the State, (2) owned by the State but managed either by private agencies or by public corporations, (3) owned both by the State and by private interests, (4) financed partly by the State and partly by private interests, (5) financed and run solely by private interests. Thus we find a procession of socialism to capitalism to fascism.

The plan seeks to "develop" industries by means of nationalisation of the important ones and a particular system of controls and licenses. The people by now have had enough experience of all these three systems when they are planned and enforced by an alien government in the interest of the governors and at the cost of the governed. The experience is so deep, so wide and so lasting that we may not dilate upon it. The main suspicion will be that with the war drawing to a close and with the prospect of the Defence of India becoming inoperative in some foreseeable future, the plan is a clever devise for permanently arrogating to the State the measure of control. In the list of the industries

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e nationalised, one finds all the important industries owned and managed by Indians, *viz.*, iron and steel, otton, sugar, pharmaceutical drugs, etc., but does not nd the mines, jute, engineering, and tea, all of which ostly owned and managed by the British, even entioned. Coal finds a place in the list, but with an portant proviso that "the case of coal will be amined and dealt with separately." Coal is the most commodity needed for any and every large-scale ustry in the country because electrical power is both ar and scarce. In any scheme of nationalisation, coal ould have topped the list, but here it comes last. We onder how jute, an industry affecting the welfare of millions of human beings can be left out of any plan nationalisation. These omissions will naturally con- rm the suspicion that this "nationalisation" under the ritish Government, with transport, tariff and exchange nder their thumb, will kill whatever Indian industry as raised its head and dared compete with its white atriot. We are not opposed to nationalisation, quite e contrary. We will favour nationalisation only when peoples' government, in the fullest sense of the term, mes into power. We are firmly opposed to any plan of governmentalisation" of industries under a foreign rule en when the complicity and assistanace of some dian industrialists have been secured for it. The ssential conditions for successfully operating a scheme nationalisation, *viz.*, control over transport and a ear enumeration of the tariff and exchange policies e absent in the plan. Where they have been men- oned, it has been done in the usual bureaucratic nguage: "The formulation of a tariff policy appro- riate to the post-war needs and conditions of the untry is under active consideration." A policy which been long formulated by the dominions like stralia, Canada and South Africa in the midst of the r is still under the "active consideration" of the overnment of India even when the war is rapidly wing to a close.

The most significant sting of the plan lies in its l. At the conclusion it states: "To ensure that healthy concentration of assets in the hands of a few rsons or *of a special community* would be avoided. is may be secured by a judicious exercise of controls, ch as capital issues control and the licensing chinery for the regionalisation of industry." This early means Pakistanisation of the economic field. ere we consider it sufficient to quote the comment of e greatest Hindu champion of Pakistan and an un- vering believer in British good-will, *viz.*, Mr. C. jagopalachariar. He says:

> All forms of control and interference that are adumbrated in the Government *communique* are devised only to increase bureaucratic power in the conferment of opportunities for profit-making. It is not a half-way house but a fraud and a snare. The most significant part of the *communique* on which public attention should be frankly brought to hear is the Government's observations on the unhealthy concentration of assets in the hands of few persons or a special community. Reference is made to minorities and backward communities as if industry also should or could be hitched to sentimentality. It is a mere bait to catch political fish. The communal virus has attacked the Legislature, the Civil Services and admission to educational institutions. It threatens to infect the judiciary and the defence services. If the Government of India should succeed in introducing the poison into trade and commerce and the industrial effect of the country, the disaster would be complete.

Post-War Policy on Inland Steam Vessels

During the last Railway Budget discussions in the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. K. C. Neogy moved a cut motion to obtain the verdict of the House on the post-war policy regarding the ownership and management of steam vessels plying in inland waters that either link up the railway systems or compete with them. The river ways in northern India have always played a great part in providing means of communication, but due to irrigation works the navigability of some of them has been seriously affected. Not so however in the case of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, nor is there any serious difficulty about the navigability of the numerous tributaries that flow out of or into these two rivers. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, the railway system is broken up in places by large waterways that traverse that area and these intermediate stretches of water are being run by private shipping companies mostly owned and managed by the British. These steamship companies carry on a lucrative trade at the cost of the railway which is now a State concern. Mr. Neogy said that "some of the railway officials had the candour to admit that the steamers on occasions filtched away traffic from them." (Legislative Assembly Debates, Feb. 23, 1945). The Eastern Bengal Railway was taken over by the State about 1884, and at that time the railway provided some of the services at present run by private companies. But these private companies which were also in the field started such a rate cutting competition that near about 1885 the Government decided to close down their own services and hand over their fleet to the private companies. What Mr. Neogy wanted was to revert to the position that obtained in 1884.

This point was very categorically and very specifically raised by Mr. Neogy in 1929 when Sir George Rainy was in charge of the Railways. In that debate Sir George said: "If the desire of the House is that steamship services should be entirely Indianised, there is only one honest straightforward way of tackling the question and that is buy out the existing companies at a fair valuation." Sir George Rainy added on that occasion that due to financial difficulties, a proposition of that character might not be feasible at that particular moment. But things are entirely different now. As a matter of fact, we can easily utilise a portion of the sterling balances that stand to our credit for the purpose of purchasing these companies which are domiciled in Great Britain and have sterling capital.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari said, the purchase would require only about ten crores of rupees. He pointed out that this matter was raised in the First Round Table Conference when Sir Pheroze Sethna gave a history of the two steam navigation companies which dominate our inland waters. Sir Pheroze characterised Bengal as a maritime province with a network of inland waterways and referring particularly to the I.G.S.N. and the R.S.N. said:

> These two companies were previously run by different European agencies. They are now run by one and the same European management. These companies have done well for themselves. They have always tried to stifle opposition and succeeded in doing so by cutting down rates. Lord Reading observed that if there is unfair competition, we

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should be justified in introducing legislation. Legislation of this nature was brought in the Assembly by a very energetic member of that day, Mr. K. C. Neogy, amending the Inland Steam Navigation Act and that legislation was being defeated at every step in actual practice.

The same opposition to Mr. Neogy's very sensible proposal has happened this time as well. Mr. G. W. Tyson, a spokesman of British big business, rose to oppose the motion. His sole argument seems to have been that these companies "came into being at a time when capital was shy and when services were required of that kind; and they have done a very great deal to open up the communications system of Bengal and Assam." He therefore pleaded for letting these companies alone. He however forgets that similar argument did not deter the Government to purchase the railways. The proposed policy is in no way a "thinly veiled expropriation of existing interests" as he suggests. Sir Edward Benthall evaded the issue altogether and candidly stated: "We have no policy, we have not formed any policy in this connection; we have not any idea of the views of the provinces in this matter." He had however a very strong and well-defined policy when it was a question of preventing a road competition of railways which in effect meant a complete discouragement of forming motor services most of which are likely to be Indian owned. He has no policy whatever when it concerns purchase of British steamship companies which have prevented the growth of Indian shipping concerns by means of a rate war.

Mr. Neogy's cut motion was passed 55 voting in its favour and 40 against it.

The Ambedkar Plan

The Sapru Committee has served at least one valuable purpose, it has set leaders both national and communal, furiously thinking about the future constitution of India. The country has now at least four plans—the Mahasabha Plan through Bhopatkar, the Liberal Plan through Sapru, the Communalist Plan through Zafarullah, and the Scheduled Caste Plan through Ambedkar. Only the Muslim League lags behind with no plan of its own. Congress has its own ideas which are fairly widely known. It is however not in a position to produce anything concrete at the present moment when the leaders are locked up behind prison bars.

The plans are all widely discussed. We consider it a good augury. Words breed action. Discussion has its value. Sane and sober debate on these plans will certainly help clearing out the mist and focussing the light of public opinions on things concrete and enduring.

In the Ambedkar plan, one of the sections in the communal life of the country, which has always demanded special concessions for itself, has questioned the principle on which the appeasement has continued. Dr. Ambedkar is perfectly right when he calls the policy of appeasement as a policy of the coward's surrender to the bully. His own words are:

> The attempts at the solution of the Communal Problem are either in the nature of a coward's plan to cowtow to the bully or of bully's plan to dictate to the weak. Whenever a community grows powerful and demands certain political advantages, concessions are made to it to win its goodwill. There is no judicial examination of its claim; no judgment on merits. The result is that there are no limits to demands and there are no limits to concessions. A start is made with a demand for separate electorate for a minority. It is granted. It is followed by a demand for a separate electorate for a community irrespective of the fact whether it is minority or majority. That is granted. A demand is made for separate representation on a population basis. That is conceded. Next, a claim is made for weightage in representation. That is granted. It is followed by a demand for statutory majority over other minorities with the right for the majority to retain separate electorates. This is granted. This is followed by a demand that the majority rule over another community is intolerable, and therefore without prejudice to its rights to maintain majority rule over other minorities, the majority of the offending community should be reduced to equality. Nothing can be more absurd than this policy of eternal appeasement. It is a policy of limitless demand followed by endless appeasement.

The coward *versus* bully aspect of the case as put forward by Dr. Ambedkar is not new. In the past whenever this point was raised it was bypassed with agility on the grounds of "sacrifice" and "concession" both easy words since the loss would be borne by others. Now perhaps the forceful language of the third eminent would bring sense into the heads of those "leaders" who are still crying out for appeasement. Probably for the first time, this plan asks the Muslim to forego his right to a statutory majority in some provinces in return for weightages in the minority areas.

Contradictions in the plan are easily discernible on a little scrutiny. Dr. Ambedkar has denounced the unprincipled policy of appeasement but has himself expanded it. He declares that he stands for a United India but makes out a case for the creation of an *Achhutstan* in addition to the Pakistan. He speaks for the protection of the peoples' rights but does not believe the peoples' right to frame their own constitution in a constituent Assembly. He pleads for an imposed constitution manufactured in the political factory of Great Britain and duly shipped to the country to be distributed through the British Chamber of Commerce. The Ambedkar plan makes a fundamental breach of the inalienable birth right of mankind on which is based all the measures of liberty and equality. Franchise and the right of self-determination and self-government must be enjoyed by all persons on an equitable basis. This fundamental principle of democratic government is denied when one party which happens to be in a natural majority is reduced into a permanent minority and is artificially subjected to the rule of a motley group of minorities.

If there is to be independence or even self-determination in the measure of "dominion status" in this country, then all such schemes will have to be discarded. For such schemes depend totally on the presence of a paramount power with the right to invidious discrimination inherent in it. Thus it is an axiomatic truth that Pakistan would mean perpetual helotry of those very champions of it who would have to depend on the foreigner for succour in extracting undue advantages from other inhabitants of the country. The present constitution has the British bayonet exposed in Sec. 93 and the safeguard clauses, while the Ambedkar plan has it skilfully concealed.

Dr. Ambedkar on Weightages

In enumerating his plan for the protection of the minorities, Dr. Ambedkar has devised weightages

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an astounding scale for the Muslims and Scheduled castes. The nature of weightages will be clear from the following tables :

MUSLIM WEIGHTAGES IN PROVINCES

Legislature	Population ratio	Ratio of representation	Weightages (approx.)
Madras	8	24	3 times
Bombay	10	28	3 ,,
U.P.	15·3	29	2 ,,
C.P.	5·7	25	4·5 ,,
Bihar	15	28	2 ,,
Orissa	2	22	11 ,,

SCHEDULED CASTE WEIGHTAGES

Legislature	Population ratio	Ratio of representation	Weightages (approx.)
Madras	16·5	30	2 times
Bombay	9·6	28	3 ,,
Bengal	12·6	25	2 ,,
U.P.	21·4	29	1·25 ,,
Punjab	4·4	9	2 ,,
C.P.	20·2	34	1·5 ,,
Bihar	13·8	28	2 ,,
Assam	8·7	20	2·5 ,,
Orissa	17·6	36	2 ,,
Sind	4·2	19	4·5 ,,

SIKH WEIGHTAGES

Legislature	Population ratio	Ratio of representation	Weightages (approx.)
Punjab	13·2	21	1·5 times

While for the scheduled caste in Bihar with almost the same percentage, the weightage is more than double and for the Muslim in Bombay with a little less, the weightage is almost treble.

The weightages do not also seem to have been put in an increasing ratio for the decreasing minority. Its effect on Indian Christians will be:

INDIAN CHRISTIANS

Provinces	Population ratio	Representation ratio	Weightage
Madras	4·1	5	Nil
Bombay	1·7	2	Nil
Bengal	·19	1	Nil

As Dr. Ambedkar plans only 100 seats for each of the Provincial Legislatures, he thus takes only the nearest whole number for the population percentage. Here weightages are nil. He is generous to offer the Muslim of Orissa, with a 2 per cent population, a weightage of 11 times and the scheduled caste of Sind with a population ratio of 4·2 a weightage of 4·5 times, but does not give *any* weightage whatsoever to the Indian Christians of Madras and Bombay with almost the same population ratio. In the case of the Frontier Province, his plan has utterly broken down. He admits, "I have not framed any scheme of representation for the North-West Frontier Province as the minority is so small that even the principle of relative majority cannot help it."

Effect of this plan on the Hindus will be :

Province	Population ratio	Representation ratio
Bengal	30	33
Punjab	22·1	28
Sind	23·8	40

Here also the inequality is apparent and glaring.

Dr. Ambedkar's weightage scheme therefore boils down to this. The Hindus are to suffer most. They must surrender their legitimate and natural claims everywhere. The Muslims and the Scheduled Castes, being minorities with sufficient strength to resist encroachments on their rights are to get weightages up to 11 times. The Indian Christians, a microscopic minority with no power to resist even annihilation, are not to get any weightage. The Hindus of the Frontier Province and Aborigines in all the provinces have been completely left out of the scheme. Still, in a mood of self-elation, the learned doctor declares : "The representation is a balanced representation. No one community is placed in a position to dominate others by reason of its numbers".

Dr. Ambedkar on Communal Problem

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's solution has been based on the principle that a majority community "may be conceded a relative majority of representation but it can never claim an absolute majority." He wanted to apply this principle of his both to the Hindu and Muslim majority provinces. In either case, according to him, the representation given to the majority should not exceed 40 per cent. Dealing with representation in the Legislatures, Dr. Ambedkar provided for the following percentages in the Central Assembly :

	Population	Seats
Hindu	54·68	40
Muslims	28·5	32
Scheduled Castes	14·3	20
Indian Christians	1.16	3
Sikhs	1·49	4
Anglo-Indians	·05	1

(Percentage of population is taken after deducting the number of aboriginal tribes from the census figures). Dr. Ambedkar said that the distribution was made on the following principles :—

(1) Majority rule is untenable in theory and unjustifiable in practice. A majority community may be conceded relative majority of representation but it can never claim an absolute majority.

(2) The relative majority of representation given to a majority community in the Legislature should not be so large as to enable the majority to establish its rule with the help of the smallest of minorities.

(3) The distribution of seats should be so made that a combination of the majority and one of the major minorities should not give the combine such a majority as to make them impervious to the interests of the minorities.

(4) The distribution should be so made that if all the minorities combine they could without depending on the majority form a Government of their own.

(5) The weightage taken from the majority should be distributed among the minorities in inverse proportion to their social standing, economic position and educational conditions, so that a minority which is large and which has a better social, educational and economic standing gets a lesser amount of weightage than a minority whose numbers are less and whose eduational, economic and social position is inferior to that of the others.

The representation provided by him, Dr. Ambedkar claimed, was a balanced representation. No one com-

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munity was placed in a position to dominate over others by reason of number.

To us, Dr. Ambedkar's formula provides no solution at all. Our judgment is based on the following arguments :

(1) Majority rule is both tenable in theory and justifiable in practice when such a rule is based on political and economic interests of the nation as a whole. It becomes untenable and unjustifiable only when a majority is based on communal or sectarian interests. Instances are too familiar to be quoted. In India itself, even under a rule of communal representation, a Hindu majority under the Congress in six provinces and a Muslim majority under the Frontier Congress did not kill the rival minorities. Even the British Government, the initiator of this sinister politics in India, could not swallow the Muslim atrocity story in the Congress provinces. All Hindus, or all Muslims, or all the Scheduled Castes did never combine in any one of the eleven provincial legislatures. Communal parties were no doubt there, but the general tendency has been for all the three sections to form parties on a political basis. Bengal, the province most ridden with communalism, is no exception but an example.

(2) and (3) Dr. Ambedkar's expectation will be completely belied if the Hindus can make a coalition with his own community which is not at all impossible in consideration of the vital fact that whatever name and colour you give them, the Scheduled Castes are a part and parcel of the Hindu community. If these two parties combine they get 60 out of 100 seats in the Legislature. Who will then save the other four minorities—Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians ? If it be the other way round, if the Hindus and the Muslims combine in response to the very popular propaganda, they get 72 out of 100 seats. Who will then come forward to protect Dr. Ambedkar's own community ? Under this scheme, the Scheduled Castes, Christians, Sikhs and Anglo-Indians will be under a perpetual necessity to ally themselves with one or other of the two major groups and thus will ever be under the tutelage of one or other of them. If however it is at the back of the Doctor's mind that all the minorities will combine and make the Hindus the target of their attack, he will do well to realise that such an imposition of a minority rule over the majority even with the help of the British bayonet is bound to explode.

Communal Policy Must Be Interim

The Ambedkar and the Sapru plans, taken as an interim measure with a fixed time period and with joint electorate as an essential factor in the scheme, have certain characteristics worth consideration. Both are similar in their harmful aspects, *viz.*, planning for the rule by a motley group of minorities over a natural majority of people possessing one of the most ancient civilisations of the world, the granting of a veto power to such minorities, etc. The former is a slight improvement on the latter in that it has for the first time asked the Muslim majority to share the same treatment as suggested for the Hindu majority. The latter is an improvement on the former in that it makes joint electorates the fundamental and the most essential condition for drawing up the constitution. There are several other points of similarities and differences, good, bad or indifferent, which may not be dilated upon. What we want to emphasise upon is that, any plan at communal settlement must be an interim measure and must expressly be so. It must have a time period well within the average life-time of the present generation which has begun to take active interest in politics. *No leader, no party, no group of any description whatsoever has any right to sell the unborn generations into slavery.* To our Congress leaders, with special reference to those amiable legal gentry who have been trying for a communal settlement, blissfully ignorant of the conditions of the masses affected as in Bengal, we want to utter a note of warning. Bengal has been pained to find that in all matters relating to communal settlement of this province, she has not been given the same consideration as was done for other provinces. The decision against the Communal Award, the Poona Pact, the unwillingness of the Congress to give the case of Bengal a special consideration while forming the first Ministry—a hesitant and retrograde step which saddled the Muslim League firmly in the province—and all subsequent communal talks including Mr. Rajagopalachariar's declared readiness to grant Pakistan without consulting Bengal, are all cases in point. The psychology seems to have been 'what's the harm if *Bungaal* dies?' These amiable gentlemen, caring more for the immediate than for the future, completely forget that if *Bungaal* dies, the whole of India will die. The British conquerors had been quick to realise that the key to India lay in *Bungaal*. They seized *Bungaal* first and then their expansion over the rest of India was easy. With grave concern they perceived the rise of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the birth of a national movement which lighted the whole of India. The economic regeneration of India was a direct result of the Hindu Mela and the Swadeshi movements of *Bungaal*, and the royal road to amass fabulous wealth by the Indian industrialists was paved by the princely sacrifice of men like Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of *Bungaal* and the intense sufferings of the Bengali youths and people during the boycott movements. Bania Britain understood the significance of *Bungaal* in Indian polity and economy but bania India did not. Since the Swadeshi movement they began to take series of measures to crush Bengal in which they have very nearly succeeded with the tacit—and sometimes express—support of many of our so-called all-India leaders.

Another drift in the political life of our country has equally pained us. Those very groups and parties which have so far either sought to frustrate the national movements, or have stood aside at safe distance, are now coming forward with long lists of demands to share in the fruits earned by the blood and toil of countless sufferers. It is all the more regrettable to find the very leaders of the national movements hesitant and lacking in self-confidence and yielding everlastingly to those reactionaries who are really the enemies of the country. To us, concessions granted to the reactionaries seem undue, unnecessary and harmful. Under a democratic rule, no stigma attaches to a party government. A party which has striven and fought for political advancement is the only one entitled to enjoy it. Coalition governments are deliberately encouraged by agents of Imperialism because they will be weak. Active patriotism with the consequent suffering, and not an accidental birth in a particular community, should be the sine qua non for the enjoyment of political power.

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The Fate of a Political Prisoner

The Independent reports that Mr. Nandlal Sharma, a well-known educationist, has started proceedings in the Nagpur High Court making sensational allegations against jail officials of harassment and torture and of denial of legal facilities. Mr. Sharma, in his application, says:

There is ample evidence to show that the Jail authorities had a studied plan to torture and harass the security prisoners in order to break their morale.

I had warned the authorities previously against their behaviour with the security prisoners, as a result of which the conditions inside were every day worsening. The conditions were even brought to the notice of the Provincial Government. But they seemed to be sleeping over the matter.

The Jail authorities with their whole paraphernalia of warders and convict prisoners used to make a daily round of their torture campaign in the cell wards where some selected detenus were confined separately for the purpose.

The cell would be opened and the detenu would be ordered to stand in a particular posture while he was beaten with elbows on the back. Upon his moving forward he was pushed back with both hands, some times even against the wall. Sometimes, he was beaten with elbows on sides, and at others, he was forced to lie down, blanketed and severely thrashed with blows and also kicked but always in such a manner as would leave no trace of the beatings. This is what is popularly known in the C. P. Jails as "Kambal Parade."

Finishing with one detenu they locked him again and came upon the other, in this way giving its taste to each one of them according to his physical endurance. This seemed to be a part of their daily routine. But despite all the caution in beating, some of the detenus vomitted blood. The campaign thus went on from day to day. In its course, some got their bones fractured and some were unconscious for hours. On the second day of beating, I protested and requested the Superintendent to stop this barbarism, but it continued unabated.

The barbarism reached its height on the third day when a boy detenu who was in my row in another cell, was forced to lie down, his clothes taken off and unnatural offence was perhaps committed upon him.

This was too much for me and I requested the Superintendent to allow to apply to the Government bringing to their notice all these incidents and demanding an independent enquiry ito the matter. But my request was turned down. To assert my right of appeal to the Government I had to resort to a hunger strike.

Now the full fury of the authorities' rage fell upon me. My cell was closed with double doors. I could not see the sun for months together. As a result I developed itches all over my body and whenever I scratched, blood and pus came out. Not only was no medical attention paid to me, but even water was out of my reach for days together. Bath was out of question. I could not get even a wash after the call of nature for a week or so. Flies swarmed over my body, as the whole of it oozed pus and blood.

At last the authorities thought to deal with me more severely. On a cold December evening, all my clothes were taken off from my body and the cell was filled with water while I had temperature of 102. As a result, I broke down and became unconscious. This caused a sensation throughout the jail. The medical officer was then obliged to treat me and somehow I was saved. Permission to apply to the Government was now at long last granted to me and after giving the application I broke the fast. For this fast I was prosecuted.

When an intensive propaganda about the Nazi camp atrocities was started in England, a member of the Parliament drew attention to conditions in the Indian jails. We must however refrain from comment till the judges have assessed the truth of the allegations.

Aftermath of Indian Famine

Mr. Richard J. Walsh, Editor of the *Asia and the Americas*, writes:

Last autumn the United States National War Fund refused to grant any more money for American relief to India. The grounds were that the famine was over, the needs not abnormal and the situation not caused by the war.

And yet, a few weeks later the highest British authorities testified to the continuing need.

On November 25 the British Ambassador at Washington wrote to the American Friends Service Committee that he had had a letter from Governor Casey of Bengal saying that the Bengal Central Relief Fund had just granted $153,000 to the Friends for the purchase and distribution of vitamins, dried milk and medical supplies in Bengal.

American labour organisations also would not agree that the famine was over, and insisted that out of their share in the National War Fund $200,000 be spent for India relief in the coming year.

As 1945 opened, reports from workers in the field in India were in gist as follows:

The aftermath of the famine is taking a heavy toll of life and health. *For each million Indians that died of starvation in the past eighteen months, there were 12 million* who did not quite die. They were left with wasted bodies, easy victims of malaria, cholera and dysentery. They are dying now by tens of thousands in epidemics. They need to be treated for months to come with special foods and vitamins. Meanwhile they must be protected against disease by medicines.

Many of the survivors are the very young, the very old and the widows. For wage-earners gave their own food and died to save the lives of their dependents. Many deserted their families, often to do work with the military. These millions of the destitute must be taught ways of earning a living.

While harvests have been good in some famine areas, there is risk of acute food shortages in various parts of India. North Bihar and Malabar and parts of Bengal are likely to be short.

Unless transportation and distribution work with precision—which is not possible because of priority war traffic—there will be acute famines again this year.

It is quite true that for each million persons that died in the famine, there were *at least* 12 millions who did not quite die, but were left with wasted bodies, easy victims of malaria, cholera and dysentery. Nothing has been done to save them except some amount of barren propaganda, multiplication of some officials and piling up of some more files in the dungeons of the Secretariat. A very timely warning about malaria given by Maj.-Gen. Stuart was allowed to go unheeded. Nothing has been done to rehabilitate the people uprooted from their homes through no fault of theirs. The costly dignitaries at the Central Secretariat seemed to think more about the white people of battered Europe for whom they provided Rs. 8 crores, while tens of thousands of people were dying in Bengal due

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to causes directly attributable to the war. This amount, if properly and scientifically applied for the rehabilitation of Bengal, would have saved millions of precious lives.

Famine or Food Crisis ?

Richard Walsh continues :

The latter point calls for explanation. Mrs. V. L. Pandit, who worked in the famine area and is now in the United States, says that instead of the word 'famine' the term 'food crisis' should be used. For, she says, there was enough food in India. The crisis was not caused by Nature. It was man-made. And despite the argument of the National War Fund, it was a direct result of the war. The war affected food supply and distribution in these ways :

The Allies lost Burma, Thailand and Indo-China and with them lost the normal imports of rice into India.

Refugees from Burma swarmed into Bengal.

Troops, many of them American, were concentrated in north-eastern India buying and eating large quantities of food, especially the vitamin-giving-foods.

Ocean shipping space to India was reduced.

Rail transport for civilian needs was cut.

Local water transport was almost stopped because the *small boats were seized by the army, an utter catastrophe for Bengal.*

Retail prices for food doubled or trebled and this in turn started large-scale hoarding.

India's best men either are in the war or are in jail, and so unable to work on civilian problems.

It can happen again, as long as war goes on in the India-Burma-China theatre, as long as the moving of food by sea, land, river and creek is subject to the interruptions of war. Indeed, it is happening now. A normally marginal economy has sunk below the margin. Any small disaster causes a breakdown as two recent floods did.

To stop American relief now would be a tragedy. Our money has done or can do little enough in relation to the total need and the efforts of many relief agencies, British as well as Indian. But that little has had an impact of goodwill and fellow-feeling between our two peoples that almost puts us to shame, considering how few we actually reached with our foods and drugs.

We do not yet definitely know if any substantial help of America has reached the famished and dying people of this country. The Indian people believe that the Americans could do much more than what they have actually done for India. The U.S.A. and the U.K. have together made a profit of about Rs. 160 crores by selling gold in India by utilising the Indian Reserve Bank as their agent. Had India been under a National Government, this gold would have been purchased by the Reserve Bank and sold in India, the profit accruing to the Indian exchequer.

India : A Case History in Diminishing Returns

The *Amerasia* publishes, in its issue dated Feb. 9, 1945, an article on British Imperial Policy in Asia in which it states :

Under the colonial system, India's agricultural and industrial resources have remained largely undeveloped, and the vast majority of her people are unable to earn more than a bare subsistence income, with the result that she cannot provide a prosperous and expanding market for British industry. It is true that as a source of raw materials, India has continued to supply about 5 per cent of Britain's total imports, but as a market for British manufacturers she has declined sharply in importance. In 1913, for example, Britain exported to India 15 per cent of her total exports; in 1929, 10·7 per cent; and in 1937, 7·2 per cent.

Furthermore, though the British Government retained the power to regulate the exchange rate between the rupee and the pound in such a way as to favor British exports to India, India maintained a favorable balance of trade *vis-a-vis* Great Britain before the war amounting roughly to $44 million annually during the period 1936-39. This is the typical result of a colonial economy in which the market is gradually saturated because the colony is developed primarily as a source of raw materials and cheap labor, and there is no effort made to expand productive facilities or raise the people's purchasing power. In India, the major emphasis has been placed on increasing Indian production of a few money crops for export, with little or no attention being given to the requirements of the domestic market. India's major commercial and industrial centres are all located at or near seaports, and India's railways and roads are designed solely for the transport of goods between the interior and the coastal centres. There is no adequate trade or transport system for distributing domestic production in the home market. Most of India's 730,000 villages have not yet been reached by surfaced roads or railways and internal trade is still further hampered by the customs barriers erected by the major Indian States. Freight rates are so high that peasants are discouraged from growing a surplus for shipment to other parts of the country. Then too, the production of money crops for export has largely by-passed India's villages, and the vast majority of her agricultural population have no share in Indian wealth and are not consumers of modern industrial products.

The colonial economy imposed on India by British rule has in fact failed to increase the consuming power of 70 to 80 per cent of the Indian people. The United Kingdom, which is more than twice as densely populated as India and where, as we have seen the standard of living of the vast majority is certainly not excessively high, has succeeded in developing an annual purchasing power of £97 per capita, while that of India even including the foreign population is less than £6.

Comment is superfluous. Only some illustrations from latest official publications are given below :

	1928-29	1938-39	1944-[illegible]
Agricultural production—			
Rice yield per acre	871 lbs.	736 lbs.	683 lbs.
Wheat „ „	656 lbs.	668 lbs.	633 lbs.
Other cereals „	508 lbs.	440 lbs.	420 lbs.
Bulls and Bullocks—	48,650,000		46,855,000
Cows	36,484,000		30,[illegible]

Diminishing returns continue in spite of an "intensive" grow more food campaign at a high cost to the public exchequer.

	1928-29	1938-39	1944-[illegible]
Educational progress			
No. of Ed. Institutions	232,429	230,526	2[illegible]

These are all figures for British India with a population of 295,808,000.

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Anachronisms at San Francisco

Mr. S. A. Sabavala, special representative of the *Bombay Chronicle*, has pointed out some anachronisms at San Francisco, which are interesting likewise no less important. It throws much light on the character of personages and countries entrusted with the great task of framing a charter for the security of the world. Mr. Sabavala states :

> The death of Mussolini and the presumed end of the Fuehrer have caused little stir. The world has turned its eyes to reconstruction and the war continues to remain very much in the background.
>
> It is an ironic fact, however, that while Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who declined to meet the Duce, rots in a British prison while Lord Halifax who dined and wined at the Palazzo Venetia and who enjoyed fox hunting with Field Marshal Goering at Karenhall continues to sit at this great Security Council as a British representative.
>
> There are, however, many such anachronisms at this conference. Dr. T. V. Soong, head of the Chinese Delegation, for instance, lays continued stress on the Atlantic Charter, yet when asked whether the Charter applied to India he asked the questioner to refer to the powers that framed it. Although much is said about the sovereignty of nations, India, Korea and Poland still remain outside this conference, and there is no doubt that the United States will keep what she has won in the Pacific. The game that is being played here is to discover which of the world powers is the most sincere and the least hypocritical. The U. S. leads in this field, but one must reserve judgment until the end of the conference.
>
> The value of public opinion as a check against aggression is also in discount. The Ethiopian delegation pointed out in a plenary session that public opinion was overwhelmingly in favour of their country during the Italian aggression, yet Ethiopia was ravaged, spoiled and humiliated. Similar anachronism was noticed in the Jap aggression of Manchuria and China. What public opinion wants and what politicians at the helm of governments do are two very different things in the modern world whence the succession of World-Wars which fools believe to be ending with the present one!

India and World Peace

Mr. B. Shiva Rao writes in *Asia* :

> The British Government has made repeated declarations since 1942 that India's independence is no longer an issue between her and British but only awaits agreement among her political leaders. This has been commonly interpreted to mean that it is a matter of some months perhaps—or a year or two at the most—after the termination of this war. That seems to most people, who are naturally and rightly interested in victory at the earliest possible moment, a point of comparatively minor significance. Surely, they argue, India can afford to wait for that brief period.
>
> Such reasoning is short-sighted and fallacious ; shortsighted because it does not take into account the essential facts even of the war situation in Asia ; fallacious because the postponement of a decision of the post-war status of India and the other countries of Asia is only adding to the political and social complications of an already complex problem.
>
> A settlement of the Indian problem in the spring of 1942—during Sir Stafford Cripps' visit to New Delhi—would, I firmly believe, have shortened the war against Japan. It is a bold statement to make—but one which has the support of one of the highest British military authorities in this war. India has recruited nearly two million-and-a-half men and the number of Victoria Crosses (the highest distinction in the British Army for gallantry and valour) awarded to Indians is twenty-one, far above the record of any of the Dominions.

To demand an agreement between all parties in a country on matters of State policy is, in other words, to ask for the moon. No country in the world has ever witnessed all its political parties agree on political and constitutional problems ; the U.S.A. and the U. K. are themselves no exception. In France, political power with the right to frame her future constitution has been handed over to Gen. De Gaulle in spite of the fact that there are strong organised parties against him. The absurd claim for an agreement between the political parties of France was not made a condition precedent for handing over power to her.

Sir F. Puckle "Looks at India"

In the *Asia and the Americas* for April last, Miss Dorothy Clotelle Clarke puts some straight questions to Sir Frederick Puckle, the British propaganda official in the U.S.A. She writes :

> Will Sir Frederick Puckle (author of *As the British Look at India* in the January issue) kindly explain why "any important minority" is not a minority still ? "The Mohamedans don't want" is the flimsy excuse that Great Britain offers whenever the question of India's freedom is raised. Mohammedans constitute only one-fourth of the population of India, while two-thirds of the population is Hindu. What kind of freedom or democracy is it in which the majority must await the pleasure of the minority ?
>
> And if Great Britain has that deep "sense of responsibility toward India" claimed by Sir Frederick, why is it that 60 per cent of the population is undernourished, millions hunger to death and nearly 90 per cent of the people are still illiterate ? Why are agriculture and industry also so backward ? Indians cannot be altogether to blame when they are not allowed to govern themselves. What has the government done in the way of public sanitation ? Why has India been developed only enough for purposes of exploitation ? Are there any undernourished Englishmen living in India ? How does Great Britain justify the imprisonment and punishment without trial for political offenses of thousands upon thousands ? Why has India's standard of living kept so low—even below subsistence level ?
>
> These are some of the unanswered or evaded questions that lead to doubt concerning Great Britain's sincerity in her promises of freedom to India. This doubt cannot be dispelled simply by harping on India's religious differences or her failure to snap up the crumbs tossed to her in the form of a "this or nothing" Cripps proposal.
>
> If another Cripps proposal offers India rule by the majority instead of favoring a small minority, and a voice in the provisions of the proposal she is to accept, then it will be time to complain that Indians cannot agree. And what if they should have a civil war to settle the question of unity ? We fought one and survived—and many a war has had as little justification. No, the Cripps proposal was apparently for the British but a means of stalling for time. Great Britain does not mean to give up her kingdom as long as she can keep India in slavery.

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In reply to the first portion of Miss Clarke's questions, Sir Frederick has nothing more to say than to advise her to read the text of the documents relating to the Cripps proposals and Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's pamphlet *The Way Out*. This argument, if it may be called so, will convince nobody except Sir Frederick himself and his kith and kin. He next says, "Most people forget that since 1920 the administration of education, public health, agriculture and the like has been in the hands of Indian Ministers of the eleven provincial governments, responsible to elected legislatures." This is a gross misrepresentation. The Ministers were responsible to the Legislatures but the Governments were never so. The Civil Service in whose hands real power lay were always, as now, beyond the reach of the Ministers. Besides, finance was another deterrent. Crores and crores of rupees were frittered away in financing useless wars, or meeting losses arising out of exchange juggleries or in charity abroad. The Ministers were mere scapegoats for shielding the real exploiter.

As regards exploitation, Sir Frederick says: "Twenty years ago, India was given the right to fix her own tariffs, and has so exercised that right as to reduce imports of British cotton goods by 90 per cent; a strange example of exploitation." This is also a strange example of stating facts having no relation to truth. Theoretically India has been given the right to fix her own tariff, provided some conditions are fulfilled to the satisfaction of the British authorities, and this "right" has been utilised in the case of very few industries like Iron and Steel and Sugar only after very stiff, prolonged and effective agitation by the people in and outside the Legislatures. Such protection, when granted, was sought to be nullified by means of trade agreements like the Ottawa Agreement. In respect of cotton textile industry, Sir Frederick's statement is a travesty of truth. This industry got protection only in 1930 when it had already entrenched itself firmly on the soil. This protection was also sought to be nullified by a counter-veiling excise duty which was removed under intense public pressure. The progress of the industry after the grant of protection has not been very much rapid as may be seen from the following table, taken from official source :

COTTON MILLS

	1920-21	1928-29	1939-40
Mills	227	248	355
Looms	109,422	148,847	167,726
Spindles	6,243,948	7,643,113	8,403,126

The Indian cotton textile industry made its progress during the last world war and the three years of post-war boom. This is one industry in India which cannot be said to have thrived *under* protection but *in spite* of and notwithstanding serious obstacles placed in its way. Whatever protection was given to the Indian industry was sought to be annulled through exchange manipulations by altering the ratio from 16 to 18 pence per rupee.

Nehru Wanted Not Only Indian Freedom But Freedom for Asia

Mr. Shiva Rao continues :

India under leadership of her own men would have done even better. Nehru would have made himself responsible for recruiting a much larger number for a counter-offensive in Burma. Her freedom would have put heart into the peoples of Burma and the other enemy-occupied countries of Asia. This again, is based not on speculative inference but on the backing of some of the highest civil administrators of Burma.

Nehru said to me a day before his arrest in Bombay in August 1942: "India would regard it a dishonourable betrayal of the Allied cause to negotiate a separate peace with Japan or any of the Axis Powers. We (meaning the Congress Party) want to see not only India free, but also Burma, Malaya and the rest of Asia now under the Japanese."

What is America's role in the Asiatic theatre of war; merely to beat Japan, to build up a system of security in the Pacific (by taking away the territories formerly mandated to her and for the rest), handing back to their former owners the colonies of south-eastern Asia? Have the sentiments and the aspirations of the many millions of the indigenous populations no significance for the people of the United States?

Is such handing back possible—and morally and politically justifiable? What do the five hundred and odd millions in India and South-Eastern Asia think and say about European rule? That is a factor which has received singularly little notice in America.

The Japanese will be thrown out of all the countries they have occupied in the last three years. But the peoples of those countries will never again revert to their former psychological attitude after their experiences of 1942. India and Burma and Malaya will not forget the cardinal fact that the White man's prestige is, after all, an exploded superstition. The boast of the Britisher has been that a few thousands could administer a vast country like India. Will it be so easy (or even possible) after this war, in India or elsewhere in Asia?

The White Paper on Burma is only a foretaste of what lies in store for the "liberated countries" in Asia. India expects no better. She knows that power has to be wrested from unwilling hands and that is exactly why the Congress is in gaol.

Maxwell Justifies Non-Elections in India

On May 1 at Caxton Hall, London, a meeting was held to discuss Indian affairs. Sir Reginald Maxwell, ex-Home Member of the Government of India, presided and Sir Frederick James, Col. Armstrong, Sir Walter Wilson and some others spoke. Presiding over the meeting Sir Reginald Maxwell justified non-elections in India. He said that a general election would only produce a new version of the old body, without any new ideas. He felt that more than half the debates wherein he participated should not have come before the Central Assembly, as subjects under discussion were provincial matters. He justified the rule by Ordinances. He asserted that there was not a real curtailment of opportunity to ventilate grievances.

Referring to the speeches made and the time taken, Sir R. Maxwell said there was much waste of time; too many people spoke just for the sake of speaking. There was considerable misuse of interpellations; the use of adjournment motions was also reduced almost to absurdity. At the beginning of each session, there were 30-40 adjournment motions. "I regarded most of the resolutions as trivial. They only gave non-officials an opportunity to feel steam-heat."

Referring to the absence of Congress members from

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the Legislature, Sir R. Maxwell accused Congress members of abandoning interests of the constituents at the moment of danger in a crisis and when they were needed most. He added, "It was noticed over the whole country that Congressmen were not watching the interests of their constituents but that of their party; in the absence of Congress members, the debate on disturbances showed a sober realisation of the true situation: in fact, in the absence of Congress members debates have been conducted in moderate language and with reasonableness."

These are stock arguments repeated *ad nauseum* by champions of Imperialism and need not be replied. Maxwell and James received a home thrust from Col. Armstrong, an Irishman, who said :

It would have been very much to the good if the Government of India in 1919, had listened and acted on the advice of unofficial members who, unanimously, rejected the Rowlatt Bill in the then Imperial Legislative Assembly. If that had been done, Amritsar would not have happened. Anyone who wants to see India within the British Commonwealth should read the history of Ireland and ponder over the position of Ireland to-day—Irish troubles, her past, her present position. Whether she achieved independence or not, what has happened to one nation which has achieved the Commonwealth Status we should see happening in India. "It is good to listen to the people of India. These people call us Ma-Baps and we know they mean it, and when they get annoyed with us over our actions we naturally feel very bitter. The truth is they expect us as Ma-Baps to fulfil our duties. We cannot just neglect them."

Sir Frederick James made some references to individual members of the Assembly in which he admitted that a veteran member like Mr. N. M. Joshi, nominated by the Government, "almost consistently voted against the government." Sir Reginald said that Mr. K. C. Neogy was the most virulent opponent of the Government but a very able man. Sir James agreed.

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports that not more than 50 people were present at this meeting. It was organised by the die-hards to denounce India's claim for general elections.

Mudie Mission on I.C.S. Recruitment

The *National Call* reports :

Slowly but surely, the mystery surrounding the visit to London of Sir Francis Mudie, the Home Member, appears to be lifting. It is no more in doubt that the Home Member's hurried trip related exclusively to the question of the recruitment of the I.C.S. Several complicated problems arise in question with the recruitment of the I.C.S', which was stopped a year after the war started. The needs of civil administration, both in the Central and Provincial Governments have increased, and so greater strength of personnel seems to be required. The British Government supported by traditionally loyal elements do not want the fifty-fifty ratio between the Indian and European incumbents of the heaven-born service to be changed. On the top of it, there is the decision of the Government to reserve at least fifty per cent of the future vacancies for those who had put in war services. They are to be accommodated. The Government of India Act provided for a review of the position of the I.C.S. and I.P.S. after five years of the introduction of the constitution. Nothing had been done to review the position but it cannot be long delayed.

There is the off-chance of a National Government at the Centre at not a distant date, and at least within some years after the war. How far would present decisions bind the new entrants and the new government has to be settled and laid down. It is said that the new recruitment would be on a short-term basis, and on a much larger basis than annual recruitment made on the strength of probable vacancies. Probably the recruitment would be one-third over and above the normal requirements, and compensation would be provided for those who want to quit under the new order said to be coming after the war.

The zeal of the die-hard officials to reserve at least half of the Indian steel frame, which, in fact, acts not as a service but as a ruling corporation, is understandable specially when a National Government in India may be envisaged at a date not too distant. It is necessary that our Legislators at the centre took stock of this position and prepared for an opposition to another one of the shameful deals imposed on India by unilateral action. Mudaliars and Noons may support, but let not the Legislature ratify.

A Muslim Ulema on Pakistan

Khwaja Athar Hassan, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the seventh session of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind held at Saharanpur, referred to the communal question in his address. He said that in ancient times there was no religious opposition between the Hindus and the Muslims. He remarked that the communal problem was a product of the British rule.

Referring to Pakistan, he said that Mr. Jinnah was not pressing for Pakistan because the Hindus and Muslims were two different nations but because he was annoyed with his Hindu friends. He emphasised that the Muslims and the Hindus could not be regarded as two separate nations.

The President of the Conference, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, who presided, said that Pakistan meant the establishment of Hindu Raj in Muslim minority provinces. The Ulemas constitute an important section of the Muslim community. Many of them are profound scholars in the Islamic scriptures and know far more about the religion, culture and language of the Muslims than the President of the Muslim League. It is a well-known fact that the League does not represent all the Muslims in this country and the section which disagrees with the League includes some of the ablest and the most learned members of the community.

The Frontier Pathan Needs No Guardian

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, in his recently published book *Gold and Guns of the Pathan Empire*, discusses the attitude of the Pathan to Pakistan and writes :

In spite of all the propaganda carried on by the Muslim League, the Pathan has realized that the problem of his freedom forms part of the larger problem of India's freedom. Unlike his co-religionists in other parts of India, he has not allowed himself to be gripped by the fear complex—the fear of Hindu domination. It is for the Pathan unthinkable—an insult to his self-respect—to need a promise of protection from any section of the Indian population, however numerically strong it might be. He would much rather rely on his own strong arm to get his freedom and retain it against all enemies

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after he has won it. We will therefore fight for our freedom, without asking for any guarantees for this quarter or that.

The Frontier Pathan needs no guardian either with or without a bayonet. Like a true Indian he believes in self-help and realises the great Indian teaching—

नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यः

(Realisation does not come to the weak). He prefers proceeding along the royal road of joint electorates to crawling through the blind alley of separatism, in order to achieve his political goal. The defeatists and the weaklings of the League may well take a lesson from them.

The part that the Red Shirt movement had played in the making of the modern Frontier Province has also been revealed by Mr. Qaiyum. The Red Shirt movement was in its inception purely a social reform movement. "Its promoters aimed at eradicating blood feuds and vendetta. They were anxious to do away with un-Islamic customs involving waste of money on marriages and deaths." When a volunteer corps of Khudai Khidmatgars was set up in April 1930, those who joined it were pledged "to obey the order of God; to be fearless and non-violent in thought and action; never to be affected by flattery or abuse; to protect the oppressed as against the oppressor, and never to accept any remuneration for service." It was only in August 1931 that the Red Shirt organisation was affiliated to the Congress and joined with it in the fight for freedom.

A New History of the Indian People

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has issued the following appeal :

> A new history of the Indian people, containing the fruits of the latest research and written by India's own sons in a popular style and priced so low as to be within the reach of all of our countrymen, was planned by Babu Rajendra Prasad and Sir Jadunath Sarkar in 1938 as a much needed national undertaking. For carrying the work out a society named *The Bharaatiya Itihas Parishad* was registered at Benares and steps taken to distribute the chapters among suitable scholars. Owing to the war and the dispersion of scholars and libraries, four years were lost. But now two most important and interesting volumes are ready for the press and a third is half complete. The complete volumes on the Maurya and Gupta Ages have reached my hands in manuscript, and the press has agreed to finish printing them before the end of October next. The Gupta volume has been edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar, and the Maurya volume by Profs. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. H. C. Roychaudhuri. The volume on Akbar is in my own hands and I hope to finish its press copy four months after actually starting the printing of the other two volumes. Thus it is hoped that, unless something unexpected happens, we shall see two volumes (the Mauryas and the Guptas) offered to the public in November, 1945 and a third volume (Akbar) handed over to the printers in time to come out in May, 1946.
>
> Each English volume requires an outlay of about Rs. 11,000 all told. Liberal donations in the past have enabled us to keep the office going during the last six troubled years, complete 2½ volumes in manuscript and save a reserve of Rs. 10,000. Now that the preliminary work has been all done our speed will be quicker in future. Seven new volumes are now being assigned to different editors.
>
> We appeal to generous donors to give us Rs. 11,000 for the year 1945-46, so that this national work may not perish untimely nor be reduced to a money-making transaction.

The need for a people's history of India written by Indian scholars is only too keenly felt. We have no doubt that the very modest sum required for completing this outstanding work will be subscribed in no time.

The Cloth Famine

Just as Major General Wood had come down to Bengal in 1943 to calculate her food stock and to tell the world that there was no food shortage, similarly Mr. Vellodi had swooped over Bengal in the same style on a lightning tour and has declared that there is no cloth famine here. The same set of questionable and inefficient officials who were responsible for the food famine came in for undiluted praise from this brown dignitary at the cloth secretariat. This is precisely what he said : "The steps that the Bengal Government has recently taken and the policy they are following are, to my mind, unexceptionable—indeed, considering the state to which the trade has reduced the cloth position, I cannot see what other steps they could have taken—and if their efforts are not impeded in any manner, the public of Bengal will soon have reason to be grateful for those measures." We do not know what "soon" means to Mr. Vellodi, but on this side of India we find that more than a month has elapsed since this statement and the position has further worsened and not improved. Public co-operation came in an astounding measure, Ward Committees were formed and they agreed to undertake the Herculean task of distributing 500 pairs of cloth among more than a lakh of needy people. The same ridiculous and costly moves of the cloth control authorities continue unchecked. The movements of these unwanted parasites announcing the date and time of their august visit to Ward Committees are being advertised in daily papers at an unnecessary cost to the public. Traders' shops have been sealed but the bales of cloth are being handed over to other traders, nobody knows whether *benamdars* of original blackmarketeers or not. To sum up, the situation remains as acute as ever, cloth remains beyond the reach of the needy and within easy access of the crafty. Pakistanisation of the cloth trade is vigorously going on with the popular committees to shield the sinister move. Mr. Sanat K. Ray Choudhury, ex-Mayor of Calcutta and a member of the Ward Committee No. 9 has resigned and said : "Old and reputed Hindu shops *all over the city* have been excluded, to make room for new Mahommedan shops and even for intended shops. One Mahommedan shop in Ward No. 9 whose usual business was not in cloth was supplied with 16 bales for which it had to rent a godown in haste. It is doing business on the footpaths because there is hardly any room inside the shop . . . . In order to make up their quota one owner was given three shops in the Ward."

Two of the most fundamental problems in the cloth crisis, *viz.*, increase in production and stoppage of exports, still remain unattended. Mr. Krishnamachari Thakersay, Chairman of the Textile Control Board, said long ago that the production *can* be stepped up. On May 7, Sir Victor Sassoon, one of the cotton magnates of this country, has stated : "The only absolute solution for the present difficulties is the

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cloth trade is to produce more cloth—to produce more cloth more macahinery must be installed or there must be no stoppages of the machinery which is now available and it must worked to its maximum capacity. Neither of these remedies can be successful unless coal is available to work the machinery." We showed last month that the Textile Commissioner had advised closure of mills for want of coal instead of exerting himself for securing more coal for the industry. Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, India's "representative" on the Combined Production and Resources Board at Washington under whose direction cloth is exported out of India, stated that the chief remedy of cloth shortage was to step up production. The meeting of the Board was quite alive to this need. Mr. Kasturbhai categorically stated that the meeting recognised that, while there were insurmountable difficulties for the U.S.A. and the U. K. to step up production, *India was in a fortunate position to do so,* if coal or fuel oil could be made available to it." It is quite clear that nothing has been done in this direction.

About the second issue, export of cloth, Mr. Kasturbhai chose to be silent and did not state whether he could secure the consent of the Board for a reduction in the quantity of cloth now being exported in order to relieve the keen scarcity within the country. Nobody knows whether Mr. Kasturbhai's support in the decision to export cloth made by the C. P. R. B. at Washington was tacit or explicit. That matters little, cloth was and is being exported. Similar actions of Indian industrialists have set Gandhiji to take a second view about them and his suspicions about them have grown so high that he thought it necessary to warn even some of his most trusted lieutenants in the industrial field from identifying themselves with any shameful deal.

Stabilisation of Agricultural Prices

The Expert Committee set up by the Government of India on the question of stabilisation of prices of agricultural commodities was due to meet in Bombay on May 7 and 8 last but its proceedings have not reached us as yet. Sir T. V. Krishnamachari is the Chairman of this Expert Committee and so far he has not uttered a single word about it. At the present moment he is busy at San Francisco representing the Indian Native States there. Giving a synopsis of the Committee's objects, the *Indian Finance* writes :

This committee is to consider (a) the principles on which producers' prices of agricultural produce, whether crops grown for industrial purposes or for food or the produce of animal husbandry of all descriptions, should be fixed and (b) the methods by which the fixed prices could be made effective and an assured market provided. The Committee would make recommendations in relation to the conditions expected to prevail in post-war India, (1) in which the Government control over the procurement, distribution and prices of commodities exist in a substantial measure and (2) in which such control has been released or abolished and normal trade channels restored. A fair price to the cultivator is an excellent desideratum no doubt, but the difficulties in the way of achieving the end are so many. Any scheme of stabilisation of agricultural prices shall be based on a thorough study of the cost of articles entering into the cultivator's cost of production and also the cost of commodities whose cost enter into his standard of living. This involves careful collection of data over wide and representative areas. Recently, Mr. Hudson made an announcement in the House of Commons that the policy of guaranteed prices and markets would be continued and that prices would be determined every February after an examination of farmers' costs. Fortunately, farming costs have been studied for many years past by the several advisory centres in the United Kingdom. In fact, recently, the collection of statistics extended further and covered numerous new items too. The British Government to-day have figures regarded as sufficient, comprehensive and representative to serve as a safe basis for an official price policy. Though the considerations that will decide the prices to be fixed have not yet been decided, there is no doubt that the U. K. has enough data on which to go ahead with a programme of stabilisation of agricultural prices. But in India we know only too well that the farmer rarely keeps accounts, if at all. In this country agriculture is more a way of living than a business and the agricultural produce enters the market for sale only after meeting the requirements of the village cultivator and his family. In other words, it is generally the surplus that comes into the market and the ryat does not produce for the market as his sole object and the extreme fragmentation of agricultural holdings has made the position worse.

This gives a fair account of what our self-appointed trustees are doing in their own country for their own welfare and in this unfortunate country, the land of their trust. Stabilisation of agricultural prices is a prime necessity in our economic life, but it cannot be and should not be done piecemeal. Many of India's cash crops like jute, oil-seeds, tea, coffee, rubber, copra, cotton and coir have international markets. There can certainly be a national and local fixation of prices for these commodities but that should be done with an eye to international repercussions. Many of these commodities command a very much lower price in the international market than they normally should. In order to maintain a stable and high level of prices for them, similar to those commanded by the products of other nations, attention must be directed towards improving the quality of the Indian produces so that they might compete equally with foreign products. Grading, standardisation and improvement in packing methods should also be attended to.

Rabindranath Memorial Fund

In our last issue we informed our readers that by the end of April the above fund had reached 3 lakhs. The latest information supplied by the General Secretary of the All-India Rabindranath Memorial Fund indicates that the 4,50,000/- mark has been passed. We appeal to our readers to contribute liberally to Rabindranath Memorial Fund. All remittances and correspondence should be addressed to the General Secretary at 1, Burman Street, Calcutta.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

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By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE War in the West is now a matter of past history. For over five years and eight months the most desperately bankrupt nation of Europe fought with fury against the democratic powers. Since the June of last year the odds against Germany were being continuously raised until they reached over five to one in numbers and even more than that in war-machines and airplanes. Her munition centres and the arteries for transport were being continuously disrupted by vast air-armadas and her defence lines in the West were engulfed by fire and steel from the unprecedented concentrations of artillery by the Americans. Under this tremendous pressure the whole defence system was being ground down slowly when the final assault was delivered in the East by the Soviets' forces. American armoured spearheads had pierced deep across the Rhine at that time and within a short period the Ruhr was isolated and finally reduced. Breslau and the great Silesian arsenals, including the vast Herman Goering plants, had already ceased to function and thus with the cutting off of the Ruhr 75 per cent of Germany's armament production was shut off. Rapid degeneration of the defence followed and finally came the finale of Nazi Germany's *Gotterdammerung* with the passing of Hitler.

Hitler's dream of world dominance came within an ace of success despite the titanic odds against the Axis in the matter of numbers, treasure and resources, both material and mechanical. The undreamt-of heroic resistance of the Soviets' peoples put the first brake on the chariot-wheels of the conquering Nazi hordes. Even with that the Germanic forces continued to press on and but for the providential autumn rains, which came down in a deluge three weeks before time and bogged down all German transport across the Ukraine, it is an open question as to whether Stalingrad could have withstood the assault. As it happened the weather turned the scales and Stalingrad witnessed a debacle for the assaulter from which the forces of Hitler never recovered. Three years of heroic fighting by the Russians had given the Allies time to prepare vast armies and to tool up to perfection the gigantic American production centres under peaceful and undisturbed conditions. And after that extremely prolonged period of preparation was over the Second Front was opened and the Germanic forces in the West, greatly weakened by four and a half years of a tremendous war, turned to face desperate odds in numbers and armament. The tidal wave of American production started battering down the Western defences, while in the East too it toned up and strengthened beyond measure the fighting strength of the Russian forces. And thus was Germany's fall sealed under the twin arms of Fate, the Russian soldier and the American armament factory. The Wehrmacht functioned with great skill until the very last, utilizing the last ounce of strength to hold up and to inflict losses on the forces of the United Nations but it was proved in the ultimate that those two factors, the fighting spirit and endurance of the Soviets' forces and the production capacity of the U.S.A. had gone far beyond the calculations of the Nazi High Command.

In the East the Japanese are now face to face with the stark reality that loomed in the haze and smoke of the European battle-fronts. Now at last the Allies have their hands free, and are in a position to bring all their forces into action against the sole remaining partner of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Some time must elapse before the full effect of this harnessing of the total resources of the Allies can come into play but that day will come now within a measurable period of time, with all factors of uncertainty taken out. The question is now as to what is the measure of the defence organisation that Japan has been able to put up during the three years of time she has obtained in the meanwhile. There can be no question now that the Japan of to-day is immensely stronger than the Japan that assailed the A. B. C. D. group at the end of 1941.

To-day Japan has built vast factories in Manchuria and has drawn on the immense resources of the conquered territories, of which but a fraction has been recovered as yet. To-day she is fully aware of the might and capacity of her opponents and she has also found by the process of trial and error the efficiency or otherwise of all her defence strategy. So the struggle ahead will have little in the matter of surprise and chance for either side.

Up till now there are no signs that the Japanese have weakened nor does there seem to be any indication of flagging energy or spirits, which all seem to point to indicate that the Asiatic struggle will be no less desperate than that in Europe. But of course here the superiority of the Allies would be even more marked than in the case of the European war. Indeed, here the Allies would have the added advantage of superiority in technical matters, which would go a good way to offset the handicaps of great distances and the lack of facilities and bases for transport and supply. Iwojima and Okinawa are good indications, and given speed and efficiency they might be taken as correct presages for the struggle ahead.

The Americans have nearly perfected two mighty organisations for their main assault. The first is the magnificent carrier-borne air force, which has effectively pulled the teeth of the Japanese navy and has as well acted as powerful long distance artillery in bombarding shore-defence systems. The second is the technically superb amphibious landing organisation. The Japanese have not yet found any answer to either of these and so such the Americans are able to force landings in the front of carefully prepared defences. Of course once the landing is started the main Japanese defence organisation comes into action with great violence and ruthlessness. But the defenders have nowhere up till now been able to augment their strength, even to the extent of making good their losses, whereas the invaders are able to press on in ever increasing numbers and with greater weight of armament.

But of course this relates to sea-girt islands, a good long way from the home-land bases of the Japanese air and naval forces. The task of the American navy would become harder and costlier as the campaign comes nearer the nerve centres of the Mikado's forces. And once the campaign becomes continental in character many new factors hitherto not encountered, are likely to come into play. The duration of the war against Japan is dependent entirely on these little known factors on which very little light has been thrown up till now, the technical qualities of Japanese armament and fighter planes being the main.

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A SCHEME—OR A DREAM ?

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt. C.I.E., D.Litt.

I see no reason why I should be asked my opinion by grand schemers of India's future constitution. ies from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Arundel, a Mashriqi and other all-India leaders require tailed answers, and I do not keep a stenographer-The world evidently does not know that I am nobody, a non-party non-leader non-follower individual unit of the population, an old man harmless except for the fact that he is idling, consuming rice and which might better nourish some more active and useful member of society. What is the value of the scheme of a mere Featherless Biped (the old Greek definition of man) like me, or in the more elegant idiom of Persia, this *zerra-e-bemiqdar* (this worthless atom), this *faqir-e-haqir* or poor beggar? So, I remained silent, preferring to face the charge of discourtesy by not replying to my august correspondents.

But the Bengal Government has come to my rescue. For several weeks I have been eating *reconditioned rice,* which is the only variety of our staple food supplied by the Government rationing control in Calcutta. Old people whose knowledge of the English language is hopelessly out of date, call it rotten rice. What pitiful ignorance! Those who are experts in modern English call it *reconditioned,* which has a romantic sedative effect on the ear—though not on the stomach. From eating this rice in my old age, I have developed a dyspepsia—a dyspepsia that has at last proved victorious over my five years of regular daily exercise and visit to health resorts. Last night I had a dyspeptic dream, and what should I dream of, but the political problems of India's future, of which the daily papers are full, and which had been reposing in my sub-conscious brain. In the close heat of a summer night in Calcutta,

Tossing in bed an hour alone
I dreamt that India might still be free.

But how?

A Political Plan for India

Two basic principles must be accepted at the very outset:

(1) The plan should be formed with an eye to the future evolution of our State and not to the immediate gain of the moment, and it should be pursued patiently and unflinchingly, as a long-term scheme of national integration, improvement, and strengthening, instead of thinking solely or mainly of what Burke calls "petty shifts and temporary expedients," *i.e.,* the current political game of party manoeuvring or forming pacts to "capture" some voting body. Short-lived concessions to the current needs of the situation should certainly be made, but never—and here the planners should be adamant—never to such an extent as to sacrifice or even to weaken the great long-term ideal.

(2) Have a solid core or nucleus of a truly national character for all real national work in the various fields of State activity, which will stand absolutely free from all considerations of religion, rank, wealth or race and similar disintegrating factors. Only a perfectly integrated political society like that of England (Ireland not included) can have such a national unified system in *full* measure. But Indian leaders must never lose sight of this ideal; they may start with a 50 per cent adoption of this principle now but must keep it ever at the forefront of their programme and steadily work up to it. As the different sects and social groups (who will be provided separately for in the remaining 50 per cent) will work daily in the common fields of legislation, administration, defence and social service, side by side with the "national" or unsectarian 50 per cent, the two groups will tend to fuse together, they will learn in the political workshop by practical daily work, to give and take, and their angularities and extreme opinions will be thus rubbed off more effectively than by sermons or pamphlets.

This is how we start. Then, as the first set of members in time come to know each other correctly, they will draw closer together, and—unless India is to have no future—some 15 or 20 years from the start all right-thinking men will feel that co-operation on national (as contrasted with sectarian) lines can pay rich dividends in the shape of the actual improvement of the lot of the people and increase of the national strength *vis a vis* of its foreign enemies and economic rivals, and then they will themselves ask for the expansion of the 50 per cent unsectarian core to 75 per cent and a corresponding reduction of the reserved sectarian preserves, in their own interests.

This principle has two natural corollaries: (a) Half the public service, including the legislature, should be thrown open to pure merit, irrespective of creed, rank or wealth, while the other half will be reserved for separate "communities." In the first half the recruitment should be on an all-India basis without any provincial quota at the centre. Let the public servants chosen by these two rival methods be passed in review by a High Commission *from outside* twenty years hence, and then the effect of these two methods of recruitment on the efficiency of the administration and the happiness of the people will become manifest; and then none will be able to cavil at the decision to extend or contract the 50 : 50 ratio. After the initial recruitment by these two methods, promotion must be solely by merit without any political interference, as has been openly denounced by the Rowlands Committee in Bengal.

Choose our public servants by the standard of the *highest qualification* available at the time and not by the recently popular test of the *"minimum qualification"* for the post. Thus only can we harness the highest brain power and the best character of the nation to the people's work. The quality of the actual administration and the welfare of the people ultimately depend upon this factor.

(b) There must be a Public Services Commission with full power and very extended range. But in order to keep it absolutely above local suspicions, the majority of its members must be foreigners, preferrably men without past Indian administrative connections. This is an unpleasant pill to swallow, but it is unescapable at the first stage of our evolution. We can drop the foreign element when our nationalist or non-sectarian nucleus has grown from 50 to 75 per cent by mutual consent.

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Such a nationalist or non-sectarian core, even as low as 25 per cent at the legislature, with a temporary but gradually alterable balance of seats to be reserved for minorities, was exactly the scheme which Mr. Ramsay Macdonald put before the (Second ?) Round Table Conference at the Chequers, but it was rejected by Messrs. Gandhi, Jinnah and others with results that even the blind can see today.

It is the very negation of democracy to have sectarian electorates, as distinct from functional or economic groups—like the Universities and Commerce—but not *Marwari* Chambers of Commerce, *Muslim* Chamber of Commerce. When shall we have a *Momin* Chamber of Commerce separately electing M.L.A.'s ? When separate electorates for the Muslims were granted in 1909, their father John Morley himself admitted harmful effects and he quoted the Irish example—what an ominous name and how very prophetic of the failure of British statesmanship in Burke's biographer and admirer !—saying that a Catholic elected on the joint votes of Protestants and Catholics in that troubled island was suspected by the bigoted members of his creed as a *shoin* Catholic, which may be translated as a *cutcha* Catholic,—or a nim *Musalman* in India ! But the disciple of John Stuart Mill here forgot Mill's warning that a representative government cannot work smoothly or usefully, if its legislature is composed of the *extreme* members of the different parties in the country, but only if the *moderate* representatives of every party are brought together round the same legislative table, and that makes a joint electorate the one thing needed. *Do not be for ever emphasising the separatist tendencies that exist in every country. Rather stimulate in all the life activities of the nation the unifying nationalist tendencies and interests* and thus gradually *eliminate the special or dividing forces.*

If India is ever to be a nation, this joint electorate is its inescapable basis even for filling the temporarily-reserved seats for the minorities.

Coming down to details, a unitary legislature (and consequently ministry) in the provinces and at the Centre, elected *solely* by a general constituency proportioned to the population, is theoretically possible in India, but it will do more harm than good if set up before Nineteen-hundred and *ninety-five* A.D., because of the opposition it will create at the very start which would imperil the smooth working of the more necessary unifying and evolutionary *national* half of my scheme. Let us have at the beginning 50 per cent of our M.L.A.'s elected on the general ticket; it will enable an Abbas Tyabji or a C. F. Andrews to be elected by the Hindus (the only people who can elect them); it will make it possible for us to utilise for our law-making and administrative work many Indian Christians of outstanding merit that I have met with but whose talent is lost to their native land because of their small number or unsuitable location. As for the remaining 50 per cent of seats, why not let the Muslims/Hindus have 25 per cent, the Sikhs 10 per cent, and the Europeans and all other groups not included above 15 per cent ?

What of the *scheduled castes*, you ask. That is a most hateful and humiliating title, like the name *Natives* in the mouths of Kipling and other imperialists. My own experience during a long and observant life has been that when any of these people makes money, the first thing that he does is to slip out of the schedule cattle-pen, and merge himself in the general Hindu society by changing his tell-tale caste-name (like blacksmith, barber, etc.). This is a legitimate and honourable ambition and it is the root of social progress. Thanks to the direct and indirect influence of the Arya Samaj, Hindu Society, after a little preliminary "looking askance" or even petty skirmish, has absorbed the new entrant into its bosom. The reformed marriage law of the Hindus will make this process easier and widespread, for this sort of social synthesis is the very essence of Hinduism, which European scholars have recognised as a social arrangement and not a definable religion founded on a revealed book.

So much for the legislature. But how am I going to write my Theogony ? How am I going to fill the thrones of the celestial beings (blazing in red and gold embroidery) who doze under the deodars beneath the shadow of Mount Jacko ? Well, the Viceroy's Executive Council (or Ministers responsible to the Central Legislature) may start with having 25 per cent Hindus *qua* Hindus, 25 per cent Muslims *qua* Muslims and at least one Sikh Member, one European and one Indian Christian, and the remainder regardless of the sectarian mark.

My scheme, like every other scheme, requires good will and political honesty for its success. It will be the test of India's fitness for self-rule whether such good will and honesty are forthcoming or not.

Stop, stop, old man of matted hair and patched overcoat (—not due to the present cloth-famine, but to the rules of the faqir caste), thou hast been liberally appointing the gods of Simla and New Delhi, but what about our Rajahs and Nawabs ? Well, my honest belief is that they require half a century more of hammering by outside forces and the internal stresses and almost universal disunity between their people and princes (*cum* a privileged irresponsible official class), before they can be fitted into a *modern* civilised unified State. We must wait till then.

The impatient reader—if any has had the patience to read so many pages—will now ask, "O faqir ! thou hast brought the horse to the water—the water of national life, *ab-i-hayat*,—but can you make it drink ? My masters ! the horse will certainly drink if those who are grasping its reins and turning its head (away) will get off its back.* And they are destined to get off,—in time, Lord Salisbury, was Beaconsfield's lieutenant at the Congress of Berlin (1878), where England succeeded in thwarting the Balkan Christians' cry for independence and union and thus buttressed up Turkish misrule and prolonged Balkanization. That very Marquis of Salisbury lived to mourn, "We put our money on the wrong horse there." That history will certainly repeat itself—in India ; the only question is after how long an interval and at the expense of how much more than Irish embitterment of Indian patriotism ?

* On 1st October 1906, when the Aga Khan's Muslim deputation met the Viceroy, Lady Minto received a letter from an official saying,—"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened to-day, a work of statesmanship that will alter *India* and Indian history *for many* years (—it is now 1945, and it still "goes and goes strong"!) It is nothing less than the turning back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition." (Lady Minto's Indian diary). Yes, Gokhale was seditious, all the Hindus, Parsis and Indian Christians were seditious. The 62 millions (now 67 millions) must be very happy and proud. The 62 millions (now 67 millions) must be very happy and proud of their present condition in Bengal in the Famine Report.

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LONDON LETTER

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

Good Friday, 30th March, 1945

Europe is moving out of war and before this reaches India Germany may have thrown up the sponge, the San Francisco Conference be postponed because of the situation immediately arising, the promised General Election in England voted inopportune for similar reasons. In fact anything may happen and yet, with events crowding up on every minute, I have to try to write something that will still be news—and that though it may not appear in print for anything from three weeks to three months after it has been written . . .

To-day in London all flags on public buildings are flying at half-mast in farewell to Lloyd George whose funeral takes place in Wales this afternoon. Had this not been Good Friday the flag would be flying at half-mast over the Abbey, and I should be listening now to its famous muffled peals—first a full chime, then a muffled one—first an image of life, then an image of death—that inspired monotonous iteration in which, as some genius long ago discovered, is a perfect reminder of man's mortality.

When King George V died it was remarked how particularly his death affected the War Generation, the people who had been young in 1914. The War had been the central fact of his reign, as it was of their lives, and his death evoked a host of buried memories. Those four war years came surging back before receding into history. (After the time of George V the Armistice ceremony meant less and less as the years went by until there were those who advocated giving it up altogether.) But the death of Lloyd George is a very different thing. He had become an institution: for fifty years he had been on the parliamentary scene and no one can think of Parliament without him. What kind of a memorial will they set up to him in Westminster Abbey? Meditating on this I sought out the tablet Parliament devised to his "dearest partner in great-ness", Herbert Henry Asquith. Though it tells nothing of what he did, only of what he was, it is a triumph in the appropriate. It opens with a string of disdainful negatives: *Unmatched, unshaken, unseduced, unterrified* (How they recall that Roman nose!). True we are told in the next line, *His Loyalty he kept, his Love, his Zeal.* But these are all given capital letters and maintain a lovely declamatory effect. Then back come the nega-tives: *Nor number, nor example, with him wrought To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind* . . To read that stony epitaph is to wonder how Asquith and Lloyd George could ever have pulled together.

Nor number with him wrought. . . But numbers were the breath of life to Lloyd George. Principles were not his trade, but people. One who knew him well wrote that 'he loved crowds and caught the feeling of crowds with unerring intuition.' Behind the measures that he introduced he could always feel the pressure of the common people. To-day national insurance, with its collaterals of housing, education, security of employ-ment and so on, is become the obsession of politics. So much so that we are apt to forget how recent a thing it is. But until the advent of Lloyd George all this was in the future. And therein lies his title to fame. To adapt Coleridge, he was the first that ever burst into that far from silent House of Commons with what then seemed to them to be catastrophic proposals. And his chiefest charm is that he thoroughly enjoyed fighting the battle of the common man. Never did he feel it a cursed spite that ever *he* was born to set it right. To quote his friend again, 'he would look with calm satis-faction on the riot he had provoked.' . . . Lloyd George's ebullience, in fact, is something that we have been missing for some time. It is said that his speeches will not live. Since he needed an audience and took spark as he played on them, he did not prepare speeches in advance. They lack therefore the forms and pro-portions which make a speech most readable. But there is not the slightest doubt that his *phrases* will live. Could anything for instance excell in humour and mordancy the following: 'He sat on the fence until the iron entered into his soul.' (Oh that I knew who is the politician he has impaled for ever on that fence!)

There is just one other thing to be said about Lloyd George. When his Will is published, there are sure to be reflections about the Liberal Money Chest and the much-alleged trafficking in honours. (He knighted so many shop-keepers in Cardiff that some wit dubbed it 'The City of Dreadful Knights'.) But if he trafficked in honours, he did not traffick in honour. At the end of the last war Mr. Bonar Law invited him to part company with Liberalism and become the leader of the Conservative Party—and he refused. Years afterwards, when he was asked if he had any regrets he answered: 'No . . . I was born a Radi-cal and I shall die a Radical.' Clearly there was no flunkeyism in Lloyd George. He could never, like a successor of his, have gone over to the enemy and then, when the final election results showed how completely he had undone his former friends, have remarked with complacency: 'Every Duchess in the country will want to kiss me.'

Perhaps we are on the eve of a General Election, but I very much hope that it may be postponed. There is something to be said for carrying over into the Peace an existing Coalition: nothing whatever for asking the country to give a mandate for a new one. It will only obscure the issues, allow the Conservatives to cash in on Mr. Winston Churchill's popularity—the same Mr. Churchill whom they, the Conservatives, kept out of office because he unswervingly opposed their policy of Appeasing Nazi Germany—and return to Westminster yet another completely unrepresentative Government. For it must always be remembered that of the six successive General Elections held between the years 1922 and 1935, there was only one in which the Conser-vatives polled as much as half the total votes cast. It will be said of course that the country must speak with one voice in the matter of foreign policy. But that is assured already, if it means that the Labour and Liberal Parties will give support to the policies of Mr. Eden—the same Mr. Eden who also went into the wilderness because he would not support the Conservatives in Appeasing. Unfortunately however, at least when he addressed the Conservative Party Conference, Mr.

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Churchill seemed to incline towards a revival of so-called National Government after the pattern of Baldwin-Macdonald-Chamberlain days; that is a 'National' Government from which the accepted leaders of the Labour and Liberal Parties are absent. For, said he, he would be willing to work with men of any party or of none. Well the men of no party (really) are lining up. He is assured of the support of the present National Labour M.Ps.—there will be three of them—and of the present National Liberals—they number twenty-seven. And of course there might be a spate of new candidates called 'National' or old candidates, especially in a shaky division, turned 'National'. Mr. Churchill's prestige could virtually give us another Coupon Election. But can he really want that? The vast majority of men and women entering the Forces to-day, said a welfare worker recently, are *politically illiterate*. Will he be assisting their political education by inviting them to vote not for a programme but for himself—who is not outside the arena of Party Politics since he has accepted leadership of the Conservative Party. He must know more than anyone that one good reason for this political illiteracy, which is not confined to men and women entering the Forces, is that we have had years and years of so-called National Government. Voting 'National' makes a person feel *ipso facto* patriotic and at the same time relieves them of any necessity to think, since they tend to believe that they have thereby entrusted the fate of the nation to a Ministry of All the Talents! However, what would be a much better thing, the present Government—which really is National in composition—might be prolonged a little farther and into the days of Peace. Major Gwilym Lloyd George has announced that he will follow Mr. Churchill. He is the first Minister to break away from his Party. Perhaps others will follow suit and this may convince the Party Leaders that it might be wiser to prolong the life of the present Government any way for another year.

Since writing the foregoing it is definitely stated that the San Francisco Conference may be postponed. Germany is dissolving before our eyes and it is clear that the Allied leaders should stay on the spot in Europe. It is not a bad thing though that representatives from the Dominions should be gathering in London this week-end to take part in the conversations which were to be the preliminary to the Conference. Because one thing is certain: the British Commonwealth must have a very real and important share in deciding the make-up and the character which the post-war world is to take. At the moment of course, as for weeks past, Germany has been trying to make as prominent as possible all the grounds for differences of opinion that exist between the principal Allies. Especially is she concerned to show that Russia is playing nobody's hand but her own. That she is in fact —at any rate in the Slav countries—trying to present the Conference with a Communist *fait accompli* in Europe. But Germany is mistaken if she imagines we are not alive to all the conflicting currents rising or suppressed in Europe. And our strength is that we are not afraid of any of them.

There is another legend which also stems from Germany and which is said to be having some success in Europe. It is that it is not we but America and Russia who have won the war. The story runs that in 1940, 'when she stood alone', England was very great. But since then all the heat and burden of the fighting have been borne by America and Russia. Of course requires very little reflection to swallow back that. To take first the special mention of 1940. This refers course to the events following on Dunkirk, to the Battle for Britain and especially to the Battle London. But no special merit attaches to that ti Indeed, as a Scottish visitor to London rece pointed out, the Battle against the Flying Bomb, w for security reasons received far less publicity, was ju as important as the first Battle for London. For in fifth year of war the Germans set all their hopes breaking the spirit of London, on compelling Lond to make an approach to their Government, and great city never made a murmur. The next poi note is that England never did stand alone. From very beginning, save for the solitary exception of I the whole British Commonwealth has stood beside In the fighting, it is pointed out, as many decora have been won by Dominion troops—perhaps espec by Indian troops—as have been won by men from the islands. The only important difference between our p in this War and the parts taken by America and Ru is in the *manner of our entry*. And what was in a fact the manner? Russia entered the War be Germany entered Russia; America entered the W because Japan attacked Pearl Harbour; but we ent the War in fulfilment of our pledges to a nation w had been made the subject of a brutal aggression Germany. And therein lies our strength. . .

I shall not here go into the intricacies of proposed new security arrangements mooted at Y and to take definite shape at San Francisco. Everyo is tired of debating that rule that voting must be u animous amongst the Great Powers before action be taken against an aggressor; tired of enlarging on dangers and nullities since it is mostly a Great Pow directly or indirectly, who ever is an aggressor. We know that (on paper at least) there will be nothing future to prevent a Great Power doing exactly wh CAN. And that as a result of this since there is to be hue and cry—no rallying of all the Powers big small to the assistance of anyone big or small wh the victim of aggression—the small Powers will paper at least, have to become vassal States of one other of the Great Powers. Anyone who chooses to the pessimistic view can point to the case of Czec Slovakia. Is she becoming a vassal of Russia so that can manoeuvre with better success against Pola The representative of the Czech farmers in the Czec Slovak State Council has just resigned and says this Dr. Benes's conduct of foreign affairs. 'At the end twenty years we were sure of the fact that his po had led us to Munich. . . . Now, after Dr. Benes been functioning for a further six years, I see clearly that he is leading the Czech nation from a P tectorate of the Nazis to a Protectorate of the Co munists.' But there is probably very little use instancing what does or may happen amongst smaller European States in the *immediate* future.

Years ago John Stuart Mill remarked that one the essential conditions of stability in any society that there must be something that was settled and to be called in question. If this is true, what is the the coming post-war society that will be settled and to be called in question? Two important things to mind, one intangible and one tangible. In the place and as regards the new security agreem whatever the rules about voting *discussion* is to

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bsolutely free. And secondly and perhaps most ignificant of all, this country is committed to a wenty-year Alliance with Russia. If that Alliance is o be of any good to Russia or to ourselves or to the orld, it is for us to say what we think. . . . .

I suppose in India, in spite of the numbers of Indian ys who are fighting overseas, the war in Burma s largest. Indians must be familiar with the sight streams of refugees from Burma. But the return of ese refugees to their homes, devastated as many of them may be, is as nothing compared with the magnitude of the problem that faces Europe. It is estimated that no less than fifteen millions men, women and children, will have to be repatriated. And this figure does not of course include the numbers of Poles who may be moved from the Eastern to the Western side of the Curzon Line, nor the Germans who may be moved out of East Prussia to make room for the new Poland. And all these people will have to be fed and housed and clothed. How is it ever to be done, how is enough to be done in time before next winter? It was said in the House of Commons the other day that we will of course do what we can to feed our enemies; but that naturally our friends, who have suffered so terribly at the hands of our enemies, must be fed first. And it has been estimated that about five millions of people in Germany may die of starvation.

When we consider all these practical problems, how irrelevant to present miseries seem hopes and fears of political line-ups. Europe for some time surely will be full of relief missions bringing all succour possible from the more fortunate Powers, from the United States and from the Dominions of the British Empire. In such circumstances it is very unlikely that, as German propaganda would have us believe, Europe will become a Tom Tiddler's ground in which Russia and Britain strive for spheres of influence. It is obvious that with the relief missions will go in journalists and with the journalists will return the healing habits of free comment and criticism. I do not know if at the present time Russia has any journalists operating in the territories liberated by British and American and other Allied arms. At present our journalists are not allowed into countries that she has liberated, into Poland and Jugo-Slavia and, I think, Roumania.

There are so many nomads in Europe, so many *de facto* governments present and to come, what security is there for a poor blundering individual to appeal to? And speaking of frontiers the other night, it was very pertinently remarked that frontiers are not so important as is being master in your own house. Arising out of all of which, it was suggested that the time has come for mankind to see that an International Bill of Rights forms part of any new security agreements. In the past the Navy League or the League of Nations Union used to offer prizes for the best essay on the value of their particular point of view. It would be a very good thing for the world if we all tried to discover just what are the absolutely minimum rights of man.

Westminster, London.

"LOOKING BACK"—I

The Causes of the Famine of 1943

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

ern miseries of the people of Bengal are still so various and vast that it is too early to say that we are "looking back" when we discuss the events that led to the disaster of 1943. It is but one part of the story narrated serially, the story attaining its climax in a particular period when people died not in hundreds and thousands but in millions. The problem of want of food in 1943 was overtaken, even when it had not exhausted its fury, by that of serious epidemics taking almost an incredible toll of human lives. This was the picture in 1944 and in 1945 when the report of the death of epidemics are still stalking the land though in a less aggravated form, we have been experiencing an acute shortage or famine of cloth which is not only not sufficient for healthy living but is absolutely insufficient covering our nakedness or serving as a shroud for the dead.

Bengal has become a land of chronic poverty. In fact, the people of the rural areas are half fed, verging on starvation. The Report of the Famine Commission, 1944, better known as the "Woodhead Commission", attributes high mortality in the famine of 1943 to poverty and malnutrition amongst the masses of the people. The Report says:

"A considerable proportion of the rural population lives on the margin of subsistence, with few or no reserves of grain, money or other assets" (p. 67).

In the conditions of 1943:

"Poverty and malnutrition left a section of the population with few reserves, material or physical, to meet superimposed calamity. For them there was no 'margin of safety' and little possibility of 'tightening the belt'" (p. 7).

The Commissioners repeated the sentiment in the following language:

"A considerable section of the population was living on the margin of subsistence and was incapable of standing any severe economic stress. Parallel conditions prevailed in the health sphere; standards of nutrition were low and the epidemic diseases which caused high mortality during the famine were prevalent in normal times. There was no "margin of safety" as regards either health or wealth. These underlying conditions, common indeed to many other parts of India, were favourable to the occurrence of famine accompanied by high mortality" (p. 103).

With this background we shall proceed with the discussion of the immediate causes of the famine as described in the Report.

The mind of the Commissioners was not completely free as to the factors that resulted in, and the agencies that caused the famine. They say:

"The causes of the Bengal famine, and the measures taken to relieve it, have given rise to much bitter controversy, centering round the question

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whether responsibility for the calamity should be ascribed to God or man."

With a view to give satisfactory answer :

"We had had to unravel a complicated story, to give due weight to a multiplicity of causes and apportion blame where blame is due."

And we are satisfied that they have succeeded in a considerable degree. The only cause that is attributed to God is the failure of (*aman*) crop aggravated by Midnapore cyclone and crop pests. According to the Report :

"Shortage in the supply of rice in 1943 was one of the basic causes of the famine. The main reason for this was the low yield of the *aman* crop reaped at the close of 1942. Another reason was that the stocks carried over from the previous year (1942) were also short."

The Commissioners have absolved God from sharing in the responsibility of causing death to "between one and two million people" who "died as a result of the famine and the outbreaks of epidemic diseases associated with it" (p. 1). This is what they say :

"The primary element . . . was the failure of the *aman* crop. This, however, was not necessarily in itself an unmanageable problem" (p. 35).

Again,

"This rise in prices" which was mainly due to Governmental bungling, "continued unchecked and converted a shortage of supply into a famine" (p. 80).

They were more emphatic in their remark when they said :

"We do not wish to imply that famine, in the form in which it finally appeared, had become inevitable" (p. 85).

Then the rest is the work of man. Government officials high and low, "a large section of the community, including producers, traders, and consumers, contributed in varying degrees to the tragic outcome" (pp. 83-4).

Says the Report :

"The remarkable feature of the Bengal famine was that the rise in the price of rice was one of the principal causes of the famine" (p. 96).

And again,

"The rise of prices, which we hold to be the second basic cause of the famine was something more than the natural result of the shortage of supply which had occurred" (p. 80).

and discussing the reasons for such unusual rise, amongst many other causes subsequently dealt with, the Report says in this connection :

"It was the result of the belief of the producers, traders and consumers in Bengal at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943 that an ever-increasing rise in prices was inevitable and could not be prevented. This belief had been created, not only by the failure of the *aman* crop but by the entire course of events during 1942" (p. 80).

The result of the high price of foodstuffs was :

"Men, women and children died, as much because they could not pay for the food they needed, as because food was not available" (p. 76).

And

"Prices rose fantastically placing food above the reach of large numbers of people and rendering the usual form of relief largely ineffective" (p. 78).

Amongst the many causes of the famine export has been given a very high place in the list. "Unusual exports", to places outside India and to other provinces in India, "were the original cause of the trouble." As a result of exports, while the imports had been dwindling gradually, there was a deficit balance against India. Says the Report :

". . . while imports during the first seven months of 1942 were less than during the corresponding period of 1941 by nearly 300,000 tons, exports during the same period increased from 136,000 tons in 1941 to 319,000 tons in 1942. The result of the decrease in imports and increase in exports was that a net import figure of 296,000 tons in 1941 was changed into a net export figure of 185,000 tons in 1942" (p. 28).

According to the Commissioners, this "affords a clue to the increase in the price of rice which took place in Bengal in April-June, 1942" (p. 29). There was this a regular export to the other provinces of India affected by the cessation of imports from Burma.

"There was a scramble for supplies which occurred simultaneously in many parts of the country. Unusual quantities were being purchased at unusual prices and being moved out of areas which needed them." (p. 17).

There was an attempt to create barrier to inter-provincial exports and to introduce control of prices in this connection which failed miserably.

The Denial Policy *i.e.* the removal of rice and control of boats (and cycles) from the coastal area as a measure against future enemy action, proved disastrous. As regards rice, says the Report :

"The purchases synchronised with a sharp upward movement in the price level and a general disturbance in market conditions which was occurring at about the same time in other parts of India . . . on the other hand, they brought home to the people in the most emphatic manner the danger of invasion; they increased local nervousness and produced encouraged cultivators to hold on to their grain as an insurance against invasion and isolation." (p. 3[illegible]

The "Boat Denial" policy produced graver results. Though

"it was always recognised that the removal of a large number of boats from the delta . . . could cause considerable hardship and inconvenience . . ." (*Ibid.*)

only 20·4 thousand boats out of 66·6 thousand were allowed to remain in the areas the rest being destroyed, sunk, taken to "reception" stations, etc. About the result the Report says :

"The measures were necessarily unpopular. . . . Obviously, the removal of so large a number of boats . . . must have had a considerable restrictive effect on the movements of foodgrains from the denial area. The Bengal Government have informed us that it was not a practical proposition to make in repair the thousands of boats brought to the reception stations" (p. 27).

To which the Commissioners give an emphatic denial

"We are not convinced that it was not possible to make better arrangements."

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In the area where boats form the chief means of communication these should have been "maintained in a serviceable condition" and in such a case "they would have been available for the movement of foodgrains from the denial area during the difficult times of 1943."

Considerable areas were requisitioned for military purposes in which 30,000 families (a gross underestimate) were involved. In reply to the contention that compensation was paid to them and there can be no grievance on this score, the Report says, "there is little doubt that the members of many of these families became famine victims in 1943."

Another matter of great moment undertaken lightheartedly and pursued doggedly without any thought of its consequence has rightly been castigated by the Commissioners. This is the propaganda of "no shortage" even when the destitutes had been dying in the streets, in the huts and hovels and where not. The Commissioners say :

"We consider that this propaganda of sufficiency was quite ill-advised (p. 88) . . . . the propaganda policy followed during April and May 1943 by the Bengal Government . . . was misguided (p. 98) . . . the unfortunate propaganda policy of "No Shortage" . . . was unjustified" (p. 105), when "the famine was plainly apparent."

They ought to have warned the people fully of the danger of famine. The Report says, in the face of the fumbling defence of the Government of Bengal that they persisted in it to keep up the morale of the people and to prevent spread of the news to the enemy countries :

"We are not impressed by these arguments. The emergency was such . . . that it could not be hidden, and in the circumstances it was essential that the people should be truthfully informed about the real position." (p. 88).

The Government of Bengal failed to take notice of the signs of the impending crisis and "during the early months of 1943, there were reports of distress from various parts in Bengal and apprehension on the part of the District Officers that famine was imminent" (p. 1) but no adequate steps were taken in proper time. True, there was difficulty of importing rice from other provinces but there was ample time to meet the deficit by importation of wheat from the Punjab and elsewhere and the Commissioners attribute,

"the delay in the establishment of a system of planned movement of supplies from surplus provinces and states to deficit provinces and states" (p. 77),

as one of the chief causes of the famine.

In the sphere of 'control' and 'procurement' the Government proved as hopelessly inefficient as in other matters affecting the life and wellbeing of the population in their charge. Their vacillating policy disclosed the working of their mind. Steps once taken were reversed overnight leaving the wandering public to suffer and to draw their own conclusions. In June 1942, the Government of Bengal issued orders fixing the maximum price of rice and paddy and on the 11th March next they abrogated all vestiges of price control. About the Central Government and their policy of price control the Report says :

"Earlier in the year (1943), the Central Government made a similar decision as regards the control of wheat prices . . . at the end of January 1943, the statutory maximum prices for wheat which had been imposed in December 1941, were withdrawn. At this time the Government of India were of the opinion that prices should not be regulated by statutory control but by other methods" (p. 39).

The remarks of the Commissioners are very significant on this point :

"Statutory price control was a failure. At the time the Order was issued Government had no control over supplies and the only means of enforcing the Order was through the ordinary staff employed for the maintenance of law and order . . . There was little information about the stocks held by traders, for the Foodgrains Control Order was not brought into force till December. In these circumstances, an attempt to control prices by the prescription of statutory maxima aggravated the situation by driving stocks underground. The subsequent decision not to enforce the Order, while alleviating the difficulties which the Order created, advertized the inability of Government to control the markets" (p. 81).

Proofs of greater indecision on the part of the Government were yet to come. The position was still very serious when the "de-control" scheme was adopted by the Government of Bengal and

"the Government of India decided that an emergency mobilization of supplies should be made from the areas adjoining Bengal in the Eastern Region"

so that the rise in prices may be checked.

It was decided in March 1943 to give to Bengal 60,000 tons of rice within a period of from three weeks to a month. It was proposed to get this quantity from Orissa, Bihar, Assam and Eastern States in equal proportions. The plan failed because, with the exception of supplies from Orissa, the quotas were not forthcoming. More so because it evoked hostility to Bengal in the Eastern Region. By the beginning of April the Bengal Government thought that this plan, called the Basic Plan, could not help them and they informed the Central Government that "the attempt to treat the provinces of Assam, Bengal, and Orissa as separate units for the procurement of, and movement of trade in, rice and paddy was fast leading to disaster." Towards the end of April the Central Government also became doubtful about the success of the plan; and the emergency arrangements made in March completely failed. The next question was whether there should be unrestricted free trade or "modified free trade." Under the latter, the "Basic Plan" was to continue under the supervision of a Central Government official, instead of provincial authorities, for controlling inter-provincial movement of grains. On the 6th May the Government of India communicated to the Provincial Governments of the Eastern Region their decision to introduce "modified free trade." The scheme never came into effect due to divergence of opinion amongst the representatives of the respective governments of Eastern Region. On the insistence of Bengal, the Government of India modified their plan and allowed some sort of free trade. According to the Bihar authorities :

"The new policy resulted in large-scale incursion of speculators, agents, big business, hoarders and small buyers from Bengal into all the markets. . . . Prices flared up almost immediately."

Free trade led to serious disputes between the Bengal Government, their agents, and other Bengal traders on the one hand and the Government of Bihar on the other. The conflict with the Orissa Government was. The success, which was very limited in

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extent, led the Central Government "to introduce with effect from the 15th June free trade throughout India with the exception of the region comprising the Punjab, Sind and certain other areas in North-West India." The conference which met on the 7th July emphatically rejected free trade which view was accepted by the Central Government, and from the 16th of August next free trade came to an end. The Commissioners say :

> "It is clear to us that the decision to introduce free trade into the Eastern Region was a mistake. It could only result, not in the solution of food problem in Bengal, but in the creation of similar conditions in other areas of the Eastern Region" (p. 93).

The Report discloses a bias for 'modified free trade' and says :

> ". . . the advantages were so obvious that we consider it unfortunate that the Government of India gave up their initial preference for it or the insistence of the Bengal Government . . . which failed to realize the importance of securing control of all the supplies brought into Bengal from outside the province. 'Modified free trade' would have enabled such control to be exercised, for all purchases would have been made under permits granted by an officer of the Central Government."

Under this system control could be exercised over the places where the supplies were sent together with the price at which they were to be sold. The licensed dealers could be allotted different areas for operation thus avoiding competitive buying. There were other minor advantages which were overlooked. There were on the part of the dealers an attempt to extract the maximum amount of rice in the shortest possible time and serious charges of corruption, of suppression of the quantity purchased, private sale and prevalence of a "feeling that it was not the Bengal Government or the people in need who reaped the benefit, but the traders themselves."

The Commissioners regret that there had been no procurement organization of the Government until very late. If there had been one by the end of 1942, the situation "would not have taken such a grave form." In this matter very valuable time was lost in solving the nicety whether procurement scheme was a Central or Provincial subject. Further, instead of entrusting private firms or individuals with the procurement of grains the Government ought to have their own organisation. "Under the conditions prevailing in India the procurement of foodgrains on behalf of the Government should be carried out by responsible officers in the public service and not by firms chosen from the trade."

The Report laments that rationing was not introduced in Bengal earlier. The Bengal Government's lack of confidence in their ability to carry on rationing with the existing stock, it was contended, had stood in the way. But the Commissioners are of the opinion that "provided this action was taken we do not think that a relatively small deficiency in the rice supply would have caused a catastrophe in Calcutta." About the scheme of distribution and staff to undertake the task, the Report says that the original idea of excluding all private retail shops from the operation would have delayed introduction of rationing almost indefinitely. It was, according to the Report, unfortunate to delay recruitment of staff on communal grounds. There was been "avoidable delay" in the matter.

The Central Government had carried too long to come to a decision for feeding Greater Calcutta.

> "We think that the correct course in March (1943) was for the Government of India to have *announced* that they would provide, *month by month*, first, the full quantity of wheat required by Greater Calcutta and secondly, a certain quantity of rice."

It was necessary because a very heavy burden had been placed on Greater Calcutta due to the exigencies of the war.

The Famine Code was not applied and the people were deprived of the benefits that are available to them under the Code. It would have more readily attracted public sympathy which was rather late in coming. Financial considerations hampered relief. Moreover, it was undertaken rather very late. The Government allowed the needs of the rural areas to be outweighed by those of Calcutta and particularly its big interests and it is no wonder that

> "Those who found themselves unable to buy food reacted to the situation in various ways. Some remained in their villages and starved there. Many men left home in search of work, particularly on military projects, leaving their families behind. As things worsened, many thousands of people left their homes and wandered across the countryside in the direction of towns or cities where they hoped to obtain food." (p. 68).

The Report blames the Government of Bengal as well as the public in Bengal, "or at least certain sections of it who have also their share of blame . . . Enormous profits were made out of the calamity, and in these circumstances, profits for some meant death for others. . . . Corruption was widespread throughout the province and many classes of society. . . . A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society, together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed there was a moral and social breakdown, as well as an administrative breakdown."

INDIA'S FUTURE MONETARY STANDARD

By Prof. P. C. THOMAS, M.A.

During the present war the currencies of most countries have been very rudely battered. All belligerents and nearly all neutrals have seen their writs of account falling, some very heavily. And it cannot yet be said with any certainty that the time has come when the fall will be arrested. The war has taken the turn from the military point of view, we are told, on authority, as follows :

but the economic reconstruction of the war-ravaged countries of Europe and Asia, following victory, may sustain the expansion of currency for some time more. In the liberated countries of Europe financial reconstruction has commenced. About Greece, Mr. Winston Churchill told the House of Commons on October 27th

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"We are going to do our best to assist in stabilising Greek currency which has been a special mark of sabotage by the Germans, and highly competent officials from the Treasury are already on their way to Athens where the Foreign Secretary is at the present time and is remaining, according to my latest information, until he can confer with them and with the Greek Government on this subject. We are doing our best in every way to bring this country back to normal."

Belgium has already taken measures to stabilize her writ of account in terms of the sterling, and so has France. Some of the Latin Republics of South America have stabilized their currencies and brought them up into a definite link with the United States dollar.

As far as the United Kingdom is concerned, some definite steps have already been taken. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Anderson, and the Governor of the Bank of England, Lord Cato, have expressed definite views about the future of British pound. The decisions of the Bretton-Woods Conference, though do not affect the internal administration of the currencies of the conferring countries as much as their inter-relationship and their relations to a common world currency, are already before the Treasury. Britain has decided not to return to gold standard. On 10th May, 1944, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in the House of Commons that "the British Government did not intend going back to the gold standard."

There is a strong opposition in Britain to the introduction of the old orthodox form of gold standard, nor are the Bretton-Woods Conference resolutions themselves entirely unopposed. Regarding the latter, as late as September 25th, 1944, Mr. Robert Rootsby, M.P., and Chairman of the Monetary Parliamentary Policy Committee, told a conference called by the Liberator Council to co-ordinate opposition to any return by Britain to gold standard, that their immediate object was to stop the Bretton-Woods "racket". He also mentioned that Mr. Churchill had assured him that no final decision would be taken until the House of Commons had an opportunity of full discussion. Regarding gold standard, again, Sir Charles Morgan Webb, whom India has reason to remember, said that

"If Britain went back to gold standard, while the U.S. had 34 per cent of the gold of the world, Britain would become a vassal of the U.S.A."

He further aired in a rather ugly way a more distressing feeling:

"America is going to use her wealth and position and her large accumulation of gold to reduce Britain to a position of subserviency. The only object of the Bretton-Woods proposal was to put Britain on gold standard. The most impudent thing is that it makes dollar supreme international currency. The Bretton-Woods Conference would take from Britain the freedom to manage its own currency."

What is Britain going to do? It is likely that Lord Keynes will continue to occupy the key position in British currency affairs. He led the British delegation to Bretton-Woods, and he has no love for the old orthodox gold standard. Whatever the immediate influence of Bretton-Woods on British financial policy, there is hardly any likelihood of Britain returning to gold in the near future.

The question of India's sterling balances apart, there have not been many official pronouncements on India's future monetary policy. A significant one was recently made at Bombay by the Finance Member, when he said that there is no intention of revising India's ratio in the rupee-sterling rate of exchange.

For purposes of this article, the immediate concern is more about India's future monetary standard than her exchange rate with sterling. I shall also examine the position and purpose of gold and sterling among the currency reserve of the Reserve Bank of India.

India never had the orthodox gold standard except for a very short period at the end of the 19th century. This was a very short-lived experiment. From 1835 to 1893 she was on silver standard. But for most part of her currency history in modern times she was on an Exchange standard, gold or sterling. And so long as Britain stood on gold standard, it did not matter on which India really was. In the beginning of the twentieth century, till the World War I was well on its way, India was on the Exchange standard and because till August 1914, Britain was on gold standard, this standard of India was as good as gold exchange standard. This particular form of currency standard, the product of circumstantial developments rather than of deliberate legislative enactment, has given a foundation to India's monetary system, for since then, India never reverted to the full-fledged silver or gold standards, but remained on some kind of exchange standard or other. While there have been many variations in the actual rate of exchange with the United Kingdom, this principle of exchange standard remained unaltered.

From 1925 to 1931, during which period Britain reverted to gold, annulling the suspension of gold standard in force during the war and immediate post-war period, this standard of India again became virtually gold standard, and in 1927 the rupee was linked to sterling at the rate of 1s. 6d. In September, 1931, the Indian standard again became sterling exchange standard and in 1934 when the Reserve Bank of India Act was passed, the Central Bank was charged with the responsibility of maintaining the standard at the then existing rate of 1s. 6d. To maintain the exchange rate is one of the prime responsibilities of the Reserve Bank. The monetary provisions envisaged by the Reserve Bank of India Act are based on the "existing monetary system." And the chief feature of the existing monetary system is that it is a sterling exchange standard. Sections 40 and 41 of the Reserve Bank of India Act make it obligatory on the Bank to maintain the standard.

"The Bank shall sell, to any person who makes a demand in that behalf at its office in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras or Rangoon and pays the purchase price in legal tender currency, sterling for immediate delivery in London, at a rate not below one shilling and five pence, and forty-nine sixty-fourths of a penny for a rupee:

Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand to buy an amount of sterling less than £10,000.

Preamble to the Reserve Bank of India Act 1934.

The Bank shall buy, from any person who makes a demand in that behalf at its office in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras or Rangoon, sterling for immediate delivery in London, at a rate not higher than one shilling and six pence and three-sixteenth of a penny for a rupee:

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Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand to sell an amount of sterling less than £10,000"

What was the purpose in introducing this exchange standard? An exchange standard denotes economic association with, if not subservience to another country, or alternatively it shows the desire to attach one's currency to another, regarded stronger in international transactions. The list of countries :—Holland, India, the Philippines, Mexico, Panama, Thailand, Indo-China, the Straits Settlement, China, Greece, Austria, Russia, Argentina—which for long or shorter periods were on one kind of Exchange standard or another is not very helpful to dispel the notion that it is a subordinate standard. When Exchange standard was introduced in India, attempts were made, without much success, one should say, to convince public opinion that its introduction did not smack of economic dependence.

The one purpose Exchange standard served in India was giving the rupee a fixed value in terms of sterling, thus facilitating India's international trade payments, in and through sterling. This fixed relationship was of advantage to India only in so far as the sterling was stronger than the rupee, which is more assumed than proven, if only because there was no opportunity for proving it. During the major part of India's currency history, especially in the latter period, the link was there. And because of the link it was not possible to measure how the currencies would have reacted without the link. This fact has been forgotten in most of our currency history. India's position in the British Empire and the working of the Ottawa Trade Agreement, by which trade was specially diverted through Empire channel, an Exchange standard might have had its advantages. This fact is reinforced by the Dominions also adopting Exchange standard in the general scheme of reintroduction of gold standard in the countries of the British Empire in or about 1925.

The inclusion of sterling in the Central Bank currency reserves of all the Dominions also points to the same fact. South Africa, which possessed a Central Bank since 1921, Australia since 1924, New Zealand since 1934, Canada since 1935, and Irish Free State (now Eire) since 1942, and India since 1935—all keep certain, though varying proportion of their Central Bank reserves in sterling exchange. This proportion was larger than even gold.

The following table gives the proportion :—

Table showing the sterling reserves of the Central Bank of the Dominions and India.

	South Africa (March 31st)	Australia (June)	Canada (End of)	New Zealand (March 31st)	India (Annual average)
	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.
1935	15·6	28·1	1·4	80·8	32·4
1936	11·0	28·3	2·5	83·8	34·6
1937	12·7	27·3	3·8	59·5	37·0
1938	14·7	27·1	7·0	60·7	31·4
1939	16·5	27·7	12·2	15·1	34·0
1940	14·2		6·1	31·9	47·6
1941	3·3		23·8	39·6	60·7

N.B. In the case of Australia, New Zealand and India the figures are for sterling exchange; in the case of South Africa, the figures are for Foreign Exchange, but there is reason to believe that a substantial part of it is sterling exchange; in the case of Canada, however, the figures are jointly for sterling and dollar exchanges.

The Indian figures, on detailed examination show the following relationship with gold. The Statutory provisions regarding gold and sterling are :

"The assets of the Issue Department shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion, sterling securities, rupee coin and rupee securities to such aggregate amount as is not less than the total of the liabilities of the Issue Department as hereinatter defined.

"Of the total amount of the assets, not less than two-fifths shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion or sterling securities :

"Provided that the amount of gold coin and gold bullion shall not at any time be less than forty crores of rupees in value . . . ."[1]

The provisions regarding gold are two-fold : (1) that it should not be less than Rs. 40 crores in value, (2) that not less than seventeen-twentieths shall be held in British India.[2] The provision regarding sterling securities is that these plus gold shall not at any time fall below two-fifths of the assets.

Barring the extraordinary provisions for lowering the reserve ratio with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council, and on payment of tax the above may be taken as the ordinary provisions and the Reserve Bank, so far, in its working in the last ten years, has not sought relief under the extraordinary provisions.

The table below illustrates the position of gold and sterling securities in the currency reserves of the Reserve Bank during 1935-1944 :

(In crores of Rupees)

Year	Gold	Sterling securities
1935-36	44·4	62·1
1936-37	44·4	69·9
1937-38	44·4	79·9
1938-39	44·4	68·8
1939-40	44·4	78·3
1940-41	44·4	129·9
1941-42	44·4	165·4
1942-43	44·4	319·1

Gold in the currency reserves has remained stationary during the entire period, while sterling securities fluctuated and since 1940 have increased rapidly. The increase has continued in 1944, though it is not shown in the above table.

The entire expression of the Indian currency has been backed by a corresponding increase in sterling securities and rupee securities of the Government of India in the currency reserves of the Reserve Bank. Gold, as the previous table indicates, remained stationary, and rupee coin, as the table below shows, declined :

1. Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, Section 33.

2. Section 33, sub-section 5. At present all gold is held in British India.

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U. S. airborne troops land east of the Rhine to take part in the invasion of Germany

San Francisco Civic Centre. Site of United Nations Conference which opened on 25th April

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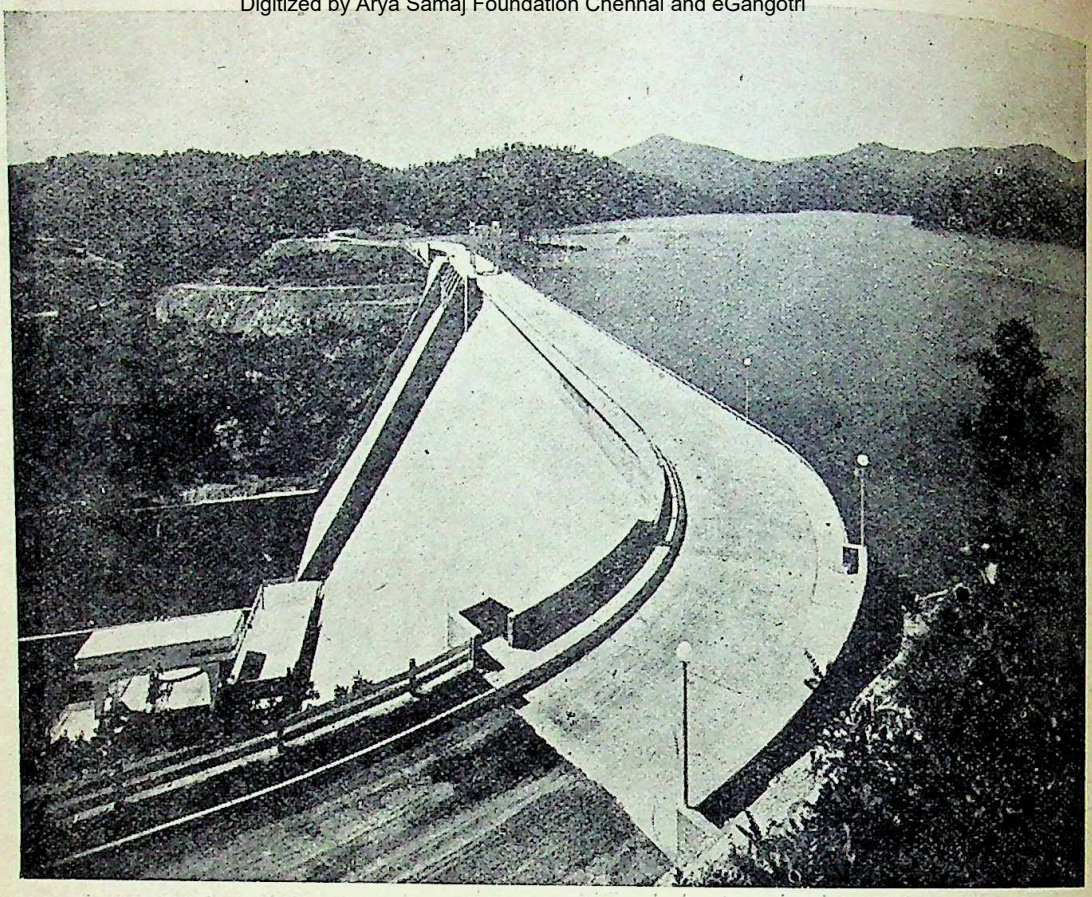
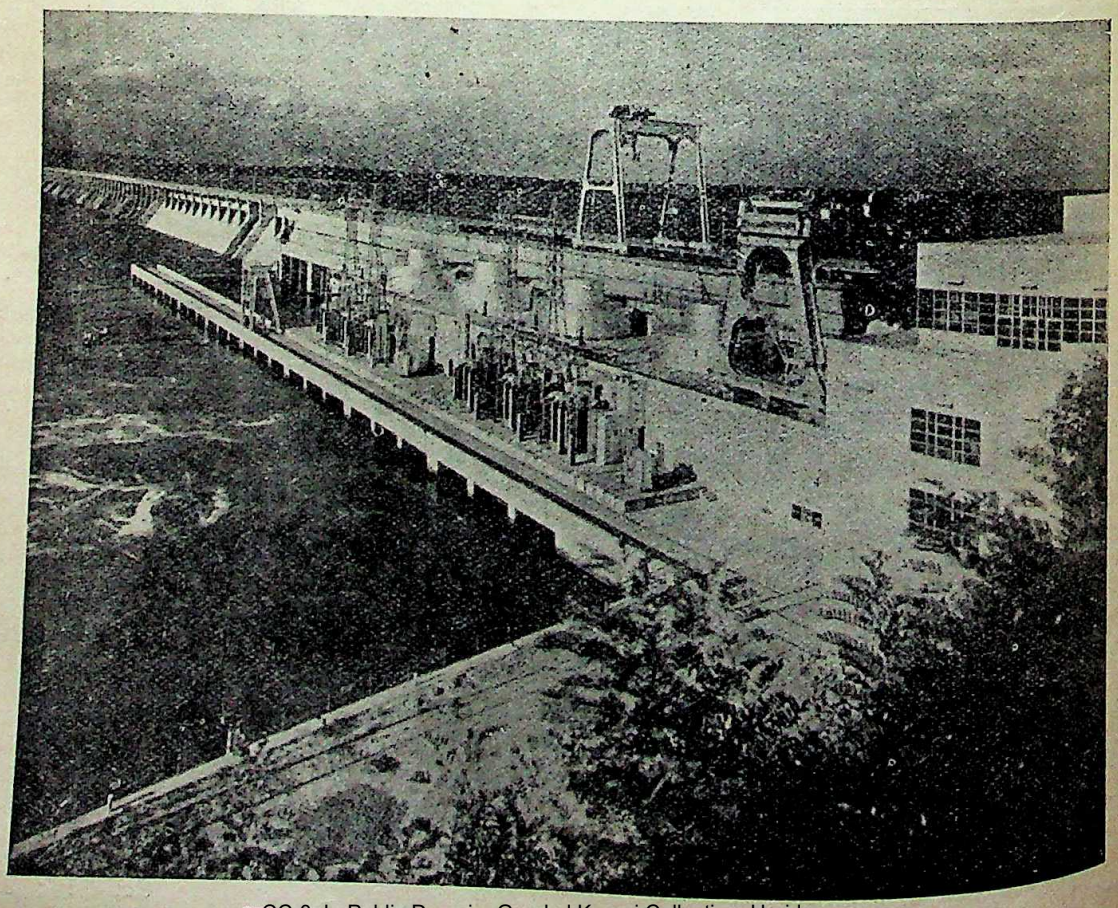


Hiwassee Dam, 1287 ft. long and 307 ft. high



Wheeler Dam, 1 mile and 1020 ft. long, and 72 ft. high

Courtesy : USOWI

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(In crores of rupees)

Year	Rupee coin	Rupee securities
1935-36	55·1	29·5
1936-37	64·0	23·6
1937-38	60·2	27·2
1938-39	67·1	32·1
1939-40	67·5	37·4
1940-41	35·8	48·5
1941-42	35·2	75·5
1942-43	22·3	139·3

Of the four items in the currency reserves, one having remained stationary and the other decreased, the entire burden of expansion, in fact, more than that, fell on the remaining two. Of the two latter items the greater proportion was borne by sterling securities.

The pressure and the continuance of such a large volume of sterling in the currency reserves cannot be contemplated apart from the future position of sterling among the currencies of the world. A large part of this base on which the extra issue has been built up would, of course, be liquidated in the post deflationary drive. While experts are not unanimous on the best means of deflating, and while some of the devices suggested are not only unorthodox but extremely unpractical, the fact that deflation will come in the wake of peace, if not earlier, cannot be doubted. It is not possible to forecast where our currency level will stand, say, 12 months after the signing of the peace, but it is extremely unlikely that it will go back to the pre-war level, and consequently, it is equally unlikely, that the sterling securities and rupee securities will go back to their former levels. If not, what should be the relation between the two? Should they be maintained in their former proportions? I would answer with a definite no.

The raison d' etre of foreign currency in the Central Bank reserves of any country is, as already mentioned, (1) the belief that foreign currency is stronger than the domestic currency, and (2) the facilities of international trade payments.

In the post-war India, unless it is shown that the trade with Britain will remain at pre-war level relative to other countries, and that the payment for Indian trade is better made in sterling, whichever be the countries India trades with, liquidation of some part of the sterling can only be an advantage. It can be converted either with gold or into rupee securities, or alternatively into dollar, which may turn out to be the strongest currency of the three. Conversion in gold at the moment may be a disadvantage on account of the high price of gold. But as England has announced her decision not to go back to gold standard for some time, the sterling and gold can hardly equal till that event. So, if the principle of conversion is accepted, the time of conversion is one depending only on the market prices. Conversion into dollar will require an amendment of the Reserve Bank of India Act. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Canadian Central Bank has the statutory provisions for keeping part of the currency assets in dollars. Conversion into rupee securities also requires, as the figures stand at present, a modification of the Act. But the Reserve Bank of India Act has already been amended thrice; and if necessary, further amendments, can be made. The resolutions of the Bretton-Woods Conference—they have not been ratified by all the countries concerned—do not stand in the way.

Assuming for a moment the conversion into gold is accepted in principle, the question might be asked, why there should not be larger quantities of gold in the currency reserves of the Reserve Bank? The suggestion is made with a view to support the ultimate introduction of gold standard in India.

THE STORY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY

By KAMALESH RAY

'TVA' has now come to stand as the symbol for ideal organisation for the regional development of a country. TVA is the abbreviation for the Tennessee Valley Authority, an autonomous body under the Congress, created by the U. S. Government in 1933, to develop the country's natural resources over a region 41,000 sq. miles in area in the south-east part of the U.S.A.

The creation of the TVA was a clear policy under President Roosevelt's New Deal to cope with the miserable economic depression of the period. The fundamental principle of the scheme lies in increasing the national wealth by the planned development of the natural and industrial resources of the country and providing employment for the people in the productive work.

In his message President Roosevelt explained the need of river planning and the development of hydro-electric power as the basis of the Nation's economic welfare. The President then suggested "legislation to create a Tennessee Valley Authority—a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. It should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general social and economic welfare of the Nation. This authority should also be clothed with the necessary power to carry these plans into effect."

Under the directions from the President, the Congress created the TVA with the objectives "to improve the navigability, to provide for the flood control of the Tennessee River, to provide for reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in the Tennessee Valley; to provide for agricultural and industrial development of the said valley . . ." The Act became effective on 18th May, 1933.

The creation of a body like the TVA had to face great opposition. The Tennessee River flows through seven States: Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia. The implication of the great idea was not, at the beginning, felt by the local authorities and they suspected that the creation of TVA would mean intrusion into their

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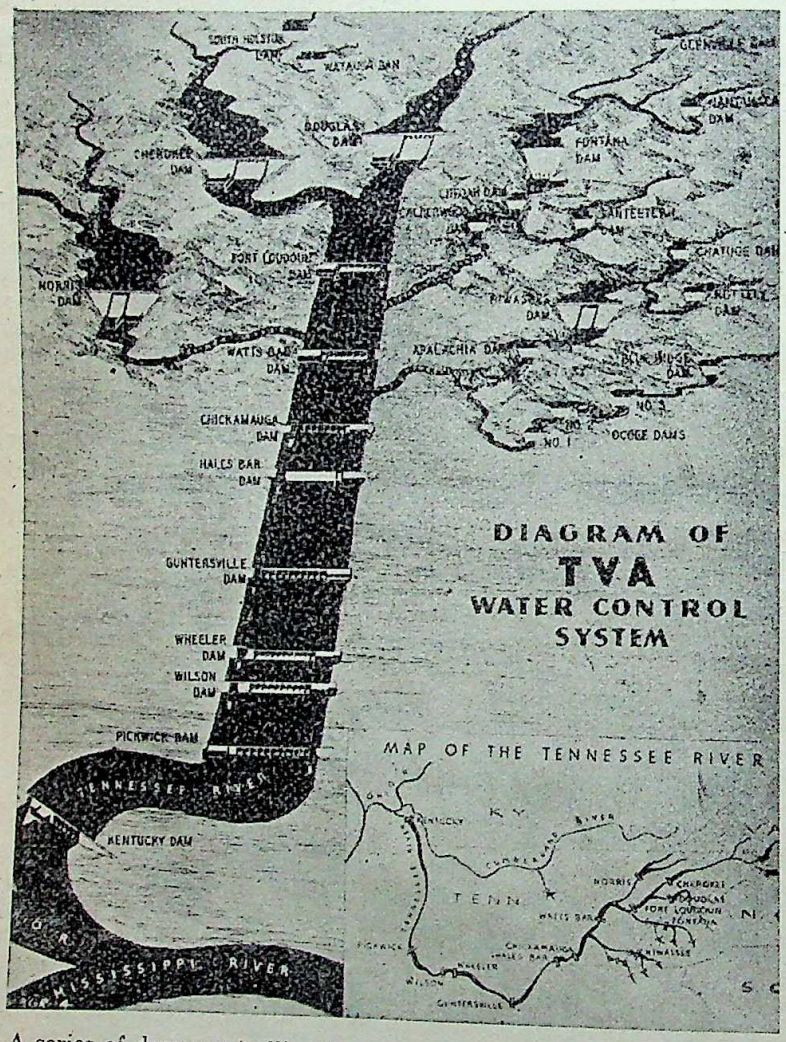
jurisdictions and rights. There were also other interested parties, who opposed the idea. For example, the coal miners thought that the development of water-power would lessen the sale of coal although it actually proved just the otherwise.

In order, therefore, to avert an irreparable disaster to a region which is as large as half the size of Bengal, a way round the Constitution had to be found, and to secure a charter for its work of economic reconstruction the TVA had to express its object somewhat indirectly. There are certain subjects of Federal jurisdiction, and others of the individual States. "In contrast with land



A series of dams controlling the Tennessee River and its tributaries

reclamation on State territory, river and flood-control, the benefits from which are not limited by State boundaries, are matters in which the Federal authority can intervene. The TVA was therefore able to obtain a charter to develop the Tennessee River for navigation (a Federal item), but not to stop the erosion which was eating into the vitals of the whole Tennessee Valley. The principal function of the TVA is to maintain a permanent navigable channel nine feet deep in the Tennessee River under all conditions of flow."

A flashy river like the Tennessee would overtop the banks every year to flood the lands and towns only to leave them in drought for the major part of the year. 'To maintain a permanent navigable channel' in the Tennessee river was, the President perceived, not to achieved by any piecemeal work and would be possible only by holding off the monsoon downpours in a number of large reservoir dams and releasing them with regulated flow throughout the year. To do this, again, the need for land management, control of soil erosion, cannot escape consideration. Thus the entire problem of the river basin was brought within the jurisdiction of the TVA. And the scope and jurisdiction of the Authority to develop the valley has been greatly enlarged by the State Policy and suitable legislations.

Under this new policy, the opportunity of creating wealth for the people from the resources of this valley was to be faced as a single problem, to integrate the many parts of that problem into a unified whole was to the responsibility of one agency. The Tennessee Valley's resources were not to be dissected into separate bits to would fit into the jurisdiction pigeon-holes into which the mentalities of government had custom become divided."

In the case of the TVA, Congress and the President determined that the development of resources regionalism should be based on natural units; this region is described in the language of the 1933 enactment as "the Tennessee River drainage basin and . . . such adjoining territory as may be related to or materially affected by the development contemplated to this Act . . ." According to Mr. Lilienthal, Chairman of the TVA, the jurisdiction may be extended in more recent ideas, as far as the TVA hydro-electric power can be made available. Proposal has also been made in the Congress to include the Cumberland River basin under the responsibility of the TVA, when the war is over.

The TVA venture was a great national experiment. Its success has not only been an achievement in itself but has come to represent the workable ideal of regional planning which the attention of all responsible governments of the world has been focussed.

This sort of regionalism would strengthen, not divide, the nation. "In many matters of detail the TVA demonstrates the contrast between sectionalism and national regionalism."

The Achievements in Twelve Years

The 41,000 sq. miles of the Tennessee River drainage basin was, before the creation of the TVA, an unproductive tract,—bare, denuded and barren, which remained under the constant threat of catastrophic floods and systematic drought (Readers would note our Damodar River which is a smaller replica of the Tennessee River). People of the valley were poorer and their life more strenuous compared with the

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merican people. The subsoil contained vast mineral esources but were not excavated properly.

In course of these twelve years of TVA's work to evelop the resources of the valley, the per capita ncome of the valley's people has increased 73 per cent ver the level of 1933, while the general level of the ntry as a whole has increased only 56 per cent.

e twenty-one dams which have put across the main river and its tributaries have created colossal ins of artificial lakes which control annual floods and generate electricity. Of these, sixteen new dams ave been designed and constructed uring these years, and five others hich were already constructed by the Government and private agencies have een improved upon. Some of the VA dams are among the largest in e world.

The saving from the recurring flood mage in the valley is estimated more than a million dollars a year.

The TVA developed 700 million its of hydro-electricity in 1938 but e production increased to 3,600 illion units in 1940, and now it is erating 12,000 million units of ectricity a year. The direct return m the sale of the hydro-electricity the fiscal year 1942-43 was more an 31,500,000 dollars, of which over 000,000 dollars was the surplus venue over the operating expenses, payment and depreciation. The cheap electricity s evolved new industries and increased home comforts. en the operation of the second grade minerals have come economically profitable due to the cheap ectricity. The maintenance of year-round navigation s increased easy transportation of commodities at duced freights. This has greatly facilitated trade and mmerce of the region. Thus the congestion and onopoly of railways have been brought down to a inimum. The storage waters have aided water supply the towns, have greatly improved fishery and pro-ded beautiful recreation centres on and around the ficial lakes.

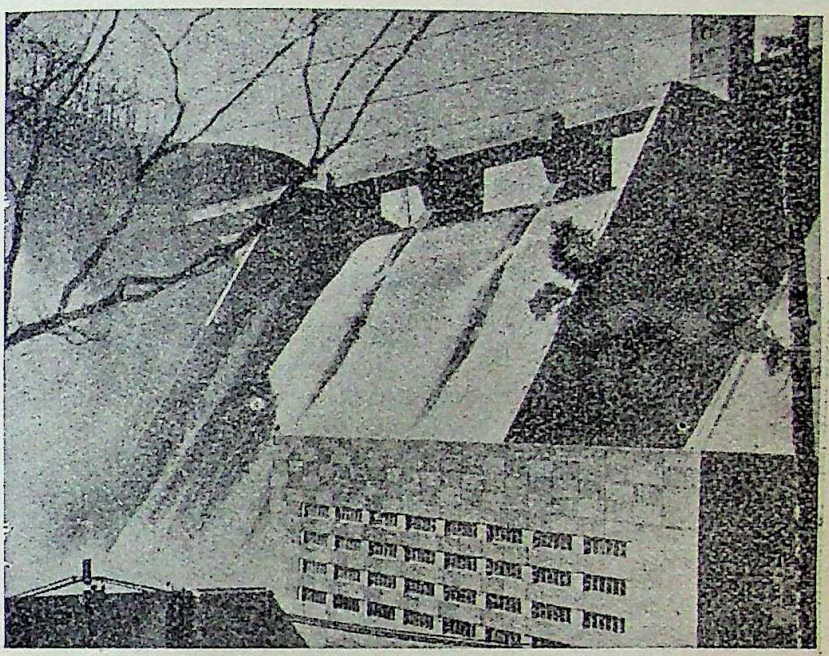
Lands have been protected from erosion through restation and application of other engineering ethods. Extensive use has been made of the phos-ate fertilisers manufactured by the use of the cheap ectricity. Demonstration farms have been lavishly t up to train up the people in scientific agriculture.

Core of the Work and the Organisation

The core of the entire work of the TVA lies in the nservation and management of the water resources of e river basin. Man has only recently caught the idea utilising the Nature's great water cycle—which flows rough river that runs down to the sea, then rises up o clouds and returns again to the river. The cycle ternal, the potentialities are enormous.

The conservation of water resources is an essential p towards flood control, electrification for industries, rigation, water supply for general and industrial uses, vigation for trade and commerce and enhancement fisheries.

From the nature of the duty which the TVA has to discharge to the Congress, it is easy to see that the organisation is essentially of a wide technical character. The major divisions consist of groups of structural engineers, geologists, power engineers, agriculturists, soil experts, chemical engineers, statisticians, medical authorities, educationists and so forth. The planners



Norris Dam, 1860 ft. long and 265 ft. high creating beautiful lakes covering more than 60 sq. miles of hillside

must have the widest outlook, greatest foresight, noblest ideals so that the big project does not reduce to a usual profiteering concern of the vested interests.

According to its Annual Report of 1941, the TVA organisation consists of 19 departments which are combined into five functionally related programme groups, *viz.*, (1) the Management Service Council, (2) Water Control in the River Channel, (3) Water Control on the Land, (4) Power, and (5) Regional Planning Council. The nineteen departments under the five councils are as follows: (1) The Management Service Council has under it six departments *viz.*, Personnel Department, Finance, Legal Department, Materials Dept., Land Acquisition, and Office Service Dept., (2) Under the council of Water Control in the River Channel have the three departments—Water Control Planning, Design, and Construction Departments, (3) Under the Power Council have three departments of Power Utilization, Power Engineering and Construction, and the Power Operations Dept., (4) For the Council of the Water Control on the Land the three departments are those of Agricultural Relations, Forestry Relation and Chemical Engineering, (5) Then under the Regional Planning Council they have the four departments of Regional Studies, Health and Safety, Commerce and the Reservoir Property Management.

TVA represents a large group of technically trained personnel (numbering some 40,000 in 1942), and the selections are based not on provincial, political or religious basis but on technical skill and efficiency. Politics is not allowed to enter into the organisation. Dr. Lilienthal narrates that by an unusual provision Congress expressly excluded political consideration in all

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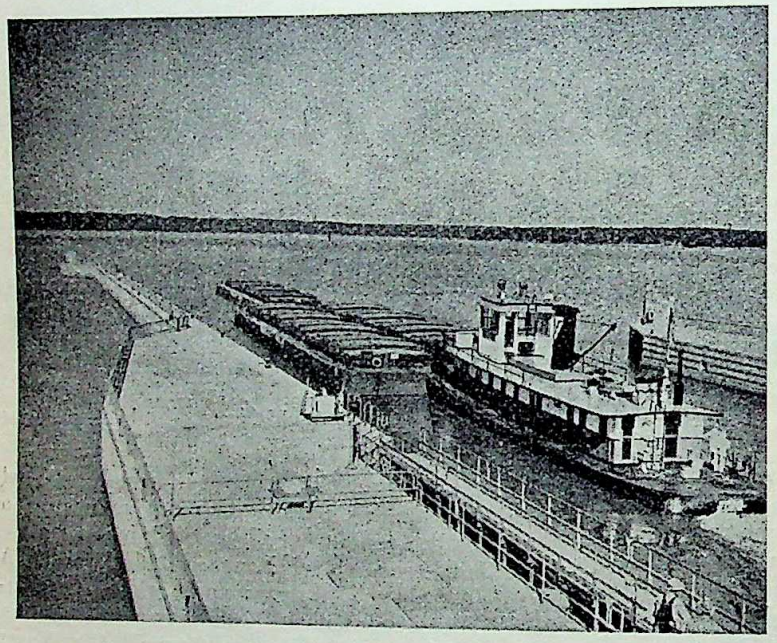
such appointments : "No political test or consideration," the Congress declared, "shall be permitted or given consideration but all such appointments and promotions shall be given and made on the basis of merit and efficiency."

The organisation is fully authorised on a democratic basis to develop the country's resources for the common good of the people. It encourages private enterprise and initiative consistent with the common purpose. "Within the limits and objectives set by the Act and the policies of the Board, every department is both a planning and an action unit. To encourage initiative, technicians, professional people and administrators are allowed maximum latitude of original expression."



Navigation lock to take boats and steamers from one reservoir to another across a dam

The Great National Investment and the Return

TVA is a great plan, and has it come out of air? It is the outcome of a great national investment—investment in finance, investment in experts, investment in ideals.

Till the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1943, TVA had investments totalling 475 million dollars or 160 crores of rupees, averaging about 16 crores of rupees a year. By the end of 1944, the total expenditure has been in the neighbourhood of 700 million dollars.

Of the above amount approximately 65 per cent or 450 million dollars represents the investment on electric power generation and distribution, 15 per cent on navigation and 20 per cent on flood control. "By combining these three functions in single structures that serve all three purposes, so that cost common to all three may be shared, great economies were produced."

At the beginning, from 1933 to 1937, the TVA was not a going power concern. But since then the power sale has been well established and till June 1944 the total net income from the power since the beginning of the TVA in 1933, has been well over 40 million dollars. In the year 1942-43 alone the net [illegible] revenue out of the power sale was over 13 [illegible] dollars or nearly 4½ crores of rupees. The prod[illegible] of electricity is not only an industry in itself but [illegible] parent industry to many others. Further, "it was larg[illegible] because of power from this river that in 1943 Ame[illegible] was able to build huge fleets of bombers to send ov[illegible] Europe and South Pacific."

The out-turn from the power investment is [illegible] and obtained in dollars. But the returns from [illegible] investments, such as flood control, navigation, fo[illegible] demonstration farms, mapping, industrial research, [illegible] cannot be shown up on the 'balance sheet'. "The [illegible] of such development work appears on TVA's book[illegible] a net expense ; but the benefits appear on the ba[illegible] sheet of the region and the nation. [illegible] Such expenditures would be repaid [illegible] the tax-payers not directly in do[illegible] but indirectly in benefits."

In spite of the 'indirectness' we [illegible] estimate the savings from annual f[illegible] damage as over a million dollars, [illegible] the direct stimulus that this cha[illegible] and flood protection have provided [illegible] the growth of private business [illegible] been very great. The river tran[illegible] have increased to 161 million to[illegible] miles in 1942, compared with 32 m[illegible] ton-miles in 1933. The value of [illegible] benefits justifies the investm[illegible] allocable to navigation and flood [illegible] trol, which will be about 250 mil[illegible] dollars and an annual operating [illegible] including depreciation, of about [illegible] million dollars.

The net cost of land restoration [illegible] 1943 was 3,344,000 dollars inclu[illegible] the costs of production of fertil[illegible] and establishment of demonstra[illegible] farms in the Tennessee Valley and [illegible] twenty-one other States. TVA p[illegible] duced 5,144,484 tons of phosp[illegible] fertilisers in 1942, which may [illegible] compared with 2,984,549 tons produced by pri[illegible] industries in 1934.

The number of personnel engaged in the TV[illegible] organisation was about 14,000 in 1940, 22,500 in 1941 [illegible] 40,000 in 1942. They include technical men [illegible] administrators—a colossal team of workers, work[illegible] harmoniously for the common purpose of the people [illegible] the nation.

To see the return out of these huge investm[illegible] we must not only look at the balance sheet but [illegible] also "look at the valley, appraise what the expend[illegible] of these funds has done in increasing the produc[illegible] of the region and the nation. You must look at [illegible] effect of the growing strength and new vitality [illegible] valley on the total strength of the whole country [illegible] war and peace. One has to consider what it [illegible] to the country to provide opportunity to thousand[illegible] men and women in the valley—farmers, business[illegible] engaged in new enterprises, workers in new fa[illegible] Whether the overall results in this region are [illegible] what they have cost is something the citizen [illegible] answer for himself as a matter not of arithmetic [illegible] the highest public policy."

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The TVA-spirit

The 'TVA' slogan is spreading widely : it is a good sign. But people must realise the true spirit of the TVA, and it would be well for the organisers, thinkers and planners to take special note of Mr. Lilienthal's warning that "references to TVA in connection with (planning) proposals are inaccurate and misleading unless they do in fact adopt the TVA idea in its essentials,

—a federal autonomous agency, with authority to make its decision in the region

—responsibility to deal with resources, as a unified whole, clearly fixed in the regional agency, not divided among several centralised federal agencies

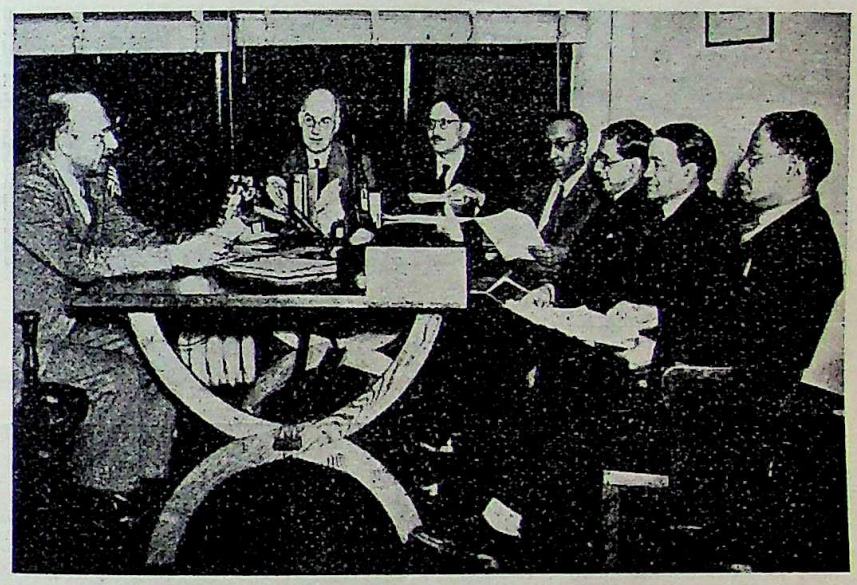
—a policy, fixed by law, that the federal regional agency work co-operatively with and through local and state agencies.

The entire TVA experiment makes it clear that no proposal for regional resources development may be described as a kind of "TVA" unless it embodies these fundamentals, which are clearly written into the TVA Act and have been very heart and spirit of ten years of transforming that into action." (*TVA-Democracy on the March*, David E. Lilienthal).

The whole planning is a human planning and that in a democratic way. "Effective planners must understand and believe in people. The average man is constantly in the mind of the effective planning expert. Planners, whether they are technicians or administrators, must recognise that they are not dealing with philosophical abstractions, or mere statistics or engineering data or legal principles, and that planning is not an end in itself."

Again, who are these effective planners in TVA ? They are not any sort of chosen people, nor do the plans drop from some higher levels. The planners are experts in their respective fields and "every department of the TVA is both a planning and an action unit." Planning and execution go hand in hand. They are inseparable, they are lively and dynamic. They mould and modify according to experience and ideas. There can have no 'perfect plan' to start with : it should only be started with a clear policy and certain fundamental equipments. Once started on a genuine policy and the fundamentals there is nothing to prevent the success.

The other reason for TVA's success in such a short period is due to its freedom from bureaucracy and red-tapism. The organisation is not only given the responsibility but has also been equipped with necessary power to deal with its own affairs straightway,—with the basic policy and objectives in vision. An English tourist, experienced in public affairs, remarked, "The TVA Directors have done all they can to delegate responsibility right down through the staff, and to cut out Civil Service red tape and the spirit of bureaucracy. The whole staff is encouraged to take responsibility, and not to worry if they make mistakes. The Directors have managed, I think, to get a spirit of constructive initiative throughout the staff as good as anything in the best private businesses."



(*Left to right*) : David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority; Frank Coan of the U. S. State Department ; and the Indian scientists, Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh ; Dr. S. K. Mitra; Dr. J. N. Mukherji; Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar; and Dr. Meghnad Saha

TVA has engaged the attention of many thinkers and governments all over the world. In fact the TVA has now become a training ground for a large number of foreign technicians and planners. But one must remember that to accept the true TVA model one should be prepared to shake off many long-standing and deep-rooted false ideas that are no longer tenable, as proved by the TVA.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NALANDA—NOW AND THEN

By AVINASH K. SRIVASTAVA

Amidst the bustle and din of the Railway station the Dehra Express steamed in as usual. A party of thirteen post-graduate students of Lucknow, headed by their professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, boarded the train, and left the city of gardens for isolated places like Sarnath, Nalanda and Rajgir, where, amidst the mute grandeur of the place, history is excavated afresh and every bit of stone or stucco, mud or metal recounts the tale of yore.

After visiting Sarnath and Patna we left for Nalanda which lies close to the village of Bargaon, 55 miles south-east of Patna and 7 miles north of Rajgir. The site of this ancient Buddhist establishment is at a distance of about two miles from the Nalanda station on

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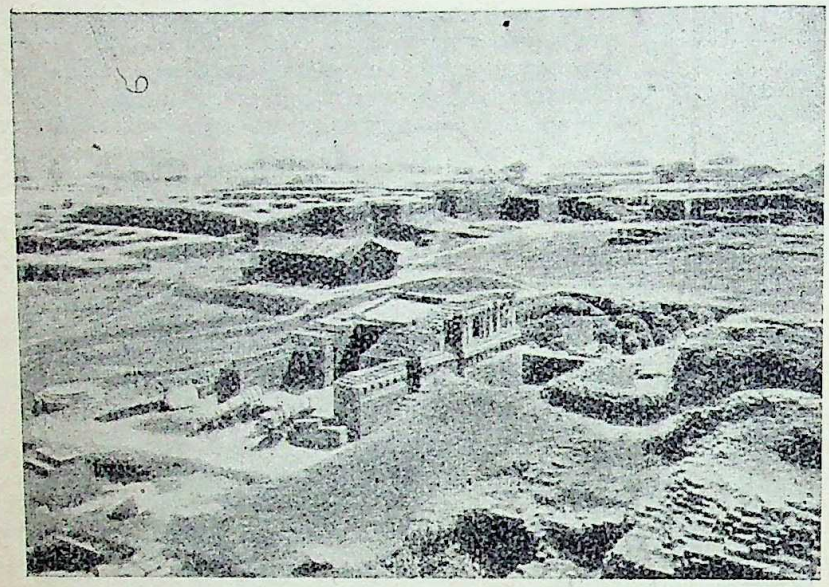
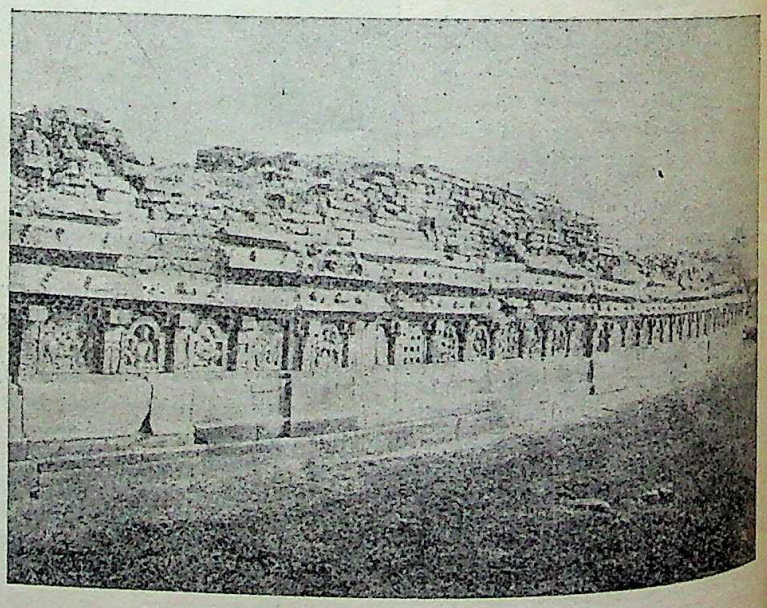
the Bakhtiarpur-Bihar Light Railway. When we arrived there the paler shadow had strewn its mantle over the ancient ruins and "the twilight grey had in her sober livery all things clad." After dumping down our luggage hurriedly in the tents and getting a hasty wash, we, like Strabo, went to the exact site where the *alma mater* of oriental scholars, such as Nagarjuna, Dignaga, Silabhadra and Yuan Chwang, once so magnificently stood. Our curiosity was at once aroused. We recalled the account of the first days of Schliemann's discoveries when his new light on Troy and Mycenae had taken even Gladstone's mind from his most pressing public cares. Archaeology appeared before us in her newest garb. 'Man is always curious about man.' and we felt as if we had 'ransacked and standardized' the whole world and now it was just by ressurecting the past that we were rebuilding nations and learning about peoples different from us.



General view of Monasteries, Nalanda
Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

Once Nalanda was an enchanted place whose beauty baffled the visitors. With their curious architecture, quaint devices and rich tracery the *Chaityas*, the towering turrets and the *Viharas* of Nalanda looked simply grand. But now there is nothing save a faint shadow of its past glory and splendour. Now it is a forlorn place full of heaps and mounds, haunted by beasts and birds; then it was a seat of learning and culture, known far and wide. The present site is amidst long stretches of fields interspersed with mango trees. It is also punctuated with massive mounds which look like tiny hills and stand in splendid isolation.

It was these mounds which first attracted General Cunningham's attention in 1861. He carried on some superficial excavations and identified the site with Nalanda. Later, in the year 1915, regular work of excavating the site was undertaken and with the help of Yuan Chwang's account every monastery, temple or relic was assigned its original name. According to the Archaeological Survey of India Report, the site extends some 1,600 feet north-south by some 800 feet east-west and comprises a long range of monasteries on the east side, and a corresponding range of *Stupas* on the west with a couple of monasteries to bound the area on the south. Between the ranges of monasteries and *Stupas* runs the central approach avenue from the north. Yet the Medieval Nalanda, when it was at the zenith of its prosperity and popularity, extended far beyond the limits of the site so far acquired for excavation. The ruins excavated here are of various kinds. Besides monasteries and shrines, there are other unusual remains which make a very interesting and instructive study. These include sculptures, inscriptions, images, clay seals, terra-cottas, pottery, metal objects, votive tablets, inscribed bricks



Stone Temple, Site No. 2, Nalanda
Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

and architectural specimens, such as niches, thick and thickly plastered walls, drains, staircases, wells, furnaces and ovens.

As far as buildings (called monasteries) are concerned precisely 11 have been excavated, where almost 9 successive levels are visible. A brick paving was found on the 9th level, a wall on the 8th, a raised platform on the 7th and quadrangles on the other

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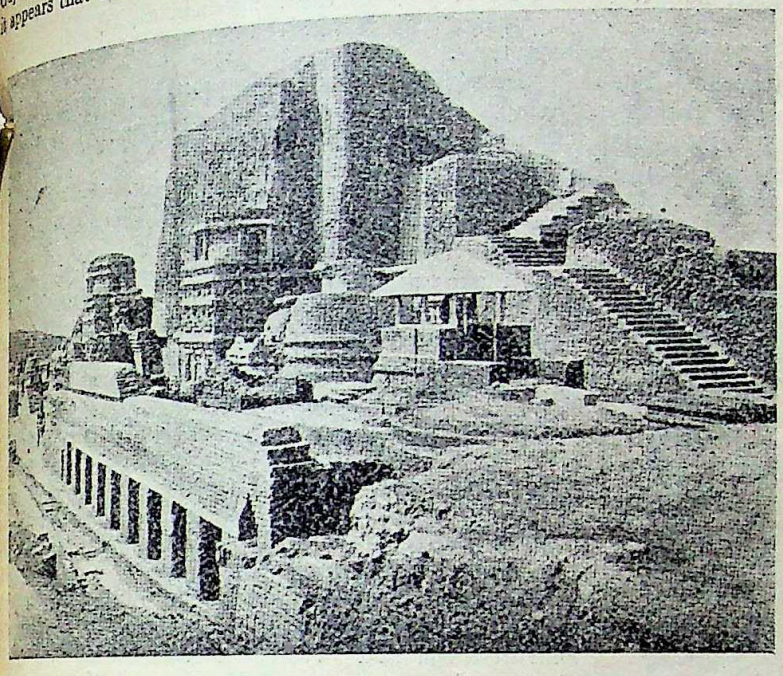
levels. Practically nothing has been revealed which may suggest the occupation of the site before the Guptas. The remains mostly overlap one another and it appears that each time the buildings were constructed,



General view of Main Stupa, Site No. 3, Nalanda
Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

instead of on fresh foundations, they were built over the debris of those of the previous period when they had fallen down. The most important and outstanding structural constructions excavated are the Main Stupa Site No. 1, Stone Temple Site No. 2, and the Monastery Sites No. 1, 1A and 6.

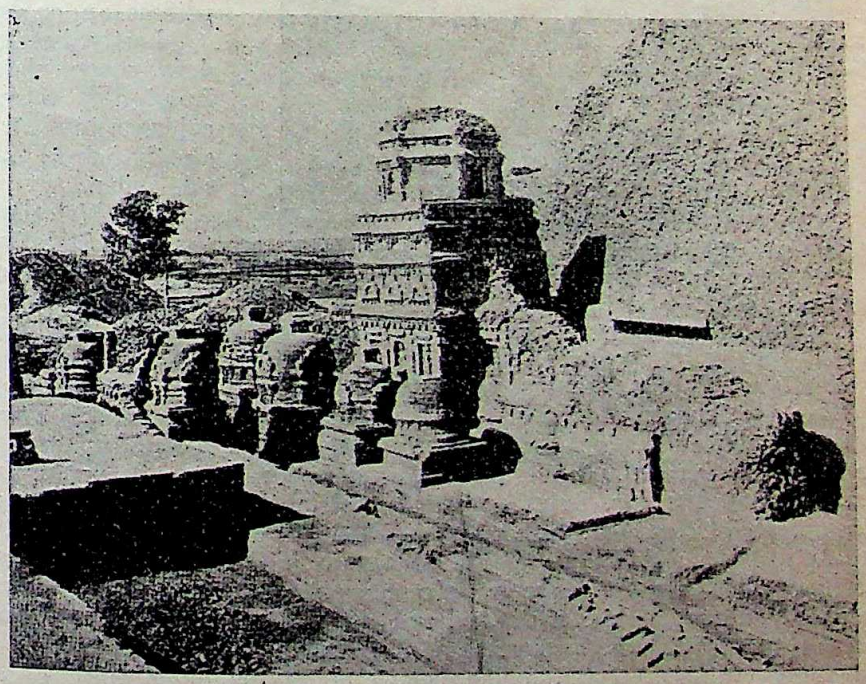
The Main Stupa standing on the southern extremity of the row of temples is at once the largest and the most imposing structure. It stands in the middle of a courtyard surrounded by many small votive Stupas built twice or even thrice one over the other on the same spot. The present mound is the result of seven successive accumulations. Its chief characteristics are three diffe- rent staircases leading to the topmost level and giving a beautiful view of the ancient lakes and the village Bargaon, and the votive *stupas* decorated with rows of niches containing beautifully modelled stucco figures of the Buddha, Avalokitesvara, etc., and sometimes having corner towers and bricks inscribed with sacred Buddhist texts.

To the north-east of monastery Site No. 7 is the ruined Stone Temple specially interesting for its dado of 211 sculptured panels over the moulded plinth. These panels are symmetrically arranged, 20 appearing on each side of the main entrance, and 57 in each of the three remaining walls. The pilasters intervening between the panels are decoratd with pot-and-foliage design and are surmounted with arches, some of them being pointed.' An interesting variety of scenes are depicted on them, such as, some Brahminical deities. *Jataka* scenes, *Kinnaras* and human beings in various attitudes. "Many are occupied," says Dr. Spooner of these panels, "with merely decorative devices some of which are of extreme beauty and fascination."

As regards monasteries they are chiefly important inasmuch as they attest to the great ability of the engineers of those days. These huge buildings are scientific in their construction, symmetrical in form and almost modern in design. Besides, various kinds of historical finds were also found in them.

Such massive constructions together with the historical finds at Nalanda suggest the greatness of the place. It has a very remote history no doubt, but in the pre-Christian era, before the rise of the Mahayana, it was necessarily a monastic establishment and not an educational one. It is occasionally mentioned in the Pali texts. Nalanda is imbued with the holy memories of Mahavira and the Buddha. The former met Gosala here and spent as many as 14 rainy seasons (*Chaumasas*). The latter also stayed here with his favourite disciple Ananda at the Pavarika mango grove.

Yuan Chwang has mentioned two theories as to the



Corner Tower and Votive Stupas attached to the Main Stupa, Nalanda
Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

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origin of its name. But one of them is merely legendary or traditional and the other mythical or fanciful. The probable explanation of the origin of its name is, as given by Dr. Hirananda Shastri, that the place abounds (even now) with lotuses (*Nala* in Sanskrit means lotus-stalk) and it might have been named so because it yielded lotus flowers.

The main sources of the history of Nalanda are the accounts left by the Chinese travellers Yuan Chwang and I-Tsing, and by the Tibetan Taranath, and such historical finds as Nalanda Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yasovarmmadeva, copper-plate of Devapala, Kumargupta's coin found at Nalanda, etc.

Bust of female figure (Stone, Mediaeval) Nalanda

Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

The real founder of Nalanda *Vihara* proper was Asoka who erected a temple here and gave offerings to the *Chaitya* of Sariputra who had attained *nirvana* here with 80,000 *arhats*. Later Suvishnu, a Brahman contemporary of Nagarjuna, also established 108 temples here so that the Abhidharma of the Mahayana might not decline. The great Nalanda University had its inception in these *viharas*. In the 2nd and the 3rd centuries of the Christian era a reformation, in the shape of *Sunyavada* (Nihilism) and the like, sprang up in the Buddhist religious and philosophical doctrines, and the pursuit of secular knowledge, which was so repugnant to the spirit of Buddhism, became an ideal of the monasteries. Keay's emphatic remark on this point is significant. He says: "Buddhist institutions did become to some extent places of general learning." I-Tsing also corroborates it when he distinguishes between the two kinds of persons residing at the monasteries, one called 'children' (*manavaka*) and the other 'students' (*Brahmacharin*). In this way by the on-coming wave of records the Buddhist monasteries, as also Nalanda, were transformed, like the monasteries of Medieval Europe, into Temples of Learning. Besides this general fact, Nalanda had some other advantages as well which made it flourish and prosper as a great seat of learning. These are, its vicinity to the Magadhan capital and the royal patronage that it received almost in succession for a long time.

Nagarjuna, the famous Mahayana philosopher and chemist, and Aryadeva, a philosopher of the Madhyamika school of Buddhism (c. 100 A.D.), were the forerunners among those who took educational interest in Nalanda. They studied and took part in many discussions at this place.

After this, Fa-hien who vistied India during 405-411 A.D. makes practically no mention of Nalanda and we are in the dark about its history during the intervening period. After Fa-hien a continuous history of the place and the University is available till it was destroyed by Mahomedan invaders.

Kumaragupta I (A.D. 415-455) of the Imperial Guptas (mentioned as Sakraditya by Yuan Chwang and I-Tsing) selected 'by augury a lucky spot' and built here a *Sangharama*, meaning a 'monastic school' almost similar to those found in Bologna and Paris in the Medieval Europe. This was the foundation of the Nalanda University which in successive generations came to be patronised by Budhagupta, Tathagatagupta, Baladityaraja and Vajra, identified with the later Guptas, the successors of Kumaragupta I.

After the Guptas Harshavardhana of Kanauj (A.D. 606-647) patronised the Nalanda University and besides conferring on it other great benefits he built round the edifices an encasing of high wall with one gate.

Lastly, besides the Stone Inscription of Yasovarmadeva, copper-plate of Devapala and Ghosrawa Buddha Inscription, there is ample literary and epigraphic evidence to show that the Varmanas and the Palas have greatly helped and strongly upheld its cause in and outside India.

The Nalanda was a University in the real sense of the term. It fully satisfied the definition of a University given by Newman. First of all it was a residential University consisting of 6 colleges (*Sangharamas*) in the time of Yuan Chwang and 8 in the time of I-Tsing which had as many as 300 rooms. All these buildings were encircled by a huge wall having only one gate. The colleges were built in parallel rows many of which had four storeys. According to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, the richly adorned towers and the fairy-like turrets of these buildings were congregated together like the pointed hill tops. The upper rooms towered high in the sky and the observatories seemed to be lost in the vapour of the morning.

All the colleges conformed to a common pattern. They formed a rectangle in a plane bounded by an outer range of cells, with an open verandah, running round their inner face and enclosing a quadrangular court. 'Sometimes, the verandah is a colonnade structure, and in other instances, partakes of the form of a terrace open to the sky.'

The priests' or teachers' chambers were all in the outside courts and of four stages. "The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-like pillars carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades."

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The students lived in the cells or cubicles which were particularly small and generally provided one or two bedrecesses, one string for hanging clothes, and one or two niches for keeping manuscripts, etc., or things of worship. The light was obtained only through the main door-opening and as stated, in front of it was a low terrace.

Some of the buildings had also wells and shrine chambers. Lectures were held in the open court of the University, according to Tibetan accounts, had a grand library, called Dharmaganja (Piety Mart). It consisted of three sectional buildings called Ratnasagar, Ratnabodhi and Ratnaranjaka respectively. In the second one, which was nine-storeyed, many sacred manuscripts and Tantric works were preserved.

Official clay seal of the Nalanda University
Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

The administration of the University was highly efficient. In the Buddhist *Sangha,* with its president and assembly, there was something like a "Republican Church Government." But at the Nalanda University, in the 5th century A.D., there was the office of an abbot or principal with various assistants, called *Acharyas,* under him. When Yuan Chwang stayed at Nalanda Silabhadra was such an abbot. He was the head of the institution. The efficiency of the University at Nalanda can be guessed by the official clay seals of the University found there. These seals bore an insignia of *Dharmachakra* and two deers (signifying the diffusion of knowledge) with an inscription below it, namely, 'Of the Community of Venerable Monks of the Great Monastery at Nalanda.' In place of modern shellac these were tied to letters or documents by means of black strings.

There was a very highly learned staff maintained at the Nalanda University. Among its famous scholars may be mentioned Dignaga, Dharmapala, Silabhadra, Santarakshita, Padmasambhava, etc. These were world-renowned scholars, known for their learning and knowledge, honoured by kings and emperors. Dignaga, the father of the medieval school of Logic, had a firm hold on the scholars of China and Japan. He is studied even today in and outside India. The Western system of Logic has only been recently introduced. Santarakshita, the Philosopher, Logician and Tantric, was officially invited to Tibet by King Khri-sron-lde-u-san, and he lived there till his death in 762. Padmasambhava, the Professor of Tantras at Nalanda, also visited Tibet and acquired great fame as the founder of the institution of Lamaism which continues even to this day. The former had also visited Nepal.

Fergusson compared Nalanda with Monte Cassino, the great interprovincial University of Medieval Europe, but it was something much greater than that, it was an International University, where races and peoples of different climates and speaking different languages studied and lived in amity and harmony.

There is enough literary and epigraphic evidence to show that there were students not only from Kasmir, Peshawar, Conjeeveram and Samatata, but also from places like China, Japan, Tibet, Korea, Java and Sumatra. In the interval that followed between the visits of Yuan Chwang (629 A.D.) and I-Tsing (671 A.D.) there were about 57 students at Nalanda who belonged to China, Japan or Korea. I-Tsing has given a list of their names and details. Some of them came by sea *via* Java, Sumatra, the Straits of Malacca, the coast of Burma, Arakan and Tamralipti; and some came by land route *via* Mongolia, Turkestan and Tibet.

The curriculum of the University was very exhaustive and embraced many of the subjects of the pre-Nalanda period. It included the *Vedas, Upanishads,* works of different systems—*Samkhya, Vaiseshika, Nyaya* and all the works of Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhism. Students did not study all the subjects; some of them were 'compulsory' and some 'optional'. For example, Theology was a compulsory subject for all the students while Tantra was optional. Logic, which goes together with Theology and Philosophy, was not compulsory but the students usually took it because of the exigencies of time, when debates and discussions were very common. Tantrism opened a new field of Art and Iconography, and at Nalanda flourished a new school of art known as the Pala or the Nalanda Art.

The party of students visiting Nalanda, headed by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji
Courtesy : S. N. Saxena

According to the Chinese pilgrims, the number of students at Nalanda was approximately 3,000 to 5,000. They were admitted only when they had passed a very strict and thorough examination held usually at the entrance of the University. The University imparted specialised and technical knowledge only. The students had to severely follow the rules of *vinaya,* and to live a strictly regulated life. Along with free lodging their food was also supplied to them free by the University administration, which held much landed property in its name received from kings and ruling chiefs for this purpose.

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Mr. Sankalia in his famous book and Dr. Mookerji in one of his articles have, on the basis of the account of the Chinese travellers, very minutely discussed the students' life at Nalanda and the problem of their daily meals.

Thus Nalanda was the 'premier and pioneer National University of India', not only because it was residential, international and modern in its charac but also because it was universally recognised to be only University of its kind. The copper-plate of Deva (c. 815-854 A.D.) reveals that Maharaja Balaputra of Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra) had, in its recogni granted through Devapala 5 villages in the distric Rajagriha for its upkeep and maintenance.

PROFESSOR COUPLAND AND ECONOMIC REGIONING

By CHUNI LAL RAY

SUGGESTIONS for division of India into regions on economic grounds have not received that amount of attention that they deserve, having been practically eclipsed by controversy relating to Pakistan, the division of India on purely communal grounds. There was very little notice in the Nationalist Press of the third volume of Professor Coupland's Report on the Constitutional Problem in India published late in 1943, and it got less than a page and a half in the Reviews of Books section of the *Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs* for January, 1945; Dr. G. S. Mahajani, M.L.C.'s advocacy of Regionalism at the Poona Hindu Sabha on 11th January last was merely mentioned in the papers without any comment.

Earlier suggestions about Regionalism, *e.g.*, that from Sir Muhammad Iqbal in the League Session of 1930 or from Sir Sikander Hyat Khan between 1939 and 1941, laid but little stress on economic considerations. Sir Iqbal's theme was culture chiefly, and it was only incidentally that he spoke also of "identity of economic interests"; Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's scheme was, in Professor Coupland's words, "mainly inspired by political convenience", "paying scant attention to economic factors" based "not on cultural principle nor on the physical character of the country", "not on any other principle than that of geographical contiguity, and even contiguity is not always observed."

"Yet", proceeds Professor Coupland, (pages 117, 118), "ought not the economic factors to be the dominant factors? Has not the subordination of economics and politics been one of the main causes of the trouble in which the world now finds itself? Is it not now a commonplace that the primary sanction of all political organisation must be its economical validity?" . . . "A most impressive example of what can be achieved by large-scale economic organisation has recently been afforded by the operation of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States. . . . Ten years ago, the Tennessee basin was notoriously backward. There was little industrial development; and the predominantly agricultural community with energy often sapped by malaria, hookworm and vitamin-deficiency diseases and making no effort to improve their primitive methods of farming, found themselves perilously near the margin of subsistence." "The conditions of life in this vast area, and still more its prospects for the future, have already been transformed by the T. V. A. (p. 119). . . . In many parts of India conditions are closely akin to those of the Tennessee basin before the T.V.A. began its survey work. High birthrate, backward husbandry, pressure on the means of subsistence, varied climate, heavy rainfall, threat to the soil (by erosion) all this teaches in India the lesson it has taught in United States. Clearly India needs a scientific long term plan for the proper use, conservation and development of her natural resources for the general, and and economic wealth of the nation. . . . Regional division by river-basins corresponds with economic needs. Most of present-day India lives on its rivers; many millions of its people depend directly, and much more indirectly, on irrigation; and the possibilities of economic welfare for the India of the future largely depend upon the proper use of its vast water-power. . . . The full utilisation of the rivers demands a long range plan which cannot be carried out within the separate areas or with the separate resources of Provinces. The area of the Plan, like that of the T.V.A. must correspond roughly with the area of the river-basin."

On the basis of the above arguments and considerations, Professor Coupland then proceeds to suggest 4 Regions in India, *viz.* (1) Indus Valley, (2) Ganges Valley, (3) Delta and (4) Deccan.

Dr. Mahajani has no independent Regional scheme of his own; his observations that "the suggestion of Regional Grouping) is fully worked out by Coupland in his *Future of India*" and that "three chapters in the book *viz.*, The Case for Partition, The Case for a United India and Regionalism, are very well-written" make clear that he endorses Professor Coupland's scheme in its entirety and that his Brahmaputra Valley is the same as what Prof. Coupland describes as the Delta Area.

"A permanent cure of India's constitutional ills which should resolve the present political deadlock consists," in the opinion of Dr. Mahajani, "in the introduction of Regionalism and in the adoption of the principle of Coalition of the Swiss pattern in the provinces." Prof. Coupland also speaks highly of the Swiss Constitution as a model for India. Curiously enough both Professor Coupland and Professor Mahajani point out (without however referring to this) what appears to be one of the essential elements of the Swiss Constitution, *viz.*, representation to the National Council on the "basis of one member for each 22,000 of the population"; they contemplate, in the words of a reviewer in the *Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs*, that "each region will be equally represented in the Central Legislature and the Central Executive. The Muslims need not fear such a Centre for they shall be the equals of the Hindus." Neither Professor Coupland nor Principal Mahajani care to mention that on population basis, similar to that in Switzerland (with only one lakh substituted for a thousand), the Deccan area should be entitled to 4 representatives, the Ganges area to 116, the Delta

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to 74, and the Indus area to 61. All that Dr. Mahajani does is to dilate upon the advantage of "fifty-fifty" representation from the two Hindu-majority regions of the Ganges and the Deccan and from the two Muslim-majority regions of the Indus and Brahmaputra valleys as "answering the sense of honour of the Moslems." Professor Coupland, comparing his division with that which had been contemplated by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, observes:

"Only two of Sir Sikander's regions would have a Moslem majority, and this disproportion would not be affected by giving the Moslems weightage at the Centre; from the Moslem standpoint, it would, instead of improving, worsen the interprovincial balance which at present is 7 (Hindus) to 4 (Moslems). That consideration would alone be sufficient reason for trying to devise a different plan of Regional demarcation. If the proportion of Hindu majority to Moslem majority regions were 3 to 2, it would palpably be more favourable to the Moslems. It would still be better if the economic principle of the river basin were adopted as the basis of demarcation; for the result of that, as has been seen, would be a proportion of 2 to 2."

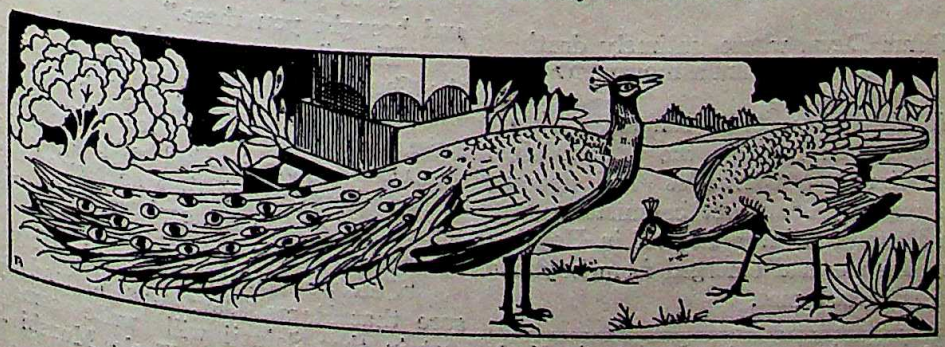
Any one going through this portion (page 134) of Prof. Coupland's book would probably be excused if he were to conclude that the so-called "economic considerations," also the condemnation, (in previous pages) of Pakistan partition are only cloak for automatically securing for Mohammedans 50 per cent representation at the Centre, without being accused of communal favouritism, that it furnishes yet one more proof of what Dr. Ambedkar writes about "his experience being that the British have been inclined to give Moslems more than what the Moslems had themselves asked" (p. 262, *Thoughts on Pakistan*).

It is, of course, unfair to draw a sweeping conclusion of this kind from one page only of a book read away from its context; and it is necessary, therefore, to examine the details of the composition of the regions contemplated by Professor Coupland. The first thing that makes the Bengalee wonder is that, on a scheme attaching so great importance to water-power, irrigation and the courses of rivers, he could have been oblivious to the disastrous effects of the Damodar floods on efforts to fight the Bengal famine of 1943 and could have cut off the Bengal Delta area from the headwaters of the Damodar and the Rupnarayan. And the Oriya will equally wonder that his connection with Mayurbhanj would be permanently cut off, and that the observation on p. 121 that "the control of the Mahanadi is a vital matter for the plains of Orissa," and that on the next page that the Mahanadi links Orissa with the Central Provinces" should have been immediately followed by the suggestion that "Orissa could best be attached to the Ganges Region" (with which region it has no economic concern whatever). Orissa, with headwaters of the Mahanadi in the C.P. and of the Brahmin-Baitarani in Chhota Nagpur may be "far too small to constitute a region by themselves"; but would not expansion of Orissa by including very small portions of jungle areas in C.P. (for Mahanadi) and Madras (for the Dum-Duma project) into a fair-sized province in the Delta region, to which should also go that portion of the Chhota Nagpur Division that sends water down to Bengal through the Damodar and the Rupnarayan, be the really sound proposition?

If the Delta area has been cut off much too abruptly, the Indus area, on the other hand, gets extremely generous accretions. Excuse is offered (pages 83, 84) for attaching to this Region the Ambala division in the Punjab although economically it "belongs to the Ganges, not the Indus basin: it is watered by the Ganges's great tributary the Jumna" (p. 122); without any excuse whatever are taken in Jodhpur and Sirohi States which are watered by the Luni, absolutely unconnected with the Indus; and in further defiance of all geography (and of economic considerations as well) the Indus waters are made to overtop the great natural water-shed of the Aravali hills and to engulf the States of Jaipur, Mewar, Alwar, Tonk, Jhalawar, Kishangarh, Partabgarh, Shahpura, Kushalgarh and Lawa in one great sweep. In respect of Mewar at least, what Alauddin Khilji and some of the greatest Moghuls had failed to achieve, one stroke of Coupland's pen may suffice to secure and this with full approval from Dr. Mahajani from the Hindu-fold.

It is now for the public to investigate how far this defiance of geography is prompted by economic considerations, how far it will be conducive to the improvement of irrigation facilities and to development of hydro-electric power, in addition to securing advantages in the political field on which chiefly stress is laid by Mr. Sundar Lal Poplai, the reviewer in the *Journal of the Indian Association of International Affairs* and which may be summed up in his own words as follows:

> "The Muslims need not fear, for they shall be the equals of the Hindus. . . . The head of the Government will alternately be a Hindu and a Muslim. The Princes will have little to fear if the integrity of their territories and the immutability of their rights are guaranteed. . . . The legislatures will not be subject to dissolution; the executive will have life co-terminous with that of the legislatures . . and will not be responsible to the legislature for day-to-day administration."



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A REVIVALIST

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Our Debt to the Swami Shradhananda

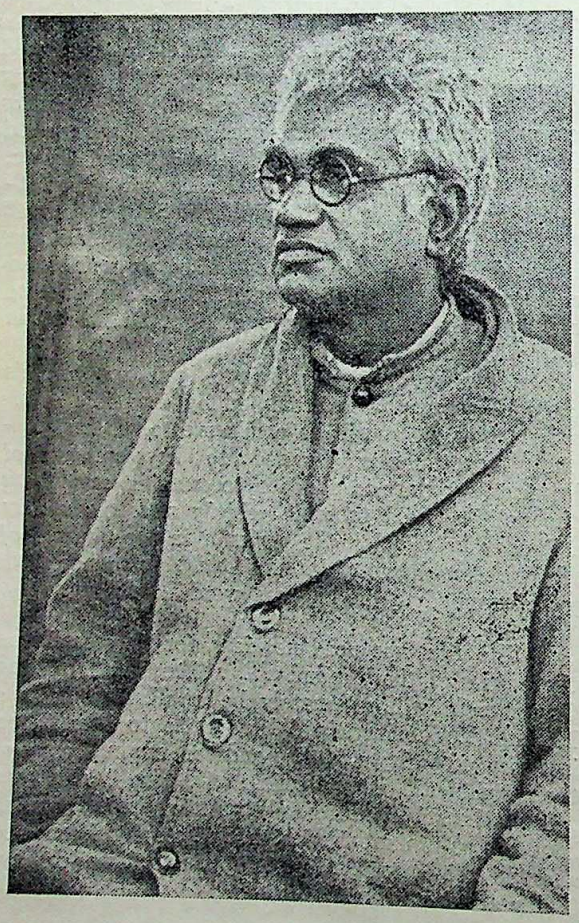
PART IV*

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

XL

IN June, 1910, I was in Lahore, staying for a brief few days at Nedou's Hotel there. I had returned not long before from my (first, as it proved to be) globe-girdling. Having spent the best part of five years in cold latitudes, I found the mid-summer heat in the Punjab plains very trying. The mercury was around 118 degrees in the shade.

I must have dozed off while writing, at which I persisted, despite the wise example set by my wife, who, fresh to the country, had retired for a siesta. A thump on my back startled me out of that uneasy sleep. Before I was fully awake, I heard some one asking : "Recognise me ?"



The Acharya Rama Deva, whose untimely death was a great loss to the Gurukula movement

I did, even in that state. The somewhat burly figure towering over me as I sat in the armless chair at my small typewriter (the "portables" had not yet been put into the market) could not be mistaken. It belonged to Rama Deva of Bijwara Shareef in Hoshiarpore District, who, like me, had emerged from boyhood into manhood, since we last met.

He was, I immediately found, just as impulsive ever. Without preamble, he announced :

"I am now at Gurukul, Kangri. It is near Hardwa if you do not know it. I have come here to take there."

"Indeed," I exclaimed, in no small wonder. "T just like you to make up my mind—for me. You have hair upon your upper lip, but, at least in matter, you have not altered a bit."

Gifted with a keen sense of humour that served a brake upon his enthusiasms, he burst out in a laughter, ever a thing of pure joy to his friends I fear, unbearably provoking to persons engaged continuous argument with him—a matter of almost hourly occurrence with him. That silvery peal gave me the opportunity of reminding that there may be previous engagements to be dered.

Rama Deva's view was that no engagements compete with the one that he, without even asking had made for me with the Gurukula. Apart from joy that I would derive through being with him, was the institution that was sure to interest me. "T is material in Kangri for many articles," he decl with that note of finality which a public speaker hypnotic in effect.

I was not, however, in the mood to be mesmeri My commitments left me really no choice but to "no" to him.

Rama Deva was not the "no"-taking kind. "Y shall see to this," he shouted. Grabbing hold of Royal Typewriter (the original "midget," I officially styled, No. 1) and, if I remember aright work of reference or two, he made for the stairs "When you are ready for them," he bawled, "you find them—at the Gurukul." Descending a step or he added : "They will be there—for you—whenever care to collect them—personally."

My wife, long since awake, sat, with eyes wo widened and mouth agape. These proceedings were her strange—as yet.

"He will come back in a little while," I ass her. "We can, in the meantime, let the 'boy' bring our tea. When Rama Deva brings the things, he join us."

It happened just as I predicted. Putting back typewriter and the books, he said :

"Since you will not go, I have been to my h and brought you these."

"These" were pamphlets and cuttings relating the Gurukula. I thanked him for his kindly thoug

"Here is something else," he said, a seraphic spread over his whole face. "Something that, I kn you would appreciate." The "photos" (he never tro to say photographs) that he handed me brought something of the atmosphere of the "forest univ of Modern India.

"Can we print these ?" asked my wife, now sure that Rama Deva was no mad man. "It is certain that Saintji will write something about Institution started by Uncle Munshi Ram, esp

* For Parts I, II and III, the reader is referred to the March, April and May issues of *The Modern Review*.

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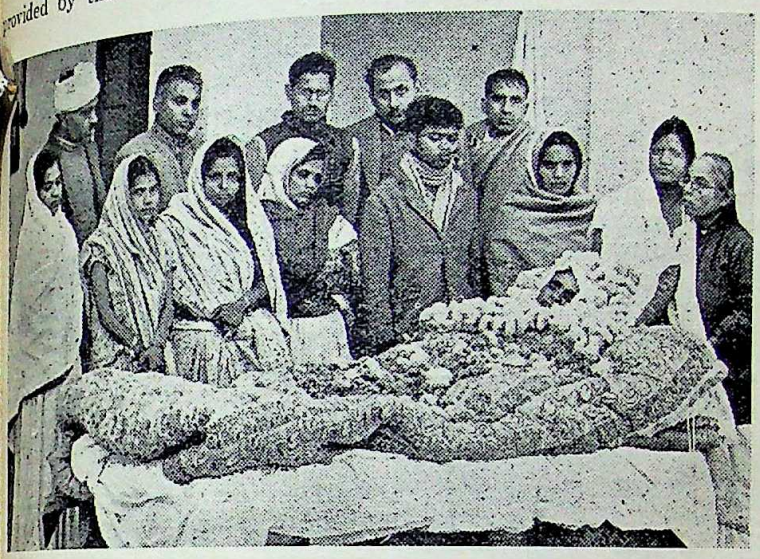
since you, his old, old friend, are connected with it. These would make excellent illustrations."

"Surely" he responded, happy beyond measure. "That is precisely why I brought the photos."

He made himself comfortable in an easy chair provided by the Hotel and began enlarging upon the



Rama Deva sleeping "the sleep that knows no awaking," after his soul has winged its way to Yama's realm

theme that engaged his heart. When, late in the evening, he managed to tear himself away from us, I felt that there was nothing of any great value that I did not know about the Gurukula.

I have set out these proceedings as they occurred, for a very good reason. Rama Deva was No. 2 at that institution at that time. Some 7 years later he became No. 1 there. Of his stepping into the place vacated by Munshi Ram, I shall speak later, in the right place. In the meantime, I ask the reader to form a mental picture of a man, who played no small part in helping to revive an ancient mode of education and making a success of it.

XLI

During the 11 months I spent in India at that juncture, I heard much about the Gurukula. Even critics testified to Munshi Ram's enthusiasm, energy, driving power and pertinacity. He had, they admitted, made "things go." To what purpose, however, they asked. What good would be the Gurukula *snataks* (graduates) to themselves, to their families and to society, when they return to the world from which they, in infancy, were withdrawn? They would have no real knowledge of it. They would not know how to behave. They would be at the mercy of anybody who took it into his head to cheat them—to victimise them. What was the good of filling the Punjab—filling India with such persons, taught only to chant *mantras*? True, said these detractors, Munshi Ram had succeeded in turning the hands of the clock of time backwards—backwards thousands of years: but the clock that he had manipulated was only a puny one. The clocks outside his bit of jungle—jungle, mind you, not forest—was beyond his reach. Fortunately for the world, it was beyond his handling.

I also came across persons, who were satisfied that the experiment had gone off very well. They, indeed, took the view that the Gurukula had already passed the experimentation stage. It was an institution—an established and successful institution.

Boys were removed from the lanes and bazars before the filth with which the lanes and bazars were filled—filth moral as well as physical—had soaked into their little beings. Their bodies had benefited from the surroundings in which they lived. The food that they ate was *satvic*, designed to nourish the body without stimulating their passional nature. No meat, eggs or fish were permitted within the precincts. Even the pulses and vegetables were cooked with the minimum of condiments—only a *soupcon* of salt, black papper and turmeric. Milk and milk products were given them in abundance.

Sword-stick drill at the Gurukula Visvavidyalaya, Kangri, Hardwar. Much attention is paid to keeping the bodies of the *brahmacharis* in a healthy condition

Mental growth was stimulated by the peace and quiet. Lack of distraction made for concentration upon studies. Pursued, as their studies were, through the most natural of media—their mother-tongue—they progressed in the arts and sciences at a rate unbelievable by persons who had seen our boys only at schools and

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colleges where all instruction was imparted through an alien tongue. With their senses sharpened by sights and sounds provided by Nature herself and their intelligence developed through carefully graduated courses, while they resided in perfect *brahmacharya* (continence), they would have the perceptions and will power to deal with any temptations that they may encounter—with any snares that may mischievously be placed in their ways—when they emerged from the Gurukula into the world.

XLII

Sometime after I had returned to London journalism, in the summer of 1911, I received witness to Munshi Ram's good work from a wholly unexpected quarter. Among the Britons I had met during my earlier sojourn in that capital was a labourite politician—J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. In character he did not approach, in my judgment, Keir Hardie, another Scot and as sincere a friend as India ever had. In intellect, however, MacDonald was far more acute. Particularly so was the case in respect of using intellect to manipulate men's minds, though I felt that in respect of emotional appeal—heart action, Hardie could not be beat by MacDonald or any other Labourite.

Work in the garden and fields at the Gurukula Kangri, Hardwar, not only provides the *brahmacharis* with the physical exercise they need to keep their bodies fit, but also is a valuable addition to the food supplies necessary to keep such a large institution going

It so happened that in 1912 I took a house near the Belsize Park Underground ("Tube") station in Hampstead. In the next Road, almost behind this house, MacDonald bought a semi-detached "villa." Thither he shifted his children, but recently bereaved of their mother—a gentle, cultured soul, with remarkable gifts of intuition and sympathy. The fortune that she—Margaret MacDonald—had brought from her parents had played no mean part in advancing, educationally and politically, the man upon whom she bestowed her hand and heart, who until then had been more or less of a struggling newspaperman.

Morley thought well of MacDonald, gave him a place upon a Commission set up under the Royal Sign Manual to enquire into the "Indian" Public Services Commission. While out in our Motherland, he got away from his fellows from Delhi for a week end; journeyed to Hardwar by rail (motors were as yet not used for "longish" journeys in India except by motor-maniacs) and was carted across Ganga-*Mai*, then but a trickle flowing past the Gurukula. Many of the impressions he gave me upon return to his native heath have stuck in my memory.

Why had Munshi Ram, he asked, segregated the boys and kept them, for years, screened away from the world in which they had been born and to which they must perforce return?

"You do not know," the Guru had replied, "the filth that is constantly belched forth in the bazars. There the boys play—inevitably play, there being for them no other playground. Through them they must pass on their way to and from school.

"I could not bear to see my son being thus polluted. For his sake, as much as for that of the sons of my friends and co-workers, I established the Gurukula.

"Here they remain uncontaminated during the most impressionable years of their life. We aim at developing in them self-control. The discipline we give them will, we think, steady them when they, at the end of their novitiate, must leave this fortress that to them has been a haven."

XLIII

If this acute European observer had seen that there was a side to the institution that was not so idyllic, he refrained from saying so. Though an heir to the wisdom that found expression in

"Do give utterance to truth
(But thy) utterance must be pleasant."

his native Scot shrewdness may have placed certain reticences upon him.

There, nevertheless, was another side to it. The malaria-bearing mosquito throve there. After the rains had ceased, every puddle was a breeding ground. Despite all care, pupils and teachers were subject to fever.

During the months when Ganga *Mai*'s bosom heaved with water rushing down the Himalaya's slopes, carrying away with it all that stood in its way the school was isolated. Food and other necessaries then presented the Gurukula authorities with a problem that almost defied solution.

When the rain-god was in a generous mood, which, moreover, overflowed the eastern bank of the Ganga. The floods were no respecters of the good work that was being done at Kangri.

There were persons, even within the pale, who used these troubles to urge the shifting of the institution across the sacred stream. The cry was caught up by outsiders. The further the air bore it, the noisier it became, defying all physical laws.

It was readily taken up by numerous men within the fold and more so by their women-folks. They had never become reconciled to a system that kept young boys segregated in a "jungle swamp" from the seventh to presumably the twenty-fifth year.

The real trouble-makers were not the men who did not share the Mahatma's vision and openly said so. The truly potent cause of mischief were they who supported him in public but cavilled at him in private. These worthies did not align their practice with their profession, or, if they did, they sapped and mined

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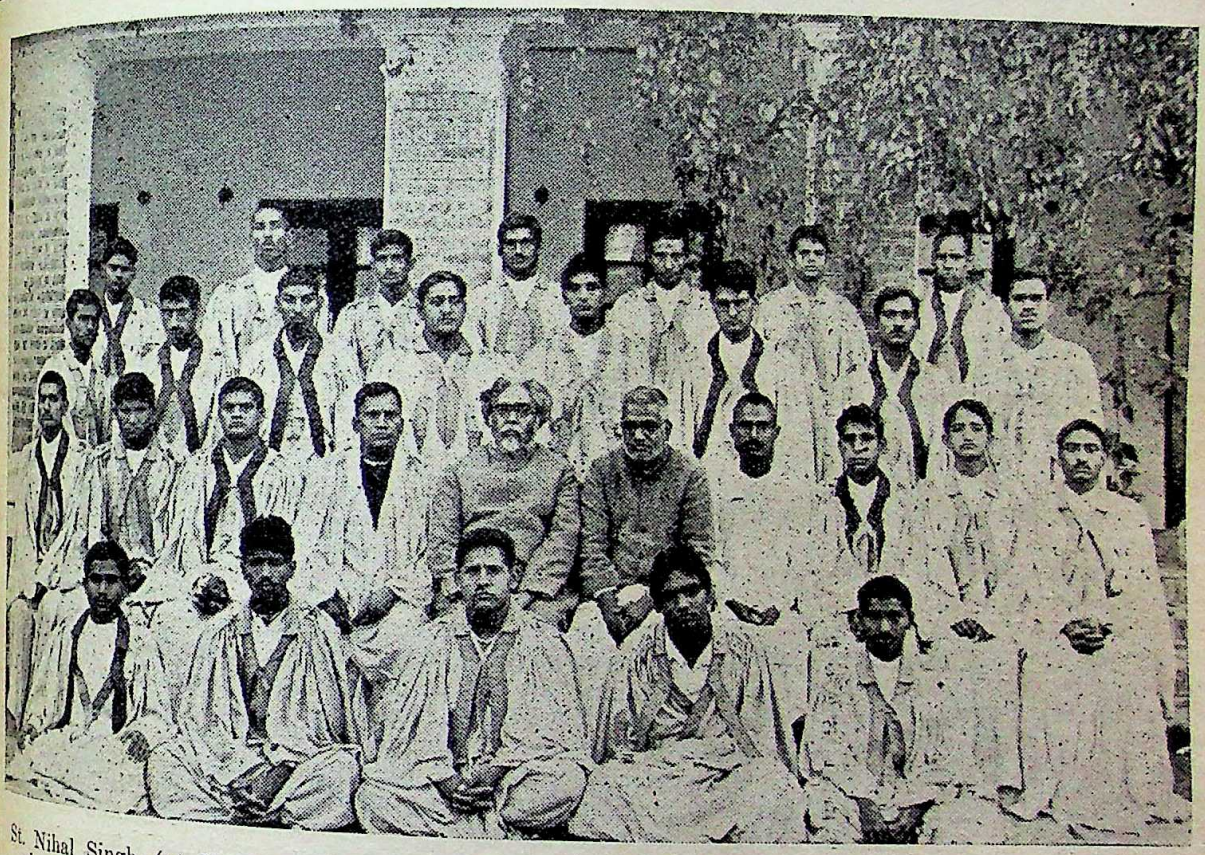
management. If, perchance, some of them had managed to hoist themselves into positions of power, their underground sabotage fairly rocked the institution.

XLIV

Then, too, the Mahatma had found, as prophets and revivalists before him had done, that reverence wears thin under the constant rubbing of the transaction of day-to-day business. If nothing is done to reverse or at least to slacken the process a moment arrives—often arrives suddenly and unexpectedly—when it splits and even splinters.



St. Nihal Singh (at Rama Deva's right) with the staff of the Gurukula and the graduating *brahmacharis*, at the conclusion of the Convocation address delivered by St. Nihal Singh, April 21, 1935

His principal assistant—Rama Deva—and he were temperamentally ill-suited to be partners. The second-in-command, moreover, looked upon himself as a specialist in education, while he regarded the "governor" as a rank ameteur—if, at times, not a bungler. Variance was inevitable.

Munshi Ram played the man, however. He disliked, before the second decade of this century had passed, that he, by himself, would not be able to keep the Gurukula functioning along the lines he deemed essential. Or, if mayhap, he might, he would have to sacrifice that minimum of discipline and tranquillity without which no academy can be conducted with any conspicuous success.

No child that his wife had borne him was to him anywhere near so dear as this offspring of his mind and spirit. It took him time, many essays and failures, to decide to part company with it.

What the execution of that decision must have cost him in anguish, no one can say. The statements that he made at the time or subsequently do not, I am sure, give us the requisite gauge.

Just as well, perhaps. Retirement from the Gurukula did not lead him towards inanition but towards another form of activity.

XLV

Entrance into the sixties provided him with the momentum to take another turning in his life. He could, in our ancient parlance, become a *vanaprasthi*—emerge from the world of care.

This he did formally. His initiation into *sanyasa* (the realm of renunciation) took place in 1917. He was re-named Shradhananda—he was to be called (the) Swami Shradhananda.

Could, however, a man of his temperament, mental habits and, even at that age, alertness and physical vigour, really quit the world, no matter what ceremonies he had performed? He had flitted from the world of the flesh a quarter of a century earlier. His life had been lived for others. In this circumstance he could only give it a new direction.

Events did so. In August, 1914, Britain—and in consequence India—had been sucked into the maelstrom that soon after came to be known as the Great War. Turkey was dragged into it a little later. The Empire with the largest number of Muslims and the land of the star and crescent found themselves ranged against each other.

Indian Muslims had looked towards Qustuntunia (Constantinople) as their religious centre and the Sultan who ruled from there as the head of their church—

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Khalifa-i-Islam (the Caliph of Islam). Politically they, with other Indians, were bound with Britain. In the operations she launched in Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and later across the Sinai desert in Transjordania and Palestine, Indian soldiers found themselves fighting against fellow-Muslims and ousting them from places sacred to all followers of the Prophet.

During these trying times, Indian Muslims found non-Muslim Indians sympathetic. That fellow-feeling made for political concord. With emotion at flood-tide it was thought that unity had been achieved and the two largest sections of the community pulling together, freedom from British leading strings could soon be secured.

Even Swami Shradhananda was carried away by this flood. I shall deal with this and other episodes in the final section of this article.

[*Photographs* : Copyright by St. Nihal Singh]

(To be continued)

IS THE NAZIMUDDIN MINISTRY STILL IN OFFICE?

The Opinion of the Law Officers to the Government of Bengal Criticised

By K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (Lond.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
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THE law officers to the Government of Bengal are reported to have given some opinions with regard to the Nazimuddin Ministry, now out of office, and it is the duty of every constitutional lawyer to examine the validity thereof.

The law officers, it is alleged, stated that the Nazimuddin Ministry is still in office, but in a state of suspension. This proposition is atrociously unconstitutional, for either the Ministry exists or it does not. If the Ministry exists, the declaration of Sec. 93 by the Governor was unconstitutional. The moment the Governor of Bengal had recourse to Sec. 93, the Ministry must be deemed to have been, in the eye of law and the constitution, non-existent, and the Ministers rendered *functus officio*. The mere fact that the Ministers did not choose to resign or were not dismissed by the Governor prior to the application of Sec. 93 to the Province of Bengal does not change in the smallest way the fact that the Ministry has been wiped out of existence. The Governor's proclamation makes it abundantly clear that it was not a partial breakdown but a complete breakdown of the constitutional machinery, as the Governor has assumed to himself all the powers vested in and exercisable by the Ministry. Paragraph 109 of the J.P.C. report, which runs as follows:

> "In the event of a breakdown of the constitutional machinery, the Governor is not bound to take over the whole Government of the Province and administer it himself on his own undivided responsibility. The intention is to provide also for the possibility of a partial breakdown and to enable the Governor to take over part only of the machinery of Government, leaving the remainder to function according to the ordinary law . . ."

is not applicable as the Governor's proclamation sets out clearly that the failure of constitutional machinery is not partial, but complete. The only logical conclusion is that the Nazimuddin Ministry has been blotted out of existence.

Can there be an automatic revival of the Ministry on the revocation of Section 93? The law officers to the Government of Bengal hold that it would. But in my considered judgment since the Nazimuddin Ministry is dead, it cannot revive on the revocation of Section 93.

The next question is, "Is the Ministry in suspension?" An emphatic answer in the negative must be given. It is an unheard-of proposition in constitutional law and an inroad upon the constitution to hold otherwise. A Ministry is either in office or out of it, and the moment it goes out of office, it is *non esse* in the eye of the constitution. A ministry cannot remain in a state of suspended animation. Sir Nazimuddin and his colleagues are reported to have notified to the proper authorities that they would not draw any salary or remuneration since March 31. If they had drawn any salary or remuneration, they would have done something illegal. They need not have notified any authorities with an end in view, as they are not so entitled. Their notification was quite superfluous.

The last point is, "Did the Speaker usurp the function or functions of the Governor by his action which amounted to ending the Ministry?" My considered judgment is that the Speaker acted quite constitutionally and has created a very wholesome precedent in constitutional law which will have a healthy bearing upon the development of the constitution in this country. The Speaker is the custodian of the privilege, dignity, honour and respect of the members and is synonym for impartiality and honesty. The action which he took was quite constitutional keeping the letter and spirit of the constitution.

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BEHIND THE GOLD SALE

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Then enthusiasm which the Indian Government showed in committing a series of monetary blunders and con-fusion in the early period of the war, resulting thereby in total upheaval and topsyturvydom of our whole economic structure with the consequent results of in-flation, privation and famine, is now being followed, though very late, by an over-enthusiasm on their part to rectify the evil consequences of their past unwise policies. But it is an irony of fate that we are not satis-fied even now with the Government's monetary policy, though our demands are being met one after another.[1] We raised a vehement cry of protest against our present system of war finance[2] and demanded gold from England and America for their purchases in India, and now the Reserve Bank of India has been selling it on their behalf for the last sixteen months, no matter whatever may be the enhanced prices. Moreover, the sale of gold again "ranks as an anti-inflationary measure," as the Finance Member declared during the Budget debate on the 7th March last. But unfortunately, in spite of the so many blessings which the present gold sale offers, we still protest against this policy and protest it vehemently.

The Mystery of Gold Sales

From August 17, 1943, the Reserve Bank of India has been selling heavy quantities of gold daily and up to the end of February last, according to the estimate of the London *Economist*, some 3½ million tolas, amounting to £20 millions in value have been sold out. But although such big things were going on in the Indian money market, the public was kept in utter ignorance of the sources of the gold supply and the people were in dark about the purpose and policy behind such sales. Our anxiety was at last allayed a little when in the second week of February we heard from the Finance Member that those sales were made on behalf of His Majesty's Government and also U. S. Government, both of whom provided this gold from their own resources and that they had utilized the sale-proceeds in meeting their own war expenditure in India. His eyes were suddenly opened to the anti-inflationary value of gold and in keeping with his abnormal anti-inflationary zeal which he has developed since the middle of 1943, the Finance Member, in his Budget speech, appreciated the gold sale, as "it was, according to him, "materially supplemented other anti-inflationary measures". He also held that the policy of gold sale would mop up the surplus purchasing power of the upcountry peasant.[3]

The Mystery Unveiled

Why then do we resent such a beneficial policy? We demanded during those hectic days of inflation that it should not be paid in sterling but in gold. Well, that demand is now being partially acceded to. Pre-viously there was not an iota of gold in our transactions with the U.S.A. and the U.K. About the present system, Mr. C. E. Jones, the Finance Secretary, said on the 15th of March last in the Council of States that the U.S.A. Government obtained rupees partly by selling gold in India through the agency of the Reserve Bank and partly by selling dollars[4] to the Reserve and Imperial Banks. Purchases in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government were paid for partly from the proceeds of gold sales in India and partly in sterling. All these show that gold is now at least playing some part in our transactions both with the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom. Why then do we still protest against such a policy of gold sale which kills two birds at one stroke? There are, however, reasons for it and quite serious are they.

The mystery of this gold supply, which was for months cloaked in secrecy, has recently been unveiled in the course of a discussion in the United Parliament, Capetown. It is learnt that the gold is being supplied by South Africa at a lower price, whereas the United States and the United Kingdom are selling it in India through the Reserve Bank at a very high price, thus making substantial profits. In 1940, South Africa entered into an agreement with England to sell all their gold to the Bank of England at £8-8 an ounce for the duration of the war. Now that gold is being sold in India at anything up to sixteen pounds per ounce by the Allies, a profit of almost hundred per cent, is made. Recently, some more startling news has been reported from Capetown. It was further revealed in the course of the discussion on the taxation proposal in the House of Assembly on the 17th April last that the Bank of England was still paying 171 shillings per fine ounce and was selling to America at 174 shillings—a profit of three shillings per fine ounce. The Bank of England was also selling South African gold to India at 320 shillings per fine ounce and not in the black market as has been suggested but in the legal open market. A news startling indeed!

Not that no protest has come from the South African people. Field Marshal Smuts has tried to console them with moral advice. In the opinion of this British Empire's elder statesman, 'the free gold market in India is a black market and therefore, the Union of South Africa did not wish to participate in it.' We then learn even this much that Britain and the United States are not only indulging in profiteering but also playing their fullest part quite openly in the black market for gold in India.

Policy Behind Gold Sales

There cannot be anything better than to pay in gold for their purchases in India on the part of England and America and this condition is being at least partially fulfilled now through the gold sales. But the policy and motive behind this action are as tactful as they are injurious to India. By putting restrictions on the free and private import of gold, the Government

1. For an elaborate study see my article, "Increase in Railway Rates and the Problem of Inflation"....*Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad Edition), March 5, 1944.
2. See my article, "A Study in Inflation and its Remedy"....*Calcutta Review*, July, 1943.
3. For a study of this agricultural prosperity muddle, a reference may be made to my article, "The Agricultural Income-Tax"....*The Modern Review*, March, 1944.
4. See my article, "Problem of India's Dollar Balance."....*Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad Edition), March 5, 1944.

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have severed the link between the internal and international prices of gold, with the result that the prices in India are moving independently of the world prices and the external lower prices are not being reflected in this country. Thus by keeping artificially the price of gold at a higher level in India, the Government were giving facilities to the foreigners to sell their gold at an enhanced price, and that is again being done through our own Reserve Bank. Take the case of America first. She bought up our gold at the rate of Rs. 30-35 during the depression. Now she is selling it to India at Rs. 70-80[5] and makes a profit of 150 per cent. Thus America meets a part of her huge war expenses in India through the device of a speculative gain and thus she incurs nothing from her own pocket. This grand scheme of paying off one's own debt with the help of the creditor's money cannot be ignored by any intelligent community.

Then comes England. She is, of course, almost bankrupt in her gold possession; but she is purchasing gold from South Africa at 71 shillings per fine ounce according to an earlier agreement and selling it to India at 320 shillings. A clear profit of 350 per cent. To-day the price of gold in England is something between 42 to 45 rupees per tola. Even if she sells the gold of her own country, she makes a profit of almost 70 per cent. With the help of this huge margin of profit she also like America meets a great part of her war expenditure in India.

There seems to be another motive lurking behind the present gold sales in India. England to-day is overburdened with the sterling debt. If, therefore, she can now avoid further sterling liabilities by paying us henceforth from our own money, *i.e.*, from her profit on gold sales, there is nothing surprising in it.

This is not all. To-day both England and America are gaining by selling their cheap gold at a higher price in India. After the war when gold prices will fall, they will again be in a position to buy up, through some timely device, these very gold they are selling at present. In the transaction they earn a huge profit through the speculative selling and buying and meet a part of their war expenditure in India.

Finance Member's Apologia

The correct method for the Reserve Bank would have been to buy up the gold at the market prices prevailing in those countries and sell it at a profit in India. When the question of these gold sales was raised in the Legislative Assembly on the 27th March last, our Finance Member, overwhelmed with the sentiments of universal brotherhood, bluntly replied, "India's financial obligations were those of an ally and not of a 'bania'."

Well and good. But may we with apology ask, "Who are really being guided by this 'bania' mentality to-day—India or the British Government?" We are also one of the allies. Why should then the other parties gain at our cost? Further, where were these liberal views just a few years back when England was buying silver from India at the price that was then prevailing in this country, although the prices of the metal that were prevailing in their own country were far higher? There is no reason why the method that followed in 1940-42 in the case of silver purchase not be followed now in the case of gold sale. B the authority, silence is always golden and, there they have adopted this maxim in this respect too.

Of course, recently the Finance Member has a reply in support of the gold sales; but unfortun that again proves to be a thoroughly hollow one. says that even the controlled prices of the commod in India at which both the U.S. and British G ments are purchasing their war materials to-day increased more than the prices at which they selling gold at present.

However pleasant this apologia of Sir Jeremy appear, underlying it there is a great fallacy. Prices of least consideration in such cases. When Am sells gold at a profit of 70 per cent it is her net pr But when India sells her commodities even at a per cent higher prices than the pre-war one, it does follow that she is making a net profit of 100 per as the cost of production of those commodities has increased to a great extent.

Further, when the Allied countries are purch their requirements in this country at controlled pr why not instead of allowing them to follow the mar rate, a similar controlled rate should be fixed selling gold?

Correct Policy

(a) *To remove restrictions on free Import of* —When the free import of gold will be allowed, by increasing the supply, will also bring down the p of gold in this country to the world level. Thus Allied nations will not get an opportunity to sell gold at such a high price in India and be prof thereby.

(b) *Devaluation of the Rupee*—Inflation in country has brought about a great depreciation of rupee. At 1s. 6d. our rupee is now an over-va currency. In a recent pamphlet of mine[6], I have culated and also discussed the present rate of exch for the rupee and come to the conclusion that it sh be 10d. At this rate the rupee prices in India and sterling prices in England are at parity. The quan of gold which is available at 10d. in England is re valued at rupee one in India. Therefore, if the ra exchange is fixed at 10d. England will gain nothing selling her own gold in India, for she will only re just the same price as prevailing in her own co when the proceeds of these sales in rupees are changed for sterling.

(c) *Silver Sales*—The India Government acq some 500 tons of silver from Iran and we all exp that it would be sold in the open market. But contr to our expectation that has not yet been realised now learn that the above-mentioned silver will be for currency purposes and not be sold in the mark is no doubt necessary that the Reserve Bank sh strengthen the position of its silver reserve which fallen very low. At the same time it should sell sufficient quantity of silver and resume selling it to public. This will lessen the pressure of demand gold and bring down its price.

(d) *The Government's Gold Purchase*—Instead allowing the U.S. and U.K. Governments to sell

5. The Reserve Bank has suddenly chosen to follow an active policy of selling gold at lower prices and in the third week of October last, the limit for gold selling was some time lowered to Rs. 61-8 per tola.

6. *The Ten Pence Rupee* (Students' Friends, Allahabad 8 annas.)

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the open market, the Government of India should, henceforth, buy the entire metal at a controlled rate. The buying price for the Government or the Reserve Bank may come to something like Rs. 50 per tola, say, 10 per cent, profit is allowed to the selling agencies. This gold the India Government may sell to Indian people at the rate of, say, Rs. 55 or Rs. 60 and earmark the profit for some nation-building services in the post-war years.

With a part of this gold the Reserve Bank may strengthen its gold holdings which have fallen these years to an insignificant level. This will restore the confidence over our falling rupee.

After the war we shall require enough fund to meet the demands of our various development schemes. The Plan of Economic Development for India also envisages to raise Rs. 300 crores from the hoarded gold in the country. But while making a critical estimate of the financial aspect of this Plan, I have tried to show that it is impossible to realise so much gold from the people.[7] It is, therefore necessary that the Government itself pay attention to increase its own gold holdings from now, in order to make them readily available for our post-war developments.

America should also consider for her own interest that if she wants to make her own post-war currency plan a success, which requires other countries to contribute substantial amount of gold into the international currency pool, she should, henceforth, allow a redistribution of world's gold supply. Therefore, she should instead of selling gold in the open market in India should sell it at a reasonable price to the Government of India, so that the latter may not find any difficulty in joining the U.S.A. currency plan (popularly known as the White Plan) after the war.[8]

A Warning

After the War when the inflationary condition will cease to exist and also when there will take place an increase in the supply of consumer goods, the price of gold along with the prices of other things, is sure to come down from the present level. I, of course, do not deny the fact that during the war, so long as our present system of war finances with its consequent effect on inflation, is not totally changed, India like China[9] may be threatened with further rise in the price of gold. But ultimately, after the War a crack in gold prices is sure to take place and it will then adopt a falling course. This is a timely warning to the hoarders and profiteers of the day, who being guided by a false apprehension and short-sighted policy are now busy with their ugly games. There will be no end to their repentance when they will one day find that the value of their savings and hoarded wealth has dwindled down !

November 30, 1944

7. See my article "Finance for the 15-year Economic Plan"... Reserve, July 1, 1944.

8. Both the Keynes and White Plans have, however, been abandoned and a new plan out of these two has been evolved in the International Monetary Conference held at Bretton Woods in July 1944. Gold still plays an important part in the new scheme.

9. Reuter's special correspondent informed on the 21st May last that in Chungking "the Government is freely selling gold at Rs. 3,250 per ounce"---reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 22, 1944.

BIOLOGY IN EVERY DAY LIFE

The Fight Against Disease

By P. MAHESHWARI, D.Sc, F.N.I.

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Primitive man seems to have thrived on a dietary of roots, berries and meat and on clothing made of leaves, skins and hides, and had little else to worry about. The Rishis of old resolved to seek happiness by curbing their desires rather than by attempting to satisfy them. But in these days of science, invention and advertising, our needs have multiplied like the seed of Abraham, and although some of them may be dangerous or even harmful, many can be ethically justified on the score of self-preservation and self-development in the kind of world in which we now live. No more are we content to exist, with food and clothing as our only wants. We long for many other commodities and raw materials that can be converted into the numerous little articles which contribute to the enjoyment of life. Wood, paper, rubber, coal, petroleum, building materials, perfumes, dyestuffs, oils, resins, wax, honey and drugs are but a few of the things that give to one's mind. The majority of these are derived from plants and animals and it is well that we realise the debt that we owe to Biology in our every day life. Taking in particular, the fight against disease and ill-health, herbal remedies have been utilised from the earliest times to alleviate the sufferings of humanity. India once took the lead in this—the science of Ayurveda—as it was then called. The ancient treatises dealing with the eight main divisions of Ayurveda have for the most part disappeared but they were followed by two other important works, *viz.*, the Susruta and the Charaka Samhitas, which deal with therapeutics as well as surgery. Even anaesthetics of some kind seem to have been known, for there are repeated references to a substance called "Sammohini." Unfortunately, however, during the disturbed times that followed those days of Indian glory, a good deal of this literature was mutilated or lost and degeneration became evident everywhere. The science of medicine passed into the hands of priests and mendicants and drugs and herbs gave place to charms and amulets. While India continued to decline, the West went up and once again accurate observation, correct diagnosis and application of carefully tested remedies took the place of mystery and superstition. The modern doctor uses many kinds of vaccines and injections, takes liberties with the heart and the abdomen; can make mad men sane by operating on their brains; can handle and repair many of our organs almost as perfectly as an instrument maker can repair a piano, and can revive a

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dying man by injecting into him the blood of another. These seem strange things and yet they are now being done every day, both in the battle-field and behind it.

How have these miracles been achieved? The discoveries which have led to them were made by steady and silent work sometimes done with the crudest of equipment and in dingy and ill-ventilated rooms. Among the foremost of these discoverers was Louis Pasteur, the son of a French tanner, who always seemed to be busy with his microscope poring over the tiniest forms of life, now known as Bacteria. "What can be the earthly good of studying those microbes", some of his friends would ask in ridicule. All doubts were however set at rest when the results were made public, and Pasteur was loudly acclaimed as one of the greatest benefactors of mankind. He wiped away chicken cholera; he showed how a fearful disease like anthrax could be almost wholly eradicated, he found the way to cure the effect of bites from rabid dogs and to prevent dogs from going rabid. More than all this, his work and that of the German bacteriologist, Koch, paved the way for antiseptic surgery. They showed the relation of microbes to suppuration and proved that these germs could not arise spontaneously but must get introduced into the body from outside. This idea was seized upon by the British surgeon Lister who demonstrated in 1867 how the intelligent use of antiseptics could prevent suppuration in wounds.

Lister observed that serious injuries sustained by the body could be cured so long as the skin was not broken or cut; but if this happened there followed that terrible corruption of flesh which was the cause of innumerable deaths in spite of the best care and attention. Lister argued that if suppuration and trouble were due to Bacteria, as shown by Pasteur and as his own observations also seemed to indicate, he could keep them off the wound and the patient would recover.

But how was this to be done? Air penetrates everywhere and in the air there are millions of microbes. He thought that the best way was to sterilise the wound by applying a strong disinfectant or antiseptic. He first used carbolic acid but later employed a spray in the atmosphere sterilising the air instead of the wound. Finally after many trials and experiments he found that the correct way was to sterilise every thing which came in contact with the wound—the instruments, the doctor's hands and clothes and all else in the operating chamber. Thus was born aseptic surgery—a magnificent discovery, marvellously simple as it seems now, but one which owes its origin entirely to the painstaking work done by Pasteur and Koch and the long hours they spent straining their eyes through the microscope. Through their efforts, and those of Lister, the hospitals which were once known as "houses of death" and which were reeking with blood and pus and were full of the shrieks and agonies of the patients, have now become transformed into "havens of safety." "Before Lister" and "after Lister" in the surgical calendar are the equivalents of the B.C. and A.D. of our common chronology.

No less have been the achievements of the microscopist in the realm of medicine. Prior to the last decade of the 19th century no eye had seen the bacillus of plague; fleas were thought mere unpleasant creatures even less scandalous than lice, and mosquitoes besported themselves unheeded singing merrily in our ears. War is highly spectacular, so are great and sudden catastrophes like earthquakes, but if figures are to be criterion, there can be no doubt that their effects into insignificance when compared to the misery and disaster that these minute organisms caused at certain periods during the history of world.

Take kala-azar as an instance. During the century this disease was the cause of hundreds thousands of deaths in Bengal and Assam. Barely cent of those affected by it survived. Whole were wiped out and at times not a single mem the family remained to mourn the loss of his rel The allopaths gave their patients large doses of q the homeopaths tried their pills, the Kavirajes Hakims delved deep into the ancient wisdom of and Greece, but to no avail. In despair, black and the services of planetary priests were invoked even the gods appeared to have gone to sleep person affected with kala-azar was considered as as lost. It was only in 1900 that Leishman discov the causal organism in the spleen of a soldier who died of this disease. Parasites similar to those of ing sickness were seen under the microscope cultured and studied outside the body. It was found that the disease was propagated by the bite a sandfly. Injections of the sodium antimony tart were found to lower the death-rate considerably. Sir U. N. Brahmachari introduced the use of stibamine which now stands pre-eminent in the ment of kala-azar in India.

Yet another example may be cited. For the five hundred years the footsteps of all armies, querors and conquered, have been dogged by ty It decimated Napoleon's troops in the invasion Russia. In the war of 1914 to 1918 also, it appe in an epidemic form on the Eastern front. D 1915-16 at least 150,000 people died of typhus Serbia, and the Austrians held back from invading country more from fear of catching the disease of their enemy. But it was kept away from the We front, in spite of the transfer of German troops east to west. This German achievement was one greatest triumphs of war hygiene. It was possible because of a scientific understanding of the mode transmission of the disease, which is caused by micro-organisms carried over from one man to an through the agency of body-lice. Obviously the clean conditions and energetic delousing are the phylactic remedies for keeping the disease in contr

Another important discovery made during the war is the practice of blood transfusion as an diately available life-saving measure. Sometime in Pope Innocent VIII, then of an advanced age, fell a condition which made it impossible for those attendance upon him to decide whether he was alive dead. All medical treatment proved to be of no Then a physician declared that he could heal rejuvenate the old man if only the fresh blood youth was available. His proposal was at once and three young men were bled to death but the did not live. Others at different times tried experiments but generally speaking they proved extremely hazardous and such as should undertaken except in rare emergency. Yet, the idea right. The two chief obstacles to this method firstly, the clotting of the blood obtained from donor and its frequent incompatibility with that

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patient leading to serious consequences. It was only during the last war that these difficulties were overcome and today we have banks of stored blood available for the immediate treatment of serious cases in the street, factory or field, or of severe bleeding in childbirth or, of haemorrhage of the stomach, kidneys or intestines. This advance has been due mainly to the work of the German scientist Landsteiner who found that there are four groups into which human blood falls and that transfusion could be done according to a definite plan governed by the rules of compatibility discovered by him. Today refrigerators with stocks of all four types of blood are kept in readiness near the battlefield. The telephone rings, the dispenser on duty takes out a jar of blood of the required group and in a few minutes' time the ambulance has delivered it at the place where it is needed. Often the jars are carried by air and should it not be possible for the plane to land, the blood is sent down by parachute.

A further advance has been the use of serum or plasma. While citrated blood can be kept for only 3 or 4 weeks, Serum has the advantage of keeping indefinitely if stored in a cool dark place and can be administered without the preliminary grouping of donor and receiver which is essential in the case of whole blood.

A branch of medical science which may almost be said to have owed its origin to the War of 1914 to 1918, is that of plastic surgery. In the terrible bombardments and close fighting of that war shells and bombs caused much greater mutilation than at any time in the past. Moreover, in trench warfare and with the wearing of metal helmets, the face was the only part left exposed and was therefore very frequently injured. Such injuries, if the patient survived and the wounds healed, produced such terrible caricatures of the human face and such revolting sights that attempts were made to devise methods of repair which would as far as possible, restore the parts to their original appearance. Thus arose the modern art of plastic surgery, in which patience, skill and ingenuity are more needed than in any other branch of this science. It would take one too long to speak of the marvellous and ingenious turns of technique called into play in the practice of this art, how skin is made to travel in caterpillar fashion from one part of the body to another and how bone and cartilage are borrowed from one place and grafted on to a different one.

Just think of the results that have been obtained. Ex-soldiers are able to face the world with rebuilt features and can return home without fear of exciting a feeling of horror or repulsion in their wives and children. A woman may be hauled out of a fire or a wreck with her cheeks, eye-brows, ears, lips and nose all disfigured or almost destroyed, yet after a time new skin will have been grafted, new lips built up, and perhaps even new eye-brows or eye-lashes will have been induced to grow. Formerly to have lost one's nose or to have broken one's jaw was to have done with it for ever. Now (although God may take away the nose He gave) the surgeon can give him another which may sometimes be better than the first one and large gaps in the jaw can be made good by bone transferred from another place and grafted on to the broken part. The plastic surgeon sometimes receives as his patients even actresses and film stars, who although beautiful, do not quite fit in with the standardised mould. The surgeon is able to help them and these improved beauties are said to spend hours in front of the mirror admiring their new features.

The present war has now combined for about six years and has been more terrible than even the previous one. While we do not yet know enough about the discoveries made during these years, there are one or two things that deserve mention. As is well known, the bugbear of the surgeon is the streptococcus, deadly to his patients and so difficult to dislodge. A few years ago chemists discovered a group of drugs known as the sulphanilamides which were hailed with great enthusiasm by physicians as well as surgeons. During this war even more powerful bactericidal and bacteriostatic substances have been obtained from lower organisms. Penicillin, extracted from a mould, related to the ordinary bread mould, has already become famous and appears to be the most powerful aid that we have at present for dealing with infected wounds and other ailments of the body. It may however be rivalled by gramicidin, a substance prepared by American workers from certain types of soil bacteria and others which are under investigation.

In manipulative surgery also (really, a kind of biological engineering) some striking advances have been made. It has been found practicable for instance to take out the eyes of a dead man and transplant them into the forehead of one who is living but had lost his vision due to some accident in life. Some hospitals are proposing to run eye banks on the same principles as blood banks except that any healthy human eye will serve the purpose without regard to the blood type but eyes that have been kept for more than 72 hours are unusable. The assets of the eye bank must therefore be used more quickly than those of the blood bank.

War is an evil thing but one of its compensating factors is that it forces us to exert every effort to maintain life against overwhelming odds. There is no doubt that when the present war is over there will come to light many new healing devices in the development of which the biologist, the chemist and the physicist must have all played their part.

And what of the future? The science of medicine which has so far been limited for the most part to the study of disease must now concern itself with the study of health. By the joint efforts of the physicist and the chemist phenomenal success has been achieved in various directions. Aviation, wireless and television have become household words and many secret weapons like the magnetic mine and the pilotless bomber have also been invented. The one human desire still left unfulfilled is perpetual youth of body and mind. The fulfilment of this must lie in the hands of the biologist and difficult though the problem is its solution may not after all be impossible. The latest nutritional researches and a further knowledge of the ductless glands and their secretions may perhaps prove helpful in the achievement of this end.

SCARCITY OF MILK IN BENGAL

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By RAMKRISHNA MUKHERJEA, M.SC.

Bengal has faced for some decades a real physical shortage of milk. In normal times the per capita availability of milk (including milk products) was 2·8 ozs.[1] per day, which is a very poor figure, when according to Indian standards the minimum requirements were 15 ozs. for adults, (as suggested by Dr. N. C. Wright in his report on the development of cattle and dairy industries of India 1937) and 20-25 ozs. for babies of six months to six years, (as suggested by the Indian Research Fund Association in "Feeding of children from six months to six years in Wartime").

Annual production of milk in Bengal (including the feudatory states) was estimated to be 429·39 lakh maunds[2] in normal times. Separate data for export and import in Bengal are not available but these may be considered negligible when in India as a whole both the export and import are in insignificant quantities (the net import being only 0·3%[3] of the net marketable supply). The net import of milk in Bengal in the form of Ghee through inter-provincial movements also is very small.

If the total production was supplied only to the babies belonging to the age-group 0-5 (considering and neglecting half the population of the 0-1 age-group as breast-fed, that is, supplied to the total population of 76·91 lakhs according to the sample tables of the Census of 1941), then the per capita availability would practically serve the minimum requirement, it being 9·8 chhataks (20 ozs.) per day. But maldistribution has further accentuated the problem. Regarding consumption of milk in every Bengali home first preference is given to the babies and invalids and then to other members of the family. Therefore, consumption of milk by the older members of society at the cost of depriving the babies can only happen in families of different economic status where some families can buy sufficient quantity for the consumption of the entire family while others cannot buy even for their babies. In Calcutta, where the disparity in income is most marked, the average per capita consumption of fluid milk in normal times was only 3·8 ozs.[4] per day, while in the middle class families earning Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 (a fairly well-to-do group in normal times), it was 11 ozs.[5] Maldistribution of milk can also be ascertained from the fact that in Calcutta, Dacca, and Bengal as a whole 61, 63 and 40 per cents[6] of the total milk consumed was as milk products, like sweetmeats, *rabri*, ice-cream, etc. But milk as any product and not as fluid milk is consumed in very little quantities by the babies, if consumed at all.

Scarcity of milk, which was present even in normal times due to both (i) the physical shortage, as well as (ii) maldistribution, has taken an alarming shape now when (i) the local production has further declined leading to greater physical shortage, and (ii) the maldistribution remains as it was if it has not become more acute. Decline in production is mainly the result of (i) heavy cattle loss in 1943-44, and (ii) decline in the lactation period and yield of milk due to malnutrition of the surviving cattle. Accurate data on either of the phenomena are not available and so the actual decline cannot be estimated. But that these are real have already been noted by many sociologists like Prof. P. Chattopadhyay and others. It is a fact, of course, that the loss in human population has also been very heavy in 1943-44, but the loss of cattle has been in greater proportion. In order to safeguard their own survival the lower and the middle peasantry and other rural people of similar economic status were forced to cut down the expenses on cattle food, leading to heavy cattle mortality through starvation and the scourge of epidemic in their devitalised state. Also many of them sold their cattle, a large proportion of which was bought by the Army contractors for slaughter and this further aggravated the shortage. The import of milk powder and milk foods could not improve the situation as the proportion was negligible.

That the maldistribution, which was only due to disparity in income, is still there and has perhaps become acute can easily be realised when it is borne in mind that in the last two years a small number of persons have grown rich through wartime profiteering and blackmarketing, and so can easily pay four to five times the normal price of milk and milk products for any quantity, while the vast mass of people have been impoverished to such an extent that they can hardly buy sufficient quantity of rice at four to five times the normal price to keep their body and soul together, not to speak of milk for the babies. This is proved by the fact that in spite of further shortage in milk production, Calcutta[7] and other principal urban areas abound with various milk products even now except where it is forbidden by law.

The result is that what was just one of the many serious wants of the average people in normal times has now become a life and death problem to the whole race. Milk is the only food which can sustain and nourish the babies, our next generation, and bring them back to health after the long period of malnutrition and starvation which was the experience of many of them in the last two years. But neither is there adequate supply nor enough money to buy milk at the exorbitant price, and even then the milk is not pure. The proportion of adulteration of milk had increased

1. Report on the marketing of milk in India and Burma (Second Edition)---*Agricultural Marketing of India.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Calcutta Diet Survey---Nutrition Research Laboratory---Coonoor.

6. Calculated from data supplied by Report on the Marketing of Milk in India and Burma.

7. The Publicity Department of the Calcutta Corporation has estimated that the daily import of 'Chhana' from suburbs is of the order of 450 maunds, which requires about 1800 maunds of fluid milk and the leading confectioners of Calcutta locally convert about 50 maunds of fluid milk into various milk products daily. On the auspicious days marked for Hindu or Muslim ceremonies or festivals import of 'Chhana' from suburbs goes up to 800 maunds. That is about 2,300 maunds of fluid milk are daily consumed as milk products in Calcutta which goes up to 3,700 maunds on the auspicious days. If five to six thousands maunds of milk per day be considered as the total quantity available in Calcutta through local production and import from suburbs (so considered by Dr. M. U. Ahmed, Health Officer of Calcutta Corporation in his talk---"Milk supply in Calcutta"---at the Rotary Club, Calcutta on 25-4-44) then the total quantity of milk converted into milk products is 38 to 46 per cent of the total milk supply daily. These figures, however, may be an underestimate. Also import of milk as 'Khir' from suburbs and milk products of petty confectioners have not been taken into account.

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from 41·3 per cent in 1934 to 52·8 per cent in 1938 on the basis of the samples of milk examined under the Food Adulteration Acts in Bengal. Latest figures are not available, except for 1942-43 for Calcutta where 65 per cent of the samples were found by the Calcutta Corporation to be adulterated. Considering the increase in the adulteration of most edible commodities it may be assumed that the proportion of adulterated milk has not gone down, if it is not still higher. The samples observed certainly support such a view. In consequence, not only the babies are receiving very little quantities, if any at all, but more than half of the total quantity received is unfit for consumption which instead of nourishing them may further affect their health.

To control this highly abnormal situation rationing of milk for babies and invalids, who must have the first preference, should be considered as the first step. The rationing of milk may first be implemented in the Calcutta rationing area where it is most needed but then it is to be extended to cover at least all the principal urban areas of Bengal within a short time. In an article "Milk Rationing in Calcutta" published in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, on 4-3-45, I have shown that rationing can immediately be implemented in Calcutta without any drastic change in supply and only through proper control and supervision. The necessary steps are: (i) forbidding the preparation of milk products and export of milk from the area whereby milk being a highly perishable commodity, which cannot be stored for future, blackmarketing will not be possible, (ii) fixation of the price at the maximum level of 8 as. per seer when the cost of production is 6 as. 6 p. per seer, (iii) opening feeding booths at a subsidised price (at least 50 per cent) along with the distributing centres of milk all over the area, where the families who cannot afford the price of even 8 as. per seer can bring down their babies and feed them then and there, so that, maldistribution and blackmarketing may be checked, and (iv) proper vigilance and control through the co-operation of public bodies like food committees to check adulteration, and for proper distribution. These conditions also apply to all the urban areas of Bengal. Milk rationed in other areas will also have to be similarly subsidised since the cost of production will not vary much all over Bengal and be practically the same as in Calcutta in present times.

The milk problem cannot be solved finally without the necessary planning to stop the further decline in production and to increase the production at a cheaper cost, so that, it becomes available to every one. Cattle slaughter all over the province must be banned immediately to stop further decline in production. Increase in production can be effected through (i) proper nourishment of the surviving cattle, and (ii) import of better quality cattle from other provinces, like the Punjab and Rajputana. It is interesting to note that in normal times Bengal possessed 20 per cent more cattle than the Punjab but produced only 30 per cent of the total yield of the latter province.[8] Authorities are unanimous in their opinion that through proper feeding and management the milk yield of Indian cattle can be increased to a great extent as indicated by the fact that village cows when brought to the Government farms give on an average about 60 per cent more milk in subsequent lactation and their progeny shows a further improvement of 10 to 15 per cent.[9] The dry long periods are shortened considerably and this proportionately reduces the cost of production of milk. Data for Bengal show that the yield of home-bred cows (one-eighth cross-breed) has increased by 25 per cent within 1930-35 and the lactation period has also increased when kept in the Military Dairy Farm.[10] Similar increment is also noticed for half and one-fourth cross-breeds.

Dr. W. Burns, Officer on Special Duty, Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, in his recent memorandum 'on the technological possibilities of agricultural development in India' has shown that the production of milk can be increased by 75 per cent in India : (i) 30 per cent by feeding, (ii) 15 per cent by breeding, (iii) 15 per cent by management, and (iv) 15 per cent by control of diseases. According to one investigation,[11] the production and per capita consumption of carbohydrates (cereals to other food-grains) in India are more than necessary. Hence, if the surplus carbohydrate is used as cattle food it can be turned into considerable quantities of animal protein in the form of milk. Also the development of oilcrushing industry in India would result in large supplies of oil-cake being available for cattle feeding which is valuable for milk production and subsequent growth of the young stock. Feeding of oilcake would also mean increasing the fertility of the soil through farmyard manure. European cows in pre-war days would receive 5 lbs. of oilcake per head per month; in India the amount was 7 lbs.[12] On the whole, yield of milk can be normally increased through proper care. The rehabilitation measures of Bengal to revive the normal economic life after the havoc of 1943-44 must therefore consider proper nourishment of the cattle through (i) reserved pasturage in the village, (ii) encouraging the production of necessary cattle fodders by financial help and guidance, and (iii) greater consumption of oilcakes and such necessities.

Bengal's annual requirement of milk, as estimated from the Census of 1941 at 20 ozs. for babies up to 5 years and 5 ozs. for the rest, is 2708·30 lakh maunds. Even if the normal production from the 87·82 lakh milch cattle, which were available in Bengal according to the Census of 1941 (88 per cent of which are cows), is increased by 75 per cent through the measures suggested, the total production will fall short of the demand by 1956·87 lakh maunds which is equivalent to the total number yield from 373 lakhs of cows of Bengal (at the average rate of yield of 420 lbs. a year[13]) and 108 lakh cows of the Punjab (at the average rate of yield of 1445 lbs. a year[14]). Hence, import of cattle from other provinces is necessary and should be carried on along with the steps to be taken to increase the local production. Milk co-operatives near the urban centres may be formed with these cattle and some of these may also be sold to the rural people at a subsidised rate, encouraging village co-operatives.

As noted earlier, to prevent maldistribution, the price of milk must be within easy reach of the ordinary people, so that, milk does not remain a luxury

8. Report on the Marketing of Milk in India.

9. Milk records of cattle in Approved Dairy farms in India—Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

10. *Ibid.*

11. India's Food Problem, *Economist*, Dec. 26, 1936.

12. Report on the Marketing of Milk.

13. Report on the Marketing of Milk in India and Burma.

14. *Ibid.*

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commodity as before. In London where the standard of living is much higher than in Calcutta the price of milk prepared under hygienic conditions was only 4 as. 8 p. in 1929 in equivalents of a seer,[15] when the unpasteurised milk in Calcutta was sold in pre-war days at as. 4 to as. 5 per seer. Increase in the yield and the lactation period of the cattle will surely reduce the cost of production, but it can be lowered still more if prepared on a large scale. Co-operatives near urban centres to produce pasteurised milk under hygienic condition at a low cost should therefore be encouraged. It is to be noted that in normal times milk retained by the producers in Bengal was only 5 per cent of the total production, 1 per cent as fluid milk and 4 per cent as products.[16] Therefore, the milk co-operatives near the urban centres will also solve the transport problem to a great extent. In rural areas, however, private supply of milk will have to be maintained and Bengal being chiefly an agrarian country it will be in conformity with the system of privately owned holdings.

These are the main problems to be solved to do away with the scarcity of milk in Bengal. We must realise that the present milk crisis is just not an accident, but the result of a chronic neglect of the problem for a long time which has been marked and aggravated in the last two years due to the scourge of famine and epidemic. To prevent the crisis from deepening any further, cattle slaughter must immediately be forbidden by law and rationing of milk introduced in all the urban areas of Bengal. Simultaneously a scheme of ten or even twenty years is to be seriously taken up to increase the yield of local cattle and importing a good number of cattle every year from Rajputana, the Punjab and other provinces. Only then the scarcity of milk can be solved for good. It is the duty of every public man to see to it that the Government of this province takes up the issue seriously and take necessary action.

I am indebted to Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay for his kind suggestions freely incorporated in the article.

15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*

ROSE-BUDS

By THE NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD

Ye little buds how delightful are
In the moonlit night so gay
Greeted by many a twinkling star,
With you dew-drops come to stay.

Steadily sprouting up thus ye grow
Troubling not with worldly woes
Until your delicate build, we know,
Has bloomed into many a rose.

So bright do ye look each morn
Preserved always by heavenly care,
In a trice you may be gone
Which work of man can not repair.

Rich in colour, rich in perfume,
Wafted after by the blowing wind,
Imitation cannot your beauty assume,
Surpass nothing can of your kind.

Though here and there scattered seen
Placed in the grip of lonely desolation
Safe in shade of sun-beam's screen
Free from the hands of tribulation.

Exposed to weather foul or fair
In sleet frost or beating rain
Tho' entangled in cobweb snare
No single petal shows its stain.

Clothed in the darkness of night
From raging storm you steer,
Shrinking not from deadly fright
Thro' veil of mist you appear.

To and fro singing swallows fly
In praise of your tenderness,
Unmistakable does your shape testify
The mark of creation's slenderness.

The approaching breeze makes its way
Attracted by your enticing charm
Fanning from you the dust away,
Its gentle touch brings no harm.

Having nothing to lose or gain,
In solitude's peaceful clime
Unaffected you always remain
By the wrath of changing time.

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To multiply & maintain

is a very hard job—yet this is wonderfully achieved

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- HÆMO-LIVEREX not only purifies the blood corpuscles but also increases and maintains them.

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ANÆMIA ... BOTH PERNICIOUS AND SECONDARY

ANÆMIA ... WITH HEPATIC AFFECTIONS

TO BE HAD OF ALL CHEMISTS & DRUGGISTS

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The Earth's Smiling Face

depends on the Salts lying hidden in the soil:

Man's vitality, too, rests on the Blood flowing in his veins.

While the earth's eaten-up salts may be easily replaced by manures, man's stock of depleted blood may be quickly replenished

By

BI-COLLO-IRON

— *A Palatable Preparation* —

Highly efficacious in all cases of Anæmia

- 'BI-COLLO-IRON' contains, among other constituents, Iron in an easily assimilable form.
- 'BI-COLLO-IRON' is a well-tolerated and widely accepted medicament for Pregnancy Anæmia, Infantile Anæmia and Secondary Anæmia resulting from Malaria, Kala-Azar, Typhoid, Pneumonia and Syphilis.

TO BE HAD OF ALL CHEMISTS & DRUGGISTS

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Book Reviews

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ENGLISH

SOCIALISM RECONSIDERED: *By M. R. Masani, author of "Our India". Published by the Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 55. Price Re. 1.*

The author, one of the founder members of the Socialist Party, has written here a disturbing book in which he gives his impressions gathered during his visits to the U.S.S.R., in 1927 and 1935. As the result of what he saw in the last of the two visits, he concludes that it does not possess even one of the three essentials of a socialist society, being neither classless, nor democratic, nor international. Russia had changed into something which had converted a former enemy, Mr. Winston Churchill, into one of its admirers.

Mr. Masani contends that Russia to-day is neither a Capitalist nor a Socialist but a Managerial State in which all power is concentrated in the hands of the bureaucrats who run the administration and the managers who run the industry. And he has much to say in support of this view.

The answer of Mr. Masani as to whether socialism is possibility in India is given in the last section. He maintains that experience has shown that what is required in a Socialist State is not nationalisation or public ownership but State control of property, along with individual liberty and political democracy. In India these can be attained by the adoption of the Gandhian technique of non-violent mass civil resistance and a decentralised economy. He envisages a period of transition from the existing position to a Socialist society during which the application of Gandhiji's principle of the trusteeship of property, the result of persuasion and State pressure, would come into operation. In that connection he states that he regards it as one of many other means for establishing on a more satisfactory basis the relationship of men to things.

That Mr. Masani is a sincere Socialist prepared to face unpleasant facts and to adapt the technique followed to the demands of changing times is patent. Equally clear is the fact that he is a logical thinker and possesses a remarkably convincing way of putting his point of view before his readers.

H. C. Mookerjee

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS—Vol. II: *By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Minerva Book Shop, Lahore.*

This volume deals with the history of the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs from 1769 to 1799. During this period the land between the Jumna and the Sutlej rivers was divided among a large number of Sikh chiefs who owed no common allegiance and followed no common policy. The Sikhs were by far the most daring, hardy and skilful warriors of the age, and under able leadership, might have established themselves as the leading political power in North India. "The Mughal empire lay almost prostrate before them. The Rajputs, the Jats, the Marathas and the Nawab of Oudh trembled before their armies. The Mahrattas were a spent force and the British rule had not yet struck roots in this country." There was thus a splendid opportunity before the Sikhs. That astute statesman Mahadji Sindhia was one of the few politicians who grasped the reality of the situation and tried to enlist the support of the Sikhs in order to curb the rising power of the English, and maintain peace and order in Northern India which had been bleeding under free lances for nearly half a century. Sindhia failed because the Sikhs were "most intractable and least amenable to reason. Politically they were at a very immature stage of development and understood neither the value of statesmanship nor the tactics of diplomacy."

Instead of seizing the golden opportunity for doing lasting good to their community and country the Sikhs converted themselves into roving bands of marauders and free-booters. "They understood only the argument of physical force and on the basis of their bodily strength and the love of horsemanship, they made periodical incursions all over the neighbouring territory collecting money and cattle." The history of the Sikhs during the period under review is thus reduced almost to a story of annual plundering raids into the Doab and neighbouring regions, bringing untold misery and sufferings upon the innocent people, and this monotony is only broken by occasional warfare among themselves or their struggle with the Mughals, the Marathas, and the Rohillas. Like the Chauth of the Marathas the Sikhs claimed an annual tax called *rakhi* from the people of the Doab and the brutal manner in which it was collected has left behind horrid recollections. The author has dealt in minute details with these predatory raids of the Sikhs and utilized all available documents for getting precise details. His industry in collecting materials and his critical insight into the spirit of the age and the mentality of the Sikhs, deserve the highest praise. Although the book is mainly a collection of dry details of the unending series of raids and pillages of the Sikhs, the author has taken care to draw the obvious morals and lessons of history as will be seen from the passages of his book quoted above. He has clearly brought out the great change that came over the Sikhs. To quote his own words again:—

"Previously the Sikhs had followed the principles of universalism by subordinating the individual to the community. Now they pursued the policy of individualism by raising the individual above the will of the community.

"It is therefore not surprising to find how those very people who had shown themselves the protectors of the weak and the oppressed during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, became the persecutors of the innocent and the defenceless."

This second volume of the History of the Sikhs has fully sustained the reputation which the author so deservedly earned by the preceding volume. The book is well documented and the style is lucid and attractive. It is a fine example of a scholarly work which combines

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a minute study of details with a sound judgment and grasp of the essentials. We recommend the book to all lovers of Indian history.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

A HISTORY OF HINDU PUBLIC LIFE, Part I (Period of the Vedic Samhitas, the Brahmanas, and the older Upanishads): *By U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., Editor, "Journal of the Greater India Society", and formerly Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta. Published by Ramesh Ghoshal, 35, Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta (1945). Pages xii + 176. Price Rs. 6.*

We are glad to find that Dr. Ghoshal, well-known to students of Indology as the author of a number of important monographs on Hindu Political theories and Hindu Revenue System and allied topics of Hindu history and culture, and as the scholar who has been ably editing the *Journal of the Greater India Society* for a number of years, is not resting on his oars after his retirement from Presidency College, Calcutta, but is continuing his study and researches as vigorously as before, adding, as the work under review amply demonstrates to our positive knowledge of some of the important aspects of the corporate cultural life of Ancient India centering round politics and public life and public institutions. In 1924 the late Mr. Kasi Prasad Jayaswal published his *Hindu Polity,* which gave a survey of ancient Indian political institutions basing his findings on authentic literary and other sources, and the publication of this work was quite an event in Indological studies, and much advance in our knowledge was registered in it; but a criticism was made from competent quarters that the warmth and enthusiasm of the author were at times too apparent in his treatment to make his book a repository of passionless objective information. Other books have since been placed before readers, and among them Dr. U. N. Ghoshal's *History of Hindu Political Theories.* and *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* hold a high place. The present work, as its full title makes clear its scope, embodies a consideration from the standpoint of history and the political science of all old texts giving statements as to the public life of the Aryan-speaking Hindus of North India from the earliest times down to about 800 B.C. We have thus a panoramic view, to be surveyed stage by stage, of political and other public institutions and usages, theories and customs, from the Rigveda age downwards. The view is all-inclusive, and the references and quotations are ample, and at every step (in the best style of authoritative works) the author's statements and interpretations can be chequed by the original texts. The gradual increase in complication in the public life of the land through Aryan expansion and advancement in civilisation cannot but fail to strike even the most cursory reader. I need not go into details, but we find in this work considerations on the basis of the ancient texts themselves of a number of important institutions and terms with which we are still familiar and which have been continued all through Hindu history and are even now being revived, after suitable modernisation, *e.g.*, terms like *sabha, samiti, samgati, rajya, rastra, ksatra and brahma, svarat, samrat, senani, gramani,* etc. The book gives us a picture of Hindu public life in its formative stage and stage of early development, and it is pleasing to find that there was a considerable body of public opinion restraining absolutism, and that *Dharma* or Divine Law was looked upon as the grinding principle in kingship. The institution of caste, with its privileged classes (their duties and discipline notwithstanding), on the other hand, appears to have taken a turn towards the direction in which it progressed in later periods, and the inequalities in Hindu society due to caste which are its greatest drawback became established even from the very early period. The work is a very dispassionate and objective survey, and will have a permanent place in the literature on the subject. We shall eagerly wait for the subsequent volumes which the author has in preparation and contemplation, and we can only wish more power to his elbow, to complete the survey and to publish it as quickly as possible.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE FUTURE OF THE RUPEE: *By Meghnad N. Vakil and J. J. Anjaria. Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. Pages 39. Price 1-4.*

While sterling balances are accumulating in India and there is a vast expansion of the currency in the country, a book of this nature is welcome to all who are interested in the subject. It goes without saying that the country's interests are best served by maintaining stability, *i.e.*, the internal and external or exchange value of the rupee. Unfortunately undue interest had been shown in the past for maintaining the exchange value of the rupee at the sacrifice of India's wellbeing.

The book is divided into five parts *viz.* (I) The Search for Stable Money, (II) The Rupee and the War, (III) The Future of the Rupee: immediate post-war problem, (IV) The Future of the Rupee: external influences and (V) The Future of the Rupee: guiding principles. In this short compass, the authors have discussed the entire subject from historic background to the present muddle and possibilities of the future. All the efforts to stabilise the rupee having failed in the past, it is proposed to aim at an autonomous rupee kept clear of its sterling mooring. The authors have tried to be rational even in most controversial parts of the subject discussed, leaving the readers to draw their own conclusions.

Students of Economics and particularly of Indian monetary problems will find this brochure interesting and thought-provoking.

A. B. DHR

YOGA FOR SELF-CULTURE: *By Pandit M. Dhar. Published by Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 147. Cloth bound. Price Re.*

The first book of the author on the Gita has been kindly received by the readers. His second book, which is under review, follows the footsteps of its forerunner in elucidating and popularising the ancient wisdom of our country. The object of the author in writing this book is "to expound the general teachings of yoga in such a simple and lucid language as may be easily grasped and the teachings be practised by any earnest aspirant." We are glad to say that the author has succeeded in simplifying the science of yoga in a way intelligible to one and all. The book is written in a conversational style as a dialogue between a yogi and his pupil and is divided into three chapters entitled cognition, natural elements and Patanjali's yoga.

Yoga, as a science of self-culture, is never meant for a chosen few. A good number of yogic practices can be safely applied by all individuals irrespective of age, or capacity for bettering and brightening the personality physically, mentally and morally. For instance, some postures and breathing exercises are quite capable of curing the chronic troubles such as constipation, insomnia, indigestion etc. and promote good health. That is why the author has described at the end of the book some simple yogic practices which everybody may follow without any fear of ill effect. But yogic science is extremely practical. The more one practises it, the more one is benefited and the better becomes one's psycho-physical apparatus. The book provides a general knowledge of yoga for mass-practice.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

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SANSKRIT

JINARATNAKOSA : *An alphabetical register of Jain works and authors. Vol I. By Hari Damodar Velankar, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Wilson College, Bombay. Government Oriental Series, Class C, No. 4. Pages, Quarto i—xii + 1—466. Price Rs. 12-8 per copy, exclusive of postage. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1944.*

This is an alphabetical list of Sanskrit and Prakrit works (the titles of the latter are also given in their Sanskritised form) dealing with Jainism or written by Jain authors on different secular subjects. There are, however, a few anonymous works which appear to have little connection with Jainism. Most of the works still exist in manuscripts deposited in different manuscript libraries including a large number of Jain *bhandars* some of which are inaccessible to non-Jains and the contents of many unknown to the scholarly world. The learned author had had to work hard for a long time to trace Jain works in the published catalogues and notices of manuscripts as also to secure lists of similar works in *bhandars* unsacked by scholars hitherto. Numerous works not mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* have thus found place in the volume. But completeness, not to speak of perfection, is unattainable in a work of this type. Omissions are almost inevitable. A few may be noticed here. Copies of the *Bhaktamara-stotra* and the *Jnanarnava* belonging to the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta and already noticed in the pages of the journal of the Society or the Descriptive catalogues of the institutes are not mentioned here. But more important and rather unusual seems to be the absence of any reference to two works called *Prasasti-sangraha* published at Ahmedabad and Arrah, one containing *prasastis* collected from 1500 manuscripts and the other giving descriptive accounts. The learned author does not tell us anything about the method followed in utilising the sources of information—particularly the extensive literature which gives descriptive accounts of manuscripts. It is noticed that there is no reference to the catalogues of the India Office Library, Madras Oriental Library, Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library, to mention only the best-known of the numerous such libraries. It will be interesting to know definitely if collections, not referred to in the volume, do not contain any work by a Jain author. It may be hoped that definite information on this point will be available in the introduction to the forthcoming second volume which will contain a list of Jain authors.

We wish the author god-speed in finishing the entire work and thus putting a land-mark in the field of the scientific study of Jainism and of the contributions of the Jains to the literature of India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SARVANSAHA : *By Sumatha Nath Ghosh. Published by Book Industries, Calcutta, 1944. Pages 190. Price Rs. 3.*

The main theme of this book is the antithesis between village and town as social patterns. The artificality, ugliness, cruelties, moral decadence and social vices so characteristic of present-day urban society are pitted against the simplicity, moral ardour and social equilibrium of rural life, and all the miseries and humiliations of present-day Bengal are seen through the perspective of this conflict. The author undertakes a literary voyage through the vast open seas of Bengal's physical destitution and moral crisis as well as through the backwaters of her degradation and filth. Everywhere he comes across inexplicable paradoxes and paints them with a bold brush and unabashed realism. The hypocrisies and moral torments of the middle classes as well as the frenzied modernity and blatant egoism of the wealthier sections of the community have been portrayed with unrelenting sarcasm. There is a touch of pathos in this remarkable analysis of the actual holocaust, and we know that most of it is true to actual life. It must, however, be noted that the narrative, though forceful as an essay, lacks the quality of fiction. The story shifts from scene to scene as in a news-reel, even though they are connected by a certain unity of design. Again, the millennium envisaged by the author as a panacea for all the social and moral evils of contemporary Bengal will certainly elicit protests from students of sociology. The answer to this old controversy is nothing so simple or categorical as the author imagines it to be. Even though this book might be considered not to have attained high literary merit as a novel, it will, I am sure, be read with great interest and profit by the mass of our readers for its bold realism, scathing banter and ruthless wit.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

HINDI

SOVIET RUS KI NARIYAN : *By Prahalad Joshi and Satish Purohit. Jan-Prakashan-Griha, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Pp. 64. Price twelve annas.*

Few outside Russia are fully acquainted with the important fact that in her victorious struggle against the treacherous onslaught of the Nazi hordes, the contribution of Russia's women-folk has by no means been mean or ignoble. They did not shirk their responsibility and take the road to refuge. On the contrary they have not lagged behind their comrades in arms in winning laurels at the factories, fields and fronts and have paid for them in no smaller proportion of sweat and tears, blood and death. In many cases they have outshone their menfolk and thus literally proved to be their better-halves.

The book, under review, contains Hindi translation of 13 short stories and sketches by eminent Russian writers portraying the admirable part played by Russian women in different stages and spheres of the war. Here is some truth, which is really stranger than fiction. The translation is quite good and makes interesting reading. We commend this book especially to our women-readers.

M. S. SENGAR

GUJARATI

PADATHAR : *By Minu Desai. Printed at the Shashank Printing Press, Bombay. (1943). Thick cardboard. Pp. 33. Price twelve annas.*

Minu Desai is a young Parsi poet, who has completely identified himself with the sentiments of his Hindu brothers, as well as their literary culture. In this small collection of nine short poems he has tried to illustrate six *rasas—shant, shringar, karun, hasya*, etc., and has succeeded in doing so. A very enlightened preface by another rising poet, Umashankar Joshi, has, in a very sympathetic way, pointed out the excellences and defects of the work, which deserves encouragement.

BRAHMA TATTWA ANE BHAKTINI SHRESHTA : *By the late Vakil Girdharlal V. Mehta, Sihore, Kathiawad. Published by his son Mangaldas G. Mehta. (1943). Cloth-bound. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1-8.*

The late Vakil who has written what is published by his son, lived for eighty years and was very religious. He had deeply studied the Gita and other Vedantic treatises and has given the benefit of that study, both in prose and poetry, to those who care to read his observations.

K. M. J.

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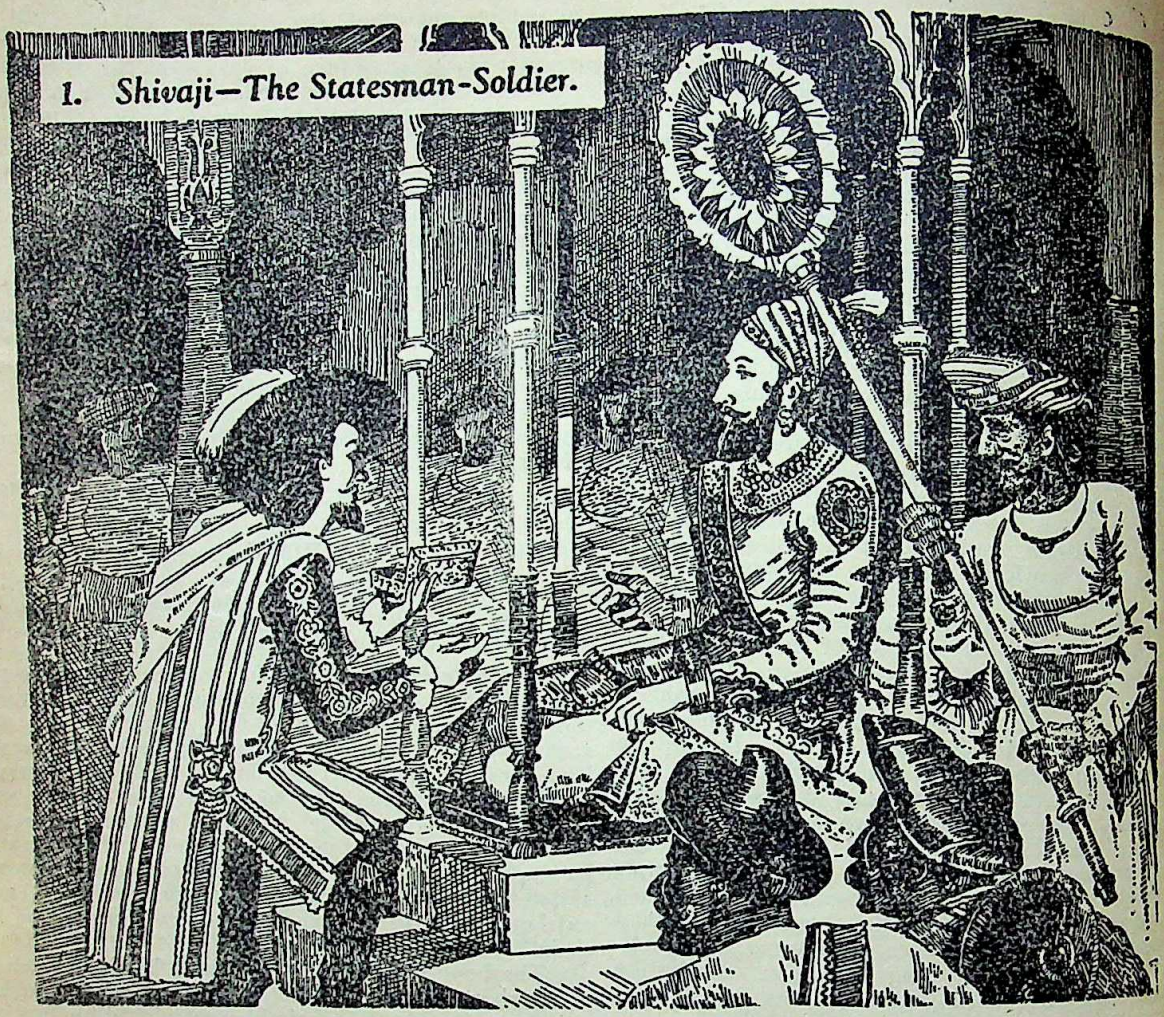

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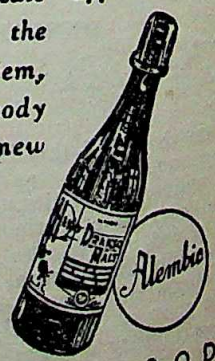

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

My Pictures

We give below the concluding portion of the article, as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, on "My Pictures" by Rabindranath Tagore, written in London on July 2, 1930 :

It interests me deeply to watch how lines find their life and character, as their connection with each other develops in varied cadences, and how they begin to speak in gesticulations. I can imagine the universe to be a universe of lines which in their movements and combinations pass on their signals of existence along the interminable chain of moments. The rocks and clouds, the trees, the waterfalls, the dance of the fiery orbs, the endless procession of life send up across silent eternity and limitless space a symphony of gestures with which mingles the dumb wail of lines that are widowed gypsies roaming about for a chance union of fulfilment.

In the manuscript of creation there occur erring lines and erasures, solitary incongruities, standing against the world principle of beauty and balance, carrying perpetual condemnation. They offer problems and therefore material to the Visvakarma, the Great Artist, for they are the sinners whose obstreperous individualism has to be modulated into a new variation of universal concord.

And this was my experience with the casualties in my manuscripts, when the vagaries of the ostracized mistakes had their conversion into a rhythmic interrelationship, giving birth to unique forms and characters. Some assumed the temperate exaggeration of a probable animal that had unaccountably missed its chance of existence, some a bird that only can soar in our dreams and find its nest in some hospitable lines that we may offer it in our canvas. Some lines showed anger, some placid benevolence, through some lines ran an essential laughter that refused to apply for its credential to the shape of a mouth which is a mere accident. These lines often expressed passions that were abstract, evolved characters that hung upon subtle suggestions. Though I did not know whether such unclassified apparitions of non-deliberate origin could claim their place in decent art, they gave me intense satisfaction and very often made me neglect my important works. In connection with this came to my mind the analogy of music's declaration of independence. There can be no question that originally melody accompanied words, giving interpretation to the sentiments contained in them. But music threw off this bond of subservience and represented moods abstracted from words, and characters that were indefinite. In fact, this liberated music does not acknowledge that feelings which can be expressed in words are essential for its purpose, though they may have their secondary place in musical structure. This right of independence has given music its greatness, and I suspect that evolution of pictorial and plastic art develops on this line, aiming to be freed from an absolute alliance with natural facts or incidents.

However, I need not formulate any doctrine of art but be contented by simply saying that in my case my pictures did not have their origin in trained discipline, in tradition and deliberate attempt at illustration, but in my instinct for rhythm, my pleasure in harmonious combination of lines and colours.

Racism and World Unity

The colour bar is one expression of racism. Ingrowing nationalism, exclusive creeds, caste barriers and rigid social or economic strata, all create and foster divisiveness; the world's urgent need is Unity. R. L. Megroz observes in *The Aryan Path* :

There is irony in the fact that the consensus of scientific knowledge strips the old conception of "races" of all reality. Sufficient is known to provide the fullest evidence in support of the belief that there is only one race, local variations being due to a more than average prevalence of certain marked characteristics. The significance of such local variations consists only in certain physical and mental traits due to environment and culture. Moreover, in any one group with such characteristics as, say, the people of Northern Europe, there are as wide differences between individuals among them as there are between them and the people of another group, let us say the people of Northern India. The scientific knowledge of the nature of human species, however, has not yet made much headway against old prejudices, nor, it is to be feared, has the realisation of the evil thing these can become when exploited by a fantasy-ridden people like the Germans, who biologically are almost as mixed as any nation on earth.

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This year (1944) two enlightened books by American authors have been published which reveal how serious the problem remains. *Race and Rumours of Race* by Dr. Howard W. Odum tells the lamentable story of the increase of racial tension during the war, especially between the Negroes and the Whites in the United States. *Man's Most Dangerous Myth : The Fallacy of Race* by M. F. Ashley Montagu includes this theme and surveys the racial question over a wide field ; and he stresses, as his title indicates, the known facts that rob the term "race" of its former meaning.

Biologists and anthropologists are beginning to study more carefully the results of "mixed" unions, such as between White and Brown or Black people, and the evidence so far flatly contradicts popular notions that the offspring of such unions are degenerate.

It is noteworthy that in Brazil there has been, over a prolonged period, a constant and big-scale mixture of white and coloured people without friction and without ill effects.

According to some "Intelligence Tests" the white races come out top. But as they were devised by and for white people and assume the background and mental habits of the white man, this result is not surprising.

It might be added also that there have been too many intellectually brilliant coloured scientists and artists for any such generalisation to hold water. The differences in level of development and direction of ability are entirely due to environment and training, to "culture" in fact and not to "race." Thus it is that the serious differences between peoples are more often to be found in the form of national cultures than in the physical characteristics, and where it is not so, as in the United States, it is because one group has a different economic status and culture, as different as a separate nation.

Now differences, as such, are all to the good, for world unity does not mean that we should seek uniformity in all things.

Mr. Ashley Montagu observes :

"It has often been argued that racial enmities between men will disappear only when all physical "racial" differences between them have been obliterated. This is a fallacious argument for the simple reason that the real source of "racial" hostilities is not physical but cultural."

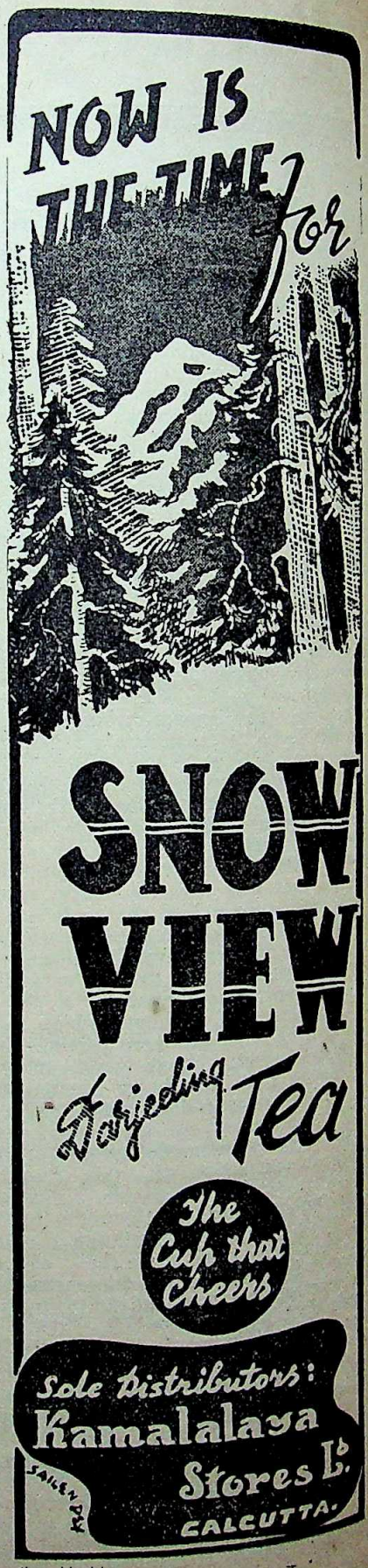
Across the Rhine

The New Review observes :

The Allied armies were across the Rhine and the battle for the Nazi homeland had entered its last phase. The occasion was so dramatic that Churchill could not resist going there furtively. On his return he could hear the national joy in the Commons' applause, and read the popular feeling chalked on the poster-boards of newspaper-boys : 'Latest news : Churchill visits England.'

Within a week, General Eisenhower confidently announced : 'The German as a military force on the western front are a whipped enemy.' They had lost their largest arsenal, and were in full retreat without any major defence line on which to fall back.

Whilst General Dempsey made a dash for the north-east towards Bremen and Hamburg, and Canadians plodded on through Arnhem towards the north and north-west, the American Ninth outflanked the Ruhr basin on the north and the American First on the south. Their steel fingers lengthened day by day, and met at Lippstadt, closing on Field Marshal Model's Army Group B; they relentlessly squeezed the Ruhr pocket smaller and smaller every day of three weeks. When it was all over, they counted 317,000 prisoners. Prisoners and arsenals made the Ruhr the record prize of any single operation in this war.



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Once the encirclement was complete, Montgomery passed the Ninth American back to Bradley's command.

He started giving chase to Field Marshal Blaskowitz' Army Group H which pulled out of Holland at full speed and reached Bremen and Hamburg before the British Second. Montgomery sped on to Hanover, Brunswick and to the Elbe. As the Ruhr pocket was finally reduced, Bradley's First pushed eastwards straight on beyond Kassel in the area which Patton had crossed first to protect the Ruhr encirclement, and established a bridgehead across the Elbe. All along the advancing front, planes gave unfailing support to the ground troops, and by the middle of April our airforces had abandoned strategic bombing (German war production had by then dropped to little) and had been devoted to tactical battle-support; airborne troops were flown in gliders or dropped by parachute here and there, and most air operations came off beautifully, as the Arnhem mistakes were never repeated.

In the south the American Seventh and the French First had also crossed the river and painstakingly made for Nurnberg and for Stuttgart. Patton himself could not be followed up. The day after crossing the Rhine, he had made for Darmstadt, entered Frankfurt, seized a bridge on the Main and reached Hannau ten miles east of Frankfurt. The names of the towns he entered or by-passed made a crazy pattern on Germany's map. Patton's tankmen kept to his chief battle-rule: fire and mobility. They moved on and on, without pausing, even when the President's death was radioed; when they met a road block, they did not dig in, but moved round the road-block and kept firing; they went on leaving to motorised infantry the task of cleaning up machine-gun nests. Occasionally they ran right off their tactical maps and had to wait for advanced maps to be parachuted along with fuel and ammunition. Those two of Patton's divisions crossed each other at right angles during battle, and the Nazis were the only ones to get confused. Patton had remained a keen advocate of the Shermans against heavier tanks and could now answer his critics with finality: 'Look where our tanks are, and look where theirs are.'

Whilst Montgomery drove the enemy against the northern sea-coast, Patton was to jab deep into central Germany and deny the enemy access to the south. He was partly successful; he cleaned up the area north of the Erz mountains and left it to the First Army's care; then he pushed into Czechoslovakia, then suddenly swerved south to join the Seventh American along the Danube.

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White Population Dwindling

The Indian Readers' Digest quotes from the *World Dominion*:

Quite a few people are quite 'seriously' afraid that the world is becoming over-populated.

And they're afraid because over-population—if it were to continue—might lead to war, poverty and unemployment.

The suggested "cure" is that the people should be spread out and the "surplus" directed to the "open spaces."

But actually, there is no danger of over-population. Because the world can produce enough food to support between 6,000,000,000 and 8,000,000,000 people.

And its population is now only 2,000,000,000—and is increasing only at the rate of 18,000,000 a year.

But, for all that, there is one very real population problem.

The white races of the world are on the decline.

If things go on as they are the birth-rate of the countries of Western civilisation will have fallen considerably in a generation's time.

On the other hand, the birth-rates of Japan and Asiatic Russia will have increased enormously.

Here is a table which shows you how the birth-rates of a few countries declined during the thirty-eight years from 1901 to 1939. The figures given show the number of children born to each thousand of the people.

		Decline
England and Wales	28·5 to 15·0	13·5
Scotland	29·5 to 17·6	11·9
France	22·0 to 14·9	7·1
Germany	35·7 to 19·3	16·4
Norway	29·6 to 15·2	14·4

And what of the United States? Well, there the population increased between 1921 and 1941 from 106,000,000 to 133,600,000.

But—there was a decline of 2,000,000 in the number of school children between 1930 and 1940.

You get the other side of the picture when you look at Japan's figures. Between 1901 and 1939, the birthrate declined only from 31·0 to 30·6. And during the last thirteen years it has increased from 24·3 to 30·6.

And in Asiatic Russia, the population increased from 29,000,000 to 42,000,000—an increase of 46 per cent.

Take another look at those figures, and you'll see quite clearly that, in the course of time, the yellow races might eventually swamp the whites.

So the white races can't be relied upon to people the sparsely populated areas of the world.

The way out would seem to be to turn to other groups such as the peoples of East and South Asia.

But then you come up against another difficulty—the superiority complex of the white man and the application of the colour bar, not only to Negroes, but also Indians and Chinese.

The failure to solve the Negro problem in North America does not offer a reassuring prospect for the coloured peoples in other parts of the world.

It is not beyond the range of the possibility that after the war, the non-white races may erect a colour bar of their own against the whites.

This kind of racial problem is bound to continue and it may get even worse in the post-war period. But it isn't a hopeless situation.

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A permanent international organisation—to study questions of population, emigration, agricultural and industrial development, together with racial relationships and problems—would render an immense service to the world.

In the Days of My Youth

Sir Shadi Lal writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

The first indelible record which life wrote on my memory was the death of my mother. It occurred when I was only five years of age. After that I was brought up by my father and my uncles. They were exceedingly orthodox, both from the religious and social points of view of a Hindu family.

This meant what, to-day, would be recorded as restrictions in the matter of diet and of social intercourse. My diet was strictly vegetarian and it remains so even today, for I have never changed. This involves the exclusion not only of flesh food, but even eggs. I was allowed animal products like milk and butter, which I still use, but although I may take cheese, I do not. Another restriction was with regard to travelling across the seas. The idea behind it was that anyone who went across the ocean was an outcast. That, however, was not the teaching of old Hinduism but of Brahmanism, and is being considerably modified at present.

I matriculated at the Punjab University in Lahore. There is no residential system in the Indian Universities, as there is at Oxford and Cambridge, but we have hostels in which the students live. They are not part of the University system, so that an undergraduate can live just as easily at home as he can in the hostel. As my home was three hundred miles from Lahore, I naturally kept my terms in a hostel.

I took my B.A. after four years, and my M.A., as the result of a separate examination, after five years' study. That was in 1895, when I was just 21. Before that I had been attending law lectures in the Law Institution of the Punjab University.

The Government of India awards scholarships, tenable at an English University, and I was offered one. I was faced with very strong opposition of my family on the religious ground which I have mentioned above. They thought that I would be a lost soul to them if I crossed the ocean. Ultimately, however, they reluctantly acquiesced in my decision, and I started.

At Oxford, I was naturally confronted with the difference in the University routine, for as an undergraduate at Balliol, I found I was expected to k[illegible] roll-calls a week. With the other undergraduates I [illegible] to go to the gate where the Junior Dean, then [illegible] tionately known as Jimmy Palmer, and later B[illegible] of Bombay, marked us present at eight o'clock in [illegible] morning. Among my contemporaries at Balliol was [illegible] Arthur Steel Maitland, M.P., who was my senior by [illegible] or three years, and a friend of mine is now Professor [illegible] Barriedale Keith, Regius Professor of Sanskrit [illegible] Edinburgh.

In the Michaelmas term of 1897, I commenced [illegible] study of law. For two terms I was the pupil of [illegible] Birkenhead, who was then Mr. F. E. Smith. He [illegible] don at Merton at the time. He was a brilliant [illegible] and generally made his pupils read law for them[illegible] By reason of his masterly instruction and his guid[illegible] of my studies I finished the amount of Roman Law [illegible] thought necessary for me in two terms, and he dis[illegible] me with the cheering statement: "It is not nece[illegible] for you to come back to me."

We met again in 1924 when I was in England [illegible] the Canadian lawyers who had come there gave [illegible] dinner to the English Judges. I was then Chief Ju[illegible] of the High Court at Lahore, and they invited me [illegible] the banquet. After dinner, Lord Birkenhead turned [illegible] the Chief Justice of Canada and said humorously: [illegible] is all on account of the teaching he obtained from [illegible] that Shadi Lal has risen to the position he [illegible] occupies as the Chief Justice of Lahore."

At Oxford I played tennis, rowed, and did a g[illegible] deal of walking. I belonged to the Union, but I [illegible] a silent member. I entered Gray's Inn, where I ate [illegible] dinners and was called to the Bar. I was consider[illegible] amused at the popularity which my mess enjo[illegible] When my fellow students learned that I did not [illegible] wine, many of them tried to join my mess so as to [illegible] advantage of my share of the bottle.

In September, 1899, I returned to India and [illegible] to Lahore where within six months, I was asked by [illegible] authorities of the Punjab University to deliver lec[illegible] to the law students of the University on the subject [illegible] "Private International Law." During those lectures [illegible] students used to bring to me various questions, a[illegible] always explained to them both sides of the argum[illegible] and told them the possible views which could be ta[illegible] on the subject. The law students at Lahore [illegible] expected to attend at least seventy-five per cent of [illegible] lectures delivered by the various law lectures. W[illegible] they absented themselves sometimes from the lec[illegible] of the other lecturers they paid me the compliment [illegible] attending all those delivered by me. In addition [illegible] lecturing, I practised in the Courts, and within [illegible] years I was making £2,000 a year.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The New Insecticidal Material DDT

Professor I. M. Heilbron writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

We are so accustomed to assess the scientific developments of the war solely in terms of machines and lethal weapons that we are apt to lose sight of many significant discoveries, particularly those of a chemical nature which, although less spectacular initially, are nevertheless destined to play an important part in the future of mankind. These developments loom large in the field of medical science where we have witnessed during the past five years advances of the highest importance and which fortunately will have far-reaching effects in the alleviation of human suffering long after the miseries of the present conflict have become mere pages of history. As particular instances, I would recall to your minds the complete transformation which has been brought about in the treatment of wounds by the use of blood plasma, sulphonamide drugs and penicillin. It is probable that in every war in the past more deaths have been due to disease than to the human enemy, and this applies especially in tropical areas where malaria and dysentery abound. Malaria, transmitted from man to man by a wide variety of anopheline mosquitoes, is one of the greatest scourges inflicted on humanity. No disease exceeds it in its toll of death and suffering ; it affects up to 300 million of the world's population each year, with an annual death roll certainly not less than 3 million, and probably much higher. Dysentery is transmitted by the common house-fly which is also responsible for many other gastro-intestinal diseases common in the tropics. Even the minute sand-fly plays a major role in transmitting sand-fly fever and also Kala-azar so prevalent in India and the Sudan. The louse is another death-carrying insect which transmits the scourge of typhus, and flourishes naturally under the conditions of dirt engendered by war. It has already been met with in Italy and is certain to be encountered again in many parts of disorganised Europe. In the last war, typhus killed 150,000 people in six months in Serbia during the winter of 1914-15 ; after the Russian Revolution, some 3 million people fell victims to its powers of devastation, and history records the decimation of whole communities. So important is the subject of typhus rated in the U.S.A. that a special Army Typhus-Commission has been set up in that country with wide terms of reference, and with branches both in Europe and Asia. Close liaison is maintained with the British forces, so as to ensure unified action wherever an epidemic threatens.

DDT is the contraction coined by the Ministry of Supply to designate the substance p.p-dichloro-diphenyl-tri-chlorethane, first synthesised in 1874 by a young German chemist working on his Doctorate thesis. Although its discovery evoked no particular interest, either at the time or for more than sixty years after, it was re-synthesised, as part of a well-planned and methodical search, a few years ago by Paul Muller, one of the chemists of J. R. Geigy of Basle, Switzerland, who found that it possessed marked insecticidal properties. As we now know, it was first used on a comparatively large scale in 1939 in Switzerland, with success, against the Colorado Potato Beetle, which threatened to destroy the potato crop in that country. The use of the chemical as an insecticide was patented in Switzerland in 1940, and samples were made available to a few of our Government Research Departments in the autumn of 1942 by the Geigy Colour Company of Manchester.

Its great potential importance as an army insecticide, was first revealed in this country by work carried out in the Department of Entomology, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, which showed that it possessed a powerful lethal action on lice. In addition to the valuable and extensive entomological work which this Department carries out on behalf of the Panel on Pest Infestation Laboratory of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Department of Entomology at the Imperial College, the Army School of Hygiene, and the relevant research establishments of the Ministry of Supply, have all co-operated with enthusiasm and realism in a wide range of investigations. It soon became evident that DDT was a unique substance, with properties immeasurably superior to those of any natural or synthetic insecticide yet discovered against a wide variety of insects.

In the foregoing, I have attempted to give a general idea of the background leading to the production of DDT on a vast scale. I propose now briefly to review its uses against specific insects, and in the first place to discuss its importance in the control of epidemic typhus. Prior to the discovery of DDT the British Army used a powder containing rotenone while the U.S. Forces employed pyrethrum.. The first full-scale use of DDT in a war sector came in December, 1943, when a typhus epidemic broke out among the people of Naples. In view of the conditions appertaining at the time, the position was fraught with danger, both to the civil population of Italy and to the military forces. Vigorous control measures for detecting the disease were immediately taken and mass delousing was adopted. During January, 1944, 1,300,000 civilians were disinfected by dusting with 5 per cent powder. This large-scale attack on lice with DDT was one of the most important factors in bringing the disease under control. Indeed for the first time in the history of medical science, a typhus epidemic was stopped in mid-winter, and with almost miraculous speed.

In both the Pacific and Mediterranean areas, the malaria-carrying mosquito is the greatest insect pest against which our troops have to contend. The larval stage of the mosquito is passed only in water; ponds, slow-flowing streams and stagnant water, often produced made by man's footprints or by lorry ruts, are the breeding places. Prior to the advent of DDT, the

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mosquito population was kept down in limited areas by lavish oiling of all water surfaces where breeding occurred; the oils were applied at the rate of 12—15 gallons per acre, and formed a film on the surface which prevented the larvae from breathing. The surface application of poisonous dusts, such as Paris Green and cuprous cyanide was also effective. Where domestic varieties of mosquito were concerned adults were killed by the use of sprays containing pyrethrum dissolved in paraffin oil. DDT has now proved itself to be a superior weapon, both against larvae and adult mosquitoes. Applied to the surface of breeding areas as a 5 per cent solution in oil, at the rate of one to two quarts per acre, it kills all the larvae and breeding ceases for several days. As the quantity of DDT solution required is small, relatively large areas can be treated from the ground by means of hand or power sprayers.

DDT is also efficient against many other insect pests. Thus, the bed-bug, which to our shame still infests so many buildings in this country, can be successfully eradicated by the use of DDT as a residual spray. This is especially important in barracks and troopships where mattresses treated with DDT remain free from bugs for many months. Indeed, attempts at deliberate re-infestation have proved unsuccessful. In the same way, cockroaches and fleas, the latter dangerous carriers of plague, fall easy victims to DDT. Discomfort caused by cockroaches on board ship need be tolerated no longer.

The discovery of DDT indubitably heralds a new era in man's ceaseless fight for mastery against disease.

The Negro in Brazil

Margaret Ann Sweeney writes in *The Catholic World*:

The position of the Negro in the Republic of Brazil today is unlike that of the colored man anywhere else in the world. To be born a Negro in Brazil does not mean to be hopelessly destined for a degraded future or the ceaseless struggle that the Negro knows in the United States. On the contrary, to be born a Negro in Brazil means to be born a person with an accepted right to life, liberty, and all cultural pursuits. But you may ask: How has the Negro attained this position in Brazil? Perhaps the answer will best be found by looking into the historical circumstances which have determined through the years the present status of the Negro in the largest of the Latin American republics and the greatest of her melting pots.

The background of the Brazilian Negro is interesting and colorful. The beginning of the saga can be traced to early colonial days. The discovery of Brazil is recorded in history as occurring in 1500 when Vincente Yanez Pinzon coasted the shores of that vast land and went on to discover the immensity of the Amazon region. A few months later, a Portuguese fleet commanded by Pedro Alvarez Cabral sighted the southern part of the present State of Bahia. Cabral named the whole country "Island of the Holy Cross," and claimed it for Portugal. When, after a full generation had passed, the Portuguese began the actual occupation of the land, they were faced with two serious problems: They had too few men to people and maintain the colony and too few to work its vast and rich resources. Forced Indian labour proved unsuccessful from the outset. Portugal herself had less than three million subjects, and, as Asia was draining off many of these,

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no help could be expected from this source. In the already organized African slave trade Portuguese capitalists found the solution to their economic problem and eventually to the problem and peopling the colony itself. To the womanless Portuguese (the women of Portugal having been for the most part dissuaded from making the journey to the New World because of the excessive perils and hardships involved) the Negro women came not only to be their servants and slaves, but the mothers of their families. This intermarriage caused little if any comment in the homeland or in Brazil, for race prejudice had never been characteristic of the Portuguese. In fact, even before the discovery of Brazil the inhabitants of southern Portugal had begun to combine with the Bantu and the coastal Negroes of West Africa.

Perhaps the most terrible feature of the early slave trading was the passage across the Atlantic which the slaves were forced to endure. In the darkened holds of the miserable slave ships the Negroes were jammed in so tightly that they had scarcely sufficient air to breathe to say nothing of adequate sanitation. The food was scanty and unpalatable, the water polluted and crawling. These conditions were the primary cause of the death of from thirty to forty per cent of each human cargo. If even twenty per cent of the original shipment survived the passage, the traders considered business as good. Little wonder, then, that these slave vessels became known as "tumberios," or "floating coffins." Once in America, however, the plight of the blacks was little worse than in their own land, and admittedly better than that on other plantations of this the New World. As time passed, the crown took cognizance of their condition. Legislation was enacted regarding them and came in the form of the royal decrees of 1688, 1689, 1693 and 1704. In accordance with the King's orders, owners were to set aside Saturday as a day of leisure for their slaves. The comforts of religion were willingly extended to them when they fell ill or were in danger of death. No mention was made, however, of education. On his part, the Negro showed himself to be remarkably adaptable to the industrial and cultural circumstances in which he unwillingly found himself. Within a relatively short time he had become acclimatized and had adopted the customs and language of his new country.

Although the royal decrees regarding the welfare of the Negroes were carried out by the majority, some among the Brazilians still treated their slaves as less than human beings. These conditions inspired the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, in 1888 to write to the bishops of Brazil setting forth the position of the Catholic Church in regard to slavery, condemning its cruelties and commending its abolition. In May, 1888, the Brazilian Parliament passed a bill abolishing slavery without indemnity to the owners, but the struggle for its complete enforcement was a long and bitter one.

In giving her colored people their freedom, Brazil also gave the Negroes their chance in life. In the very first years of independence the Brazilian Negro began to take his rightful place in society. It can be stated without doubt that the acceptance of the colored man by his fellow countrymen in Brazil was due above all to their feeling of gratitude to the Negro. They recognized the part the Negro had played in the upbuilding of the country. And as in its early history, Brazil still feels indebted to her colored populace. Those who may think this an overstatement need only study the typical modern Brazilian city, Bahia, for proof. Bahia is modern because it has had wide contacts with the trade and commerce of the world and has progressed accordingly; Bahia is typical because it one may see the same attitudes and opinions of of the other large metropolises crystallized. Here adjustments have perhaps gone on more consistently than in the other cities and the results, therefore, more clearly discernible. In Bahia the Negro has taken his place in the various walks of life. He may run a cafe and it will be patronized by all classes; he can be seen teaching in the elementary grade schools and both black and white children will be his pupils. Literally, there is no discrimination in Bahia because of color.

Bahia is one of the oldest capitals in the Western Hemisphere, having been settled shortly after the coming of the first Portuguese explorers. Among the number were adventurers, shipwrecked sailors, criminals, political and religious refugees. As a group these people were serious and hard-working, with little time to spare for the cultivation of the arts. The Negroes, on the contrary, possessed, it seemed, a perpetual fund of good humor; with a natural gaiety and exuberance they delighted in singing and dancing and the simple joys of daily life. Complete confidence could be placed in them, in return for which undying loyalty was given. It was the Negro then who helped to temper the primitive harshness of the early Portuguese settlers. In spite of many abuses, the relationship between slave and master was one of co-operation and understanding. The story of the Negro in Brazil has not been all one-sided. The country has given the blacks their freedom, it is true, but in return the Negro has made outstanding contributions to the civilization of Brazil.

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Fully-loaded military trucks start along the pontoon causeway to the shore from the dock of the artificial harbour, set up off the Normandy beaches to speed supplies to Allied landing Armies

Okinawa civilians return to their villages on the largest island in the Ryukyus which U. S. forces invaded in March, 1945

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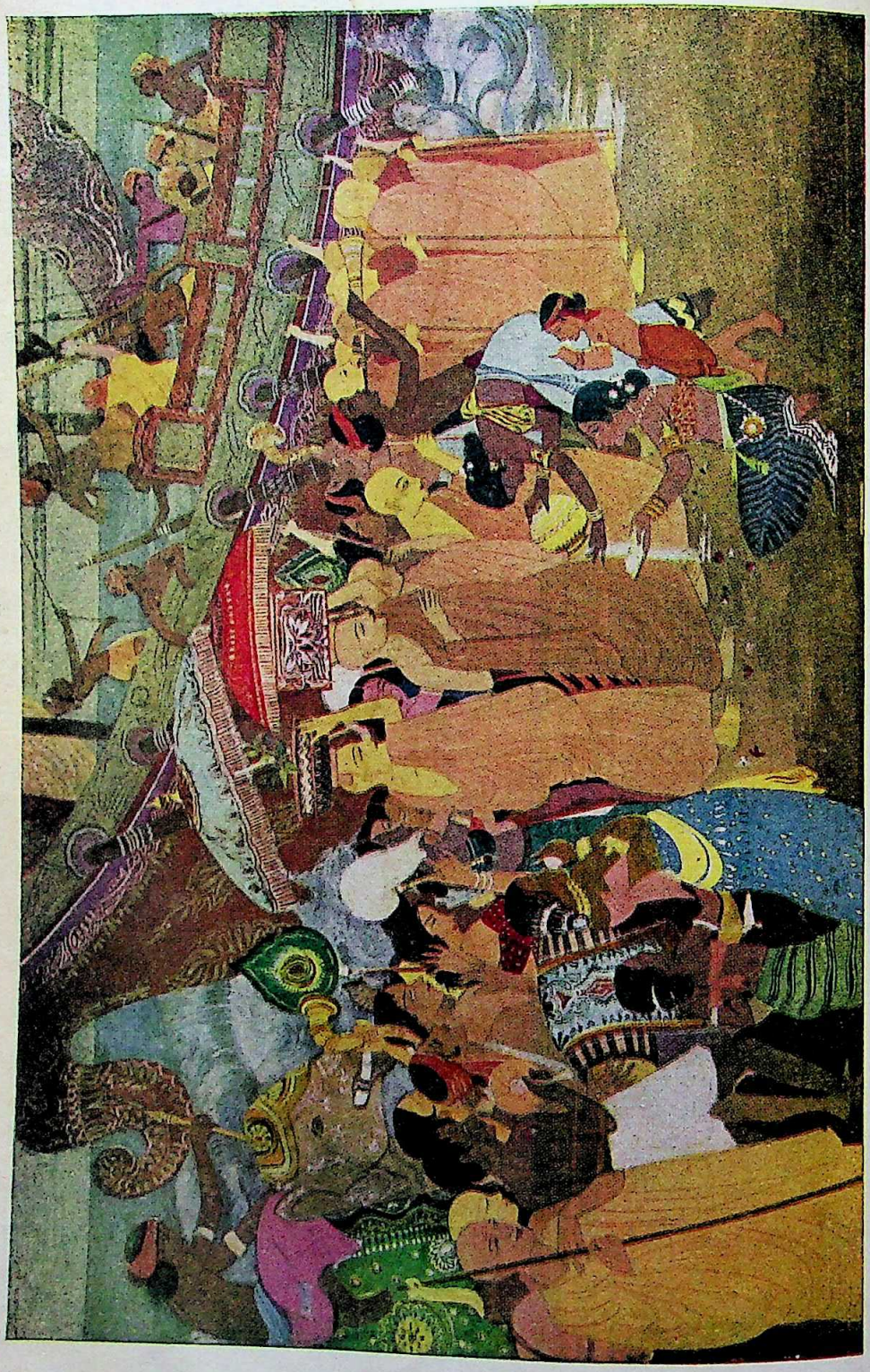

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Wavell Plan

The long awaited Wavell Plan has been announced. The main features of the plan are :

1. It seeks to establish a purely interim government at the Centre within the framework of the present constitution.

2. The veto power of the Viceroy will remain unaffected but he has assured that it will be sparingly used.

3. The Defence Department will remain unaffected under the Commander-in-Chief, but Home, Finance and Foreign Affairs will be transferred to Indian members.

4. The Executive Council will not be responsible to the Legislature but will reflect popular opinion as the members will be chosen from the main political parties.

5. The Council will contain mainly an equal number of Caste Hindu and Muslim members.

After the announcement of the plan, a conference of Indian leaders was summoned at Simla which is now going on. Judging from the reports published so far it appears that an agreement on matters of principle has been reached between the Viceroy and the political parties attending the Conference, the only difference has now centred round the question of the nomination of members to the Council.

At the very outset, we desire to make two things clear. It must be clearly understood that the proposed Government must be of the nature of a caretaker one and nothing beyond that. It must always be remembered that it is a mere interim government and its main function lies in paving the way for the drafting of an agreed constitution for the country by generally removing the mutual distrust so prevalent among different communities today and creating confidence among them.

The second point is that as a caretaker government, it has no power to bind the country into long term agreements, either with Britain or with any other country, of any character whatsoever whether political or economic. We have repeatedly said that no government or party has any right to sell the unborn generations into slavery. Whatever action they take must not go beyond the limits of the life-time of the present generation which has had an opportunity to discuss intelligently the proposed measures. The world is fast changing, and in such a dynamic world nobody, however representative he might be, has any right to fetter the freedom of the generations which are yet to be born.

With these reservations we welcome the Wavell Plan and believe that it has potentialities to do good to the country.

Communal Implications of the Wavell Offer

Protests against the communal proportions proposed to be maintained in the Viceroy's Executive Council have been made from several quarters. We would like to mention here that when Lord Wavell suggests equality of representation on the Executive Council of the so-called Caste Hindus and Muslims, he is seeking merely to stereotype the existing position. There are at present four Caste Hindus and four Muslims. The parity is already there. There are also one Scheduled Caste representative, one Sikh and one Parsee, thus making the total number of Indian members eleven. The real point is that the present composition of the Executive Council is not the result of agreement between the different communities or political parties, and the mischief of the present proposals lies in the attempt to obtain the approval of the people to the presest communal proportions. If we had joint electorates, the communal proportions in the Council would be of little importance. The Wavell Scheme will work within the framework of the present constitution. This means that if any real constitutional advance is possible to be made, it will depend upon the conventions that may be agreed to. In case the Congress finally decides to retain the presest communal proportions, which it is very likely to do, attempts should be made at the earliest possible moment to reintroduce joint electorates in every field of our political life. Conventions built up now should be given statutory recognition with the least possible delay.

There are many points of detail in regard to the working of the Executive Council which will be required to be covered by conventions of the character mentioned above. In his statement on the

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Wavell proposals, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri touches one of such points when he says :

> Both Government and public delude themselves into the belief that the mere increase in the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council is a boon. Till these members can function as a Cabinet under a leader with constitutional initiative, till they can insist that every major decision shall be the decision of the whole Government and not merely the decision of the Viceroy and any particular members acting together mere numerical enlargement is a danger. We know how at present members complain bitterly that their opinions are not called for till vital matters are determined and that they therefore have responsibility for the acts of the Central Government, without any power or opportunity to influence its decision. If the Viceroy or the Home Member can settle the attitude of the Government to Congress, 13 or 30 members is equally an encumbrance. There is an ominous passage in the Viceroy's statement which says that the interim arrangement will work within the present constitutional limits. If the disability of members continues the constitutional advance stands in danger of being made nominal.

Administrative Implications of the Wavell Offer

Another such point may be mentioned by way of illustration. Certain provisions of the Government of India Act 1919, which are mentioned in the transitory provisions in the Government of India Act 1935 still operate at the Centre and certain provisions of the Act of 1935 which depend on the establishment of Federation are not in force. In the result, certain anomalies have arisen making the position of the Governor-General more autocratic than it was even when the Act of 1919 operated in full. A section in the present Act, which deals with the question of future recruitment to the I.C.S., I.M.S., I.P., etc., expects the Governor-General, acting in his discretion, to report to the Secretary of State. The duty of the Governor-General will be to keep the Secretary of State informed as to the operation of recruitment, and he may even make recommendations for the modification thereof. This point arose specially during a debate at the last session of the Central Legislative Assembly. The Government took the view that as this was a matter left to the Governor-General, acting in his individual discretion, the Governor-General in Council had nothing to do with it. This position is constitutionally correct, but the draft Instrument of Instructions to be issued to the Governor-General when Federation comes into being, which is already adopted by Parliament, contains a direction to the Governor-General to consult his Ministers, even though the matter concerned is to be decided by him, acting in his discretion. It states, "Although it is provided in the said Act (Act of 1935) that the Governor-General shall exercise his functions in part in his discretion and in part with the aid and advice of Ministers, nevertheless it will be our will and pleasure that our Governor-General shall encourage the practice of joint consultation between himself, his counsellors and his Ministers." This instruction extends even in the Governor-General's administration of the department of defence.

The attitude taken up by the Government at Delhi was that as the Instrument has not yet been issued, the instruction referred to has no application. In the result, the position is that the Governor-General is to-day in a position to do whatever he likes in a matter of this kind without consulting his Ministers although under the provisions of the Act of 1919 such powers were enjoyed by the Governor-General in Council and not by the Governor-General acting in his discretion. In such matters of utmost importance, even a resort to veto power is unnecessary because the Governor-General is not required to consult the members of his Council at all. In other words, a power which the Governor-General shared with the members of his Executive Council under the 1919 Act, has been left to him alone to be exercised in his own discretion and the direction to consult his Ministers as contained in the draft Instrument of Instructions does not operate in this case according to the interpretation of the Government.

The Act of 1919 did not contemplate the Governor-General to act in his discretion in administrative matters, this distinction having been introduced for the first time in the Act of 1935. This matter has been discussed on more than one occasion during the last winter session of the Assembly. The present transitional constitution at the Centre is a hotch-potch of some provisions of the 1919 Act and others of 1935 Act, the net result being to make the position of the Governor-General more autocratic than it was prior to the enforcement of the 1935 Act and than what it would be if the whole of the 1935 Act relating to Federation comes into force. While much attention has been given to the veto power of the Governor-General, no special mention has yet been made of the powers which the Governor-General is now enabled to exercise by himself without even consulting his Executive Council. Demand should be made now that in future all such powers must, as a matter of convention, be exercised by the Governor-General jointly with his Executive Council and not by himself alone.

Mr. Jinnah Intransigent

As was expected, Mr. Jinnah is playing his usual game to collect the largest number of loaves and fishes. His usual demand for Pakistan and self-determination is heard no more. He is now bent upon dividing the spoils and to get as much as is possible for his Muslim League. So long his demand was for parity between Hindus and Muslims. Once this parity has been conceded, he has started pointing out that the Muslims will be one-third of the total number of members in the Executive Council and we shall not be surprised if he comes up with a demand for 51 per cent of the seats in the Council for his League.

The worthlessness of Mr. Jinnah's main demand that he and his League represent the entire Muslim community, has been fully exposed. He could not hold his hold on the Frontier Province which consists of 95 per cent of Musalmans. He has been ousted from the Punjab, Sind has virtually broken away. Assam League now depends for its existence more on the Congress than on its own central organisation. In Bengal, the League came into power through fraud. Its records were so black that it could not be maintained in office except through the active support of the Europeans and the Civil Service. Then who is behind Jinnah? Whom does the League represent when it puts forth the tall claim of being the sole mouthpiece of "ninety millions of Muslims" of India?

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It is encouraging to find that influential sections of the Muslim community with very large followings have, of their own accord, come forward to tell the truth that Mr. Jinnah can never be accepted as the undisputed leader of the Muslim community. In a conference of the Jamiat-ul-Ulemah, the Muslim Majlish, the Momins and the Independent party of Bihar held in New Delhi, a resolution was passed declaring that "the League was not the sole representative of the Muslims and that there were other organisations working for India's freedom and making sacrifices for it."

Has Muslim League Grown in Strength?

Released after two and a half years of detention, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru has been made to say that there were many Muslims who did not follow the League although he estimated that the League had grown in strength in the years. To an well-informed observer, the League will appear just in the contrary light. The League had gradually come very nearly on the verge of extinction when a new lease of life was given to it by Mr. Rajagopalachari and subsequently by Gandhiji's visit to Mr. Jinnah. We cite the following facts from which the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions about the strength of the League. Unguarded statements about the League's strength by leaders of the Congress has always helped this communal party in consolidating its strength and it will be for the good of the country if they ascertain facts before making any statement on the position of the League.

The results of the general elections in 1937 revealed the following strength of the League in the Provincial Legislatures:

Province	League	Other Muslim groups
Madras	11	17
Bombay	20	9
Bengal	40	79
United Provinces	27	37
Punjab	1	83
Bihar	Nil	39
C. P.	"	14
Assam	9	25
N.W.F.P.	Nil	36
Orissa	"	4
Sind	"	36
	108	379

With the formation of Congress Ministries in the provinces, the Muslim malcontents naturally rallied under the League. The results of Muslim bye-elections for Central and Provincial Legislatures between 1939 and 1942 indicated some accession of strength and were as follows:

Legislatures	Number of Elections	Muslim League	Other Muslim groups
Central	6	4	2
Madras	1	1	—
Bombay	4	3	1
Bengal	13	12	1
U. P.	7	4	3
Punjab	12	—	12 (Unionist)
Bihar	4	4	—
C. P.	2	2	—
Assam	1	1	1
N. W. F. P.	2	3	1 (Congress)
Orissa	4	34	22
Sind	56		

In popular propaganda, both by the League and the Imperialists, the 12 Punjab seats were included in the League lists and thus it was shown as if the League had won 46 seats out of 56. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan never signed the Muslim League creed nor did any other member of his party do so. Since his death, under Malik Khizir Hyat Khan, and after the Shaukat Hyat Khan episode the Punjab has lost even the loose friendship that prevailed during the life-time of Sir Sikandar.

Much change, since then, has taken place in the history of the League. It is ridden with quarrels and differences, specially in U. P., Sind and Bengal. Mr. Jinnah was openly flouted by League leaders like Sir Sultan Ahmed who refused to come out of the Viceroy's Council when ordered by him to do so. He was expelled. Sir Azizul Huque accepted office at the Viceroy's Council in defiance of the League resolution. He was however not punished. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Sir Md. Usman, etc., are all given out as League stalwarts. This is for the Centre.

In the provinces the condition is worse. In Bengal, League succeeded in smuggling itself into power through the tactics of Sir John Herbert and in coalition with the Europeans. It has since been ousted from office. In Assam, a League coalition formed the Ministry when the Congress coalition resigned but it could not maintain itself in power for long. It has since formed a new coalition and is holding office through sufferance of the Congress. In the N. W. F. P. a League Ministry came into power only to be ousted shortly afterwards by the Congress. In Sind, similarly, the League-Coalition Ministry is tottering and one of the League Leaders is trying to share power with the Congress and make a complete reorientation of the League there along lines so long followed by the Congress.

Danger of Self-determination

Mr. P. R. Venkatrama Sastry in an article on Pakistan in the current *Indian Review* quotes the opinion of Lippman, the eminent American writer, on Wilson's formula of self-determination. Wilson made the mistake of identifying himself with the principle of self-determination. Forgetting Abraham Lincoln, forgetting the greatest constitutional issue in the history of the United States, he never paused to consider the difference between self-determination and the principle of secession. To make the principle of self-determination the supreme principle of international life is to invite sheer anarchy. For the principle has been and can be used to promote the dismemberment of every organized state. None knew this better than Adolph Hitler himself. The principle of self-determination was his chief instrument for enlarging the Reich. . . . At its worst, it rejects the ideal of a state within which diverse peoples can find justice and liberty under equal laws and become a commonwealth. Self-determination, which has nothing to do with self-government but has become confused with it, is barbarous and reactionary. By sanctioning secession, it invites majorities and minorities to be intransigent and irreconcilable.

The danger of the principle of self-determination has been revealed in India to the fullest extent. Demands for Pakistan, Sikhistan, Achhutstan, etc., are all products of this dangerous doctrine. Imperialist powers have ardently encouraged this doctrine whenever it suited their action and been needed to strengthen the policy of divide and rule.

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Export of Food and Cloth and the Consequences

Mr. Manu Subedar, in an article published in the *Tribune*, gives a compact account of how our food and cloth have gone to other countries while people in this country suffer death and indescribable hardship for want of them, and how goods worth several thousand crores of rupees were bought by the bureaucracy for Imperial interests at prices at which the civil population here never got them. He writes :

> Several thousand crores of rupees worth of goods of all kinds, both the produce of fields and of factories, have been taken at controlled or negotiated price (price at which the civil population never got it) not only for the army, but for the civil populations of England, Allies, Eastern Group countries and the liberated Europe. Indian food, Indian cloth, Indian raw materials and Indian finished products have been taken not merely for the army, but for other people, when the civil population of India has had to suffer scarcity, high prices and black markets.
>
> The price of these has been paid in printed notes, against which there is no security except sterling, (whose international value is on the decline) and this sterling is now mentioned by Sir John Anderson as not being a commercial debt and, therefore, not payable immediately. They are trying to evade the payment either wholly or partially. This may not be called a loan since it was compulsorily taken from India, and *the price paid by India runs into millions of lives*. If it is an ordinary cash accumulation, it should be returned on demand. If it is a loan, India should get interest. But, neither of these two things is done, and an attempt has even been made to show that India has overcharged England, which is like the story of the lamb and the wolf when the wolf accuses the lamb of having attempted to attack him ! The idea, that India was an Ally in this war (which India had not declared and in respect of which Indian leaders were not consulted), is also brought out in order to support evasion.

How Controls Encourage Black Markets

Dealing with controls and blackmarkets, Mr. Subedar writes :

> Government controls have not been effective and have actually led to higher prices and black markets. The poor suffer in every case and they have to pay higher prices for their food, while the producers of food, *viz.*, the agricultural community, are not paid adequately for their grain. The price paid for their food, *which is compulsorily acquired*, is not adequate and the amounts left with them are not sufficient for their own consumption throughout the whole year, because *Governments have profiteered on these transactions*. There has been waste and deterioration and the common man is either denied all that be needs, or is made to pay a heavy price regardless of the deteriorated supply.

When prices are brought down by the importation of foreign goods, including wheat, as a result of the effects of the Hydari Mission and the gates of India are opened to receive the flood of imported goods, all producers of agricultural as well as factory goods will be thrown into serious difficulties.

Fear of Further Exploitation

Mr. Subedar, in the same article, draws attention to the treatment India has received in trade with the U. S. A. This market has been closed her and the whole of the Indian trade has been to be diverted to England. Mr. Subedar writes :

> The dollars acquired by sale of goods by Indi to U. S. A. throughout the period of the war been taken over by the Government of the U Kingdom in the so-called Empire Dollar Pool. dollars and dollar securities of Indians have compulsorily taken at the beginning of the Much essential requirements of India in the of medicines, chemicals, photographical goods, machinery, lubricating, oil etc., from the U. S must be purchased and every discouragement is given to such purchases by the Government of In The dismissal of Mr. J. C. Mahindra, who helping Indian business as head of the Purch Mission, speaks volumes in this direction. The and private ambitions of men handpicked by Viceroy, both for financial and for commer matters, and the much too frequent visits of Ex cutive Councillors to England, and the desire to things behind the back of the legislature, are significant facts showing that the London-Contr Government would permit and encourage prov calculated for further exploitation of India in Brit interests.

Military Burden on India

Mr. Subedar has brought out the salient features of the financial 'settlement' between England and India for the imposition of the military burden on this country in the following words :

> Five hundred and forty-one crores of rupees military burden was imposed on India during the year (in addition to other items still pending), which the bulk is not only non-voted, but not closed as to what it is spent upon, and the bulk which creates an apprehension that England's Pol cal power is being used for wrongfully throw burdens on India, which should not be thrown. claim that all this is being done in accordance the 'settlement' makes the injury all the because such settlement is made by an Eng official in England and an English official here, the settlements were made by Grigg, an Eng Official from England with the British Governm and by Raisman, his secretary and successor, Grigg. The principles of the 'settlement' were quently widened, stretched out and twisted situations arose, even supply obligations and Reciprocal Aid obligations towards U. S. A. thrown on India. That India should bear Reciprocal Aid obligations with regard to U. S. when the benefits of the Lend-Lease and arrangements have been largely taken by United Kingdom, is a problem to ascertain causes apprehension because all Lease-Lend tions have been shrouded in the greatest They have been kept unnecessarily a great secret are not disclosed to any non-officials.

Mr. Subedar rightly says that India's being in foreign hands, maximum and reckless been made of her resources for purposes those which directly concern India. The most ful of all the departments under the Central Government have been the departments of Supply Information which are still expanding.

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Government's Gold Mine—the Printing Press

The expansionist and inflationist policy of the Government of India, initiated by Sir Jeremy Raisman, is bound to spell disaster for this country unless checked very soon. Expenditure is being made recklessly and the Government of India have found some gold mine. Mr. Subedar writes :

The only gold mine, which the Government of India is said to have found, is the printing press. Week after week, two, four and nine crores of rupees are being added to the notes in circulation, and these are being spent. The course of inflation in Austria, Germany, Russia, France and other countries after the war has disclosed that the people who suffer are the poorest, and there is no reason to believe that the rupee has got any special exemption and sanctity from Providence from the laws, which have affected other currencies and brought disasters. According to Sir William Hunter, there were in India forty million people, who did not get a full meal daily. This was seventy years ago. Since then, other estimates have been given of eighty million people being on the margin, and recently the Secretary of the Agricultural Department said that three quarters of the Indian population was under-nourished. Those, who could not have a full meal when the price of rice was Rs. 2-8 per maund, could not feed themselves when the price ranges from Rs. 14 to 21 per maund. India has lost more men in this war than all the belligerents on both sides put together, and the first instalment of the price in death and disease, which the poor pay from an inflationist policy, has already been experienced by India. It is there written large for those who will see and whose minds are not clouded by immediate self-interest, or by tall talk from official quarters with regard to all the great things, which India is going to do in future.

No solution of these crying problems is possible so long as India's destiny remains in the hands of an irresponsible foreign government.

Import of Foreign Goods

With the gradual withdrawal of restrictions on foreign trade in the U. K. and other countries, the import of consumers' goods into India is increasing. No steps have so far been taken to safeguard Indian industries against the import of foreign goods which may soon threaten to assume the form of an avalanche. The most peculiar feature of the existing controls in this country is the imposition of restrictions only on goods made in India and not on the imported ones. This, at the very outset, puts the Indian industries in a very unfavourable position. The Import Advisory Council set up by the Government of India did not consider it necessary to give an assurance that import of goods, which are manufactured in this country will be regulated so as not to destroy the Indian products. The discrimination between Indian and foreign goods in matters of control extends to big industries like cotton textiles, paper, etc. Indian cloth and Indian paper are subject to control while imported cloth and paper are not. This naturally encourages the sale of foreign products while Indian products remain stocked in shops and godowns as their sale is subject to quota allotments. It is a peculiar feature of the control system that accounts of total available stocks consisting of imported and indigenous products are never taken, the control is imposed in almost all cases on Indian products alone. The distribution of Indian cloth has been so carefully managed, with an apparent look of bungling, that dhuties, saries, longcloth and other piecegoods popularly demanded are not available at the market. Consumers will naturally buy imported cloth which is not subject to control as soon as it is available.

Discrimination between Indian and foreign products have also been made while fixing control prices for them. The controlled price for Indian made bicycles and bulbs are higher than the price of imported articles. During the war, these industries might have gone well, but when imported goods flood the country it will be very difficult for them to stand competition.

It is a matter of utmost regret that our industries have not yet realised the great danger that faces them. No sign of any combination among them is visible. It is now open knowledge that Indian industries do not help each other by preferring Swadeshi products needed for their manufacture to foreign articles. We know instances where industrialists refused to help a brother manufacturer by taking in his product which was in no way inferior even to the British. We know of concerns that buy British while cashing in on the sentiment of Swadeshi. This disastrous policy of pursuing immediate and narrow personal gain to the sacrifice of larger interests of the Company as well as the country is particularly noticeable among Bengali businessmen. Bengal is the home of Swadeshi. It is high time that people of this province who have come over to the industrial and commercial field came to their senses and stood for the collective good.

Burma Rice Trade

Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, in a letter to the Government of India, have drawn attention to the attempt of handing over the rice trade of Burma to the British firms. The Indian traders had built up the rice trade there under all sorts of adverse circumstances and now with the reconquest of Burma, this imperial trade is to pass out of their hands. The Committee say that Indian interests have been perturbed by receipt of information regarding certain proposals sponsored by the present Government of Burma as represented by the Governor and his advisers. It would appear that it now proposed to form Agricultural Projects Board and this body alone will be entrusted with the work and will alone have the right of purchasing all the surplus rice available in Burma and the supply will then be sold by the Board to the British Ministry of Food and the arrangement for its export will also be made by the Ministry of Food in conjunction with the British Ministry of War Transport.

The Committee are further given to understand that financing of those operations will be undertaken by the Exchange and other banks who were interested in the rice trade in Burma before the war. The banks in question will finance the Agricultural Projects Board and the Board will be able to draw upon the Ministry of Food from time to time. Under this scheme the Food Department of the Government of India will be expected to negotiate with the Ministry of Food for the requirements of Burma rice for India. According to information now available this arrangement is expected to be in force not only during the period of military regime but will remain in operation at least for two years after the Civil Government in Burma

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begins to function. These reports have filled the Committee with serious concern. They feel that it is nothing short of attempting to deprive Indian merchants and traders of their legitimate rights and place in the rice trade of Burma which they have built up and developed after years of efforts and toil.

India Through Soviet Eyes

The Soviet fortnightly *The War and the Working Class* has published a striking article on colonial question in which present-day economic problems of India have been discussed. The author is Dr. E. Zhukov. He writes about India :

> One can discern differences in the respective presentation of the colonial question by British, Dutch and American circles, although all base themselves on the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The Americans have in mind primarily such changes in the status of the colonies as would enable them to become spheres for unhindered investment of American capital and free market for American goods.
>
> The *American Bulletin on Foreign Policy Reports* formulates this attitude of the Transatlantic republic towards the colonial problem as follows : 'This country undoubtedly has a genuine interest in the removal of monopolist trade and investment practices in foreign areas including colonial Asia.'
>
> This, undoubtedly, provides a clue to the heightened interest in the fate of colonial countries and in the post-war prospects of India, in particular, that is displayed by American political and business circles. On the other hand, certain circles in India hope to obtain some advantage for themselves out of the tendency of American capital to break the British economic monopoly in the colonies. The desire of the United States to take part in solving the Indian problem has grown exceptionally during the past few years. This is due, in particular, to the wish of the Americans for making the fullest possible use of India's resources in their war against Japan. Critical utterances of a number of prominent Americans to the effect that British policy is hindering the utilisation of India's rich potentialities in the common war effort of the Allies are well-known. At the same time, American manufacturers and merchants are drawing up plans for increasing trade between the United States and India in the post-war period. This is not being looked upon with favour by Great Britain. The Calcutta newspaper *Amrita Bazar Patrika* recently reported that Mahindra, head of the Indian Trade Mission in the United States, was recalled because, as was reported from Washington, the Viceroy of India disagreed with his plans for expansion of Indian-American trade after the war.
>
> In England frequent mention is made of the fact that during the war, that is commencing with 1939, India has not only been able to wipe out a considerable part of her debt to the metropolitan country but, as a result of London's war expenditure, has actually become Britain's creditor to the amount approximately of five hundred million pound sterling. This, however, does not alter the fact that India is still a colonial country completely under the political and economic control of Great Britain. As the above-quoted *Foreign Policy Reports* stated, 'there is every reason, therefore, to think that today, as before war, India is the most valuable of the world's colonies.'
>
> American public opinion often expresses dissatisfaction with the fact that the United States, while waging war against Japan in the Pacific, is regarded by the colonial powers as a force whose mission is to restore colonial territories temporarily occupied by the Japanese to their former owners.
>
> The reconquest of Burma and its restoration to the British with an automatic constitution may be described as minus independence plus exploitation. There is little doubt now as to whether the Dutch, French or Portuguese possessions in the Pacific will also be restored to their respective "owners" when they are "liberated" with U. S. blood and gold. The British have paved the way and there will certainly be claims from them. The French, under 'liberator' De Gaulle have shown singular alertness for the recovery of their lost Empire.

Future of Colonial People

Zhukov in his remarkable article admits that "of all the post-war problems the colonial question is attracting particular attention for two reasons. First, because the colonial status of a number of big and small countries and peoples has always been fraught with international complications and conflicts. For this reason, the solution, or even partial regulation, of the complex colonial problem is regarded by many foreign observers as one of the most important conditions for ensuring lasting peace. Secondly, because important economic and political changes have taken place in many colonial countries during the present World War. On these grounds many people believe that the status of colonies will undergo considerable modification after the war."

Finally Zhukov concludes :

> The spirit of the haughty racial coloniser's approach towards peoples of the backward and dependent countries still persists to a large extent. This spirit permeates a number of utterances on the colonial question. Often attempts are made to prepare world public opinion for 'revision' of the colonial status of a number of countries as would change only the external forms but not the substance of political and economic relations. This testifies to the influence wielded by the mighty forces that are interested in preserving their position in the colonial countries and in perpetuating the existing colonial system.
>
> There cannot be any doubt that these forces will offer strenuous resistance to any positive steps that may be taken towards abolishing, or even alleviating, colonial oppression. At the same time, it is evident that the system of colonial enslavement of hundreds of millions of people is an extremely dangerous obstacle in the path of social progress and the bulwark of reactionary tendencies all over the world. The removal of this barrier is an essential condition for the inclusion of vast countries and peoples inhabiting them in the general channel of humanity's economic, physical and cultural development.

In his criticism of the British colonial policy, Zhukov instances "as a striking illustration of the tenacity of the extremely reactionary views on the colonial problem," a suggestion that "care should be taken not to provide modern education for inhabitants of South Africa," for without a "definitely religious foundation" such education would do "more harm than good." India knows in her heart of hearts what denial of education means to the political, economic and social life of the country.

Several colonial peoples' organisations had held a conference in London early in June and a draft memorandum outlining the problem of colonial liber-

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tion was circulated. It was proposed to establish a Colonial Council, consisting of representatives not of imperialist powers but of colonial countries themselves, which would be entrusted with the following tasks: (1) To formulate the policy for unconditional ending of all colonial systems within a definite and stipulated period, (2) to supervise the establishment of representative and responsible constitutions based upon adult suffrage in the colonies with full safeguards for the minorities, (3) to ensure that none of the territories in Japanese control such as Burma, Malaya and others are permitted to revert to dependent status after their liberation, and (4) to bring about the immediate abrogation of all racial and discriminatory laws which deprive subject peoples generally of full democratic rights of citizenship.

The colonial question figured prominently in the San Francisco Conference as well. But unfortunately it has been tactfully buried there. Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit has correctly described the final outcome of the Conference with special reference to the colonial problem in the following words:

> There is no doubt that a genuine effort has been made to embody those principles of international justice without which there can be no enduring peace, and yet looking at it not in its immediate setting but in the perspective of the things to come I cannot help feeling curiously dissatisfied that certain principles of vital importance to humanity have been passed over lightly and emphasis has been given to the immediate presence rather than to the protection of that future which the Charter claims to ensure.
>
> For instance, I wish that it had not been necessary to compromise with such issues as the ultimate right of *all* peoples' independence.

The Soviet Army paper *Red Star* takes the same view as Mrs. Vijaylakshmi and writes: "The organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security now being created by freedom-loving nations cannot consider its task completed as long as all peoples including peoples of colonial countries are not insured opportunity to speedily realise their cherished aspirations."

India—Key to America's Industrial Future

The following is an article condensed from the U. S. magazine *Amerasia* which discusses Indian industrial power as a key to America's industrial future:

By virtue of her extensive natural resources and vast population, India ranks first among the industrially backward areas that might be developed as a new economic frontier for the American economy.

The wartime expansion of trade between India and the United States, the presence in India of American military forces, engineers, and government officials and the fact that India has amassed huge sterling assets in London, has also served to start Americans speculating on the possibilities of the Indian market in the post-war period.

In an appraisal of India's importance as a potential market for American industry, both economic and political factors must be considered. Disregarding for the moment the political aspects of the question, there is no doubt that India has the economic qualifications for extensive industrial development. And it is equally clear that a large-scale programme of industrial expansion and the modernisation of India's backward agricultural system would create a huge market for all types of capital and consumer goods—many of which the United States is peculiarly well-fitted to supply.

In the first place, India's natural resources are exceeded in size and variety only by those of the United States and the Soviet Union. Her mineral resources include one of the largest high-grade iron ore fields in the world, with an estimate to total nearly 30,000,000,000 averaging 64 per cent iron content. She is the world's largest producer of mica and ilmenite, possesses the second largest reserves of manganese, 49 per cent of the world's bauxite, and rich deposits of chrome magnesite, sulphur, graphite, gold, etc. Estimates of Indian coal reserves range from 36,000,000,000 to 60,000,000,000 tons although the proportion of highgrade coal is said to be comparatively small. This deficiency is more than offset, however, by her immense potential of hydro-electric power resources, which are estimated at a reserve of 3,000,000,000 horsepower, ranking second only to those of the United States.

Like the United States, India is also capable of providing a strong agricultural base for her industrial structure. Even under her present backward and oppressive agrarian system, India ranks among the world's leading agricultural nations. Jute is a virtual Indian monopoly, and before the war India ranked first in the production of tobacco, sugar, and oil seeds. She is the second largest producer of cotton, rice, and tea, and among the leading producers of wheat, barley, hemp, rubber, lac, and silk. She is also the largest producer and exporter of hides and skins tanned and untanned.

Thus India is potentially capable of supporting both light and heavy industries on the basis of her own natural resources, as well as maintaining an ample volume of agricultural production to feed her people and to supply raw material for industry and export. Furthermore, India possesses a vast supply of labour power, with a heritage of skilled craftsmanship dating back to the days when India was one of the leading manufacturing countries of the world. It is sometimes forgotten that it was the lure of India's wealth in manufactured goods—not raw materials—that first attracted European traders to her shores. For centuries before the British conquest of the country Indian silks, cotton textiles, metal manufactures and woodwork were known and prized throughout the world.

Because of the backwardness of Indian industry in the modern period, comparatively few Indians have had the opportunity to learn the mechanical and technical skills needed to operate modern machinery.

But American engineers and supervisors who have co-operated in the development of some of India's few modern industries, such as the Tata Iron and Steel plant attest to the fact that Indians respond quickly to technical training, and not only the workers, but the engineers, chemists, and technicians are the equal of any in the world.

India looms large on a new economic frontier for the American economy. The war and India's accumulated sterling balances have opened new vistas for the American enterprise which will benefit both the countries. India is qualified to become a first class industrial power which will create a huge market for all types of consumer goods and the United States is peculiarly well-fitted to supply many of them. The future Indian national government will certainly bear this important fact in mind when they are in a position to take steps for stopping the one way traffic with Britain that is going on at the present moment for dissipating her sterling balances.

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India's Squander-Bug !

The British Weekly *News Review* gives a graphic account of how Indian civilian money is drawn for investment in War Savings. The following extract will illustrate that lakhs and lakhs of rupees spent on official propaganda abroad has completely failed to delude intelligent opinion overseas who find out their own means to know the truth. The *Review* writes :

On the walls of every city and town has lately appeared a rash of red, black and yellow oblongs and squares of paper bearing such legends as: "Make Your Money Earn Its Keep," "Buried Money is Dead Money," "Buy Defence Savings Certificates for Profit and Protection."

Usually these exhortations have been ripped down within a few hours of their appearance, many of them splashed with red where some passerby has expressed his feelings by neatly ejecting betel-nut juice.

These squander-bug symptoms have led the Governors of Provinces, on whose shoulders rests the responsibility for keeping war savings up to the mark, to think up other forms of persuasion. Last February Indians in the rural districts of Behar and the United Provinces heard "Oyez" men patrolling their villages, proclaiming by roll of drum that everybody who paid a tax of Re. 1 (1s. 6d.) must immediately buy Rs. 20 worth of War Savings Certificates. Householders who refused to fork out the necessary "contributions" were visited by petty officials, some of whom reportedly used their sandals to drub their victims into savings-mindedness.

Facing a furore of Nationalist protest in the Delhi Legislature, Finance Member Sir Jeremy Raisman retorted : "My opinion has always been that it is necessary to go out and use a high degree of persuasion. The danger is that the line might be overstepped."

Resentful Nationalists defeated the Government by 47 votes to 40 on a motion condemning "illegal and unfair use of force." But as the Indian Government is not responsible to the Legislature, nothing further happened.

Death for Devotion to Duty

Our suspicions about the death of an invigilator of the Calcutta University, expressed under the above caption in the May Number of *The Modern Review*, have been confirmed by the Coroner's verdict. The unanimous verdict of the jury at the inquest held by Mr. M. A. Haque, Coroner, on the death of Mr. Makhanlal Chanda, who died under mysterious circumstances, has been : "Death by injury inflicted by some unknown person or persons but the circumstantial evidence shows that the examinee Shahjahan is implicated in this matter." We consider this case as a very important one because here is an instance how a man lost his life for doing his duty, how the University which employed him failed to give protection to the unfortunate fellow even when asked for, how the police utterly neglected to get hold of the culprit or culprits responsible for the loss of this life and how the negligence of the police and the premier Medical College of the country contributed to the loss of the most important evidence in the case. By the time the police report was submitted, the body became highly decomposed and the doctors could not give their opinion as to the cause of the death. The police, the Medical College and the University have all come out in this case against a very disgraceful background. For the benefit of our readers outside Bengal, we give below the facts of the case in the words of the Coroner himself :

The facts of the case was that the deceased was an invigilator of the Calcutta University and also a private tutor. On April 4, he acted as an invigilator of the B.A. Examination held on the top floor of the Darbhanga Building where an incident took place between him and an examinee named Mr. Shahjahan. The evidence was that the examinee was found in possession of a book by the deceased and the latter reported the matter to the University authorities. There was also evidence that while going to the Controller the examinee threatened the deceased and gave him a hard push. He threatened to kill him.

On the night of April 7, the deceased attended the house of Mr. Bhaduri, a witness, to coach his son. He was there till about 11 p.m. He was in good health then. At about 2-30 a.m. that night he was brought to the Medical College Hospital in a rickshaw by two men and left there. He was found to be dead by the doctor. His attendants absconded and could not be traced by the doctors and coolies of the hospital. Some papers including his appointment letters as an invigilator were found in his shirt's pocket by the doctors.

Proceeding, the Coroner stated that Dr. Mann, who was on duty in the hospital that night, admitted that he suspected foul play in the death when he found that the man was brought in dead and that the attendants absconded. But still no report about the case was sent to the police that night from the hospital. There was a telephone in the emergency room but no information was given to the police over the phone. The next morning the medical report about the death of the invigilator was sent to the police. The next day was a Sunday and the post-mortem examination was held on the following Monday in the afternoon. In the mean time the body was highly decomposed. It was decomposed so much so that the doctor, who held the post-mortem examination, could not give any opinion as to the cause of the death.

The Coroner severely criticised the dilatory action of the investigating officer Misra and that of the doctors of the Medical College Hospital, who pointed out that had Mr. Misra told the doctors at the Police Morgue that it was a suspected case, the doctor might have held the post-mortem examination on the Sunday and in that case the body would not have been highly decomposed. The Coroner was not satisfied with the explanation of the Officer-in-Charge of the Bowbazar Thana that as it was not a murder case, and so he had no suspicion he had deputed a junior officer to investigate the case. The fact was that the man was brought to hospital dead and that his attendants absconded, and if this did not rouse the officer's suspicion the Coroner did not know what would raise his suspicion.

It is clear that the Controller of Examinations, the officer-on-duty at the Medical College, the officer-in-charge of the Police Station and the Investigating Police Sub-Inspector are all guilty of gross dereliction of duty. The Controller of Examinations did not state material facts while making a statement to the police. He did not disclose Shahjahan's name nor did he say that the examinee had threatened the invigilator with death. The Registrar of the University also did not ask the Controller to supply these material facts. We believe that in this case from beginning to end, the Controller betrayed a timidity which may

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called cowardice. It was his clear duty to lodge the first information report to the police and to make a clean breast of all the facts known to him. He has proved thoroughly unfit for holding the responsible post of the Controller of Examinations, who has to control thousands of examinees and hundreds of invigilators every year. It is the duty of the Syndicate to move him on duties other than administrative.

One thing comes out very prominently in this connection. The Controller's action in allowing Shahjahan to continue the examination was an act of unprecedented cowardice specially when students are expelled for much lesser offence. This action of the Controller certainly led the examinee to think that the University was at his back and if he could prevent Chanda from reporting against him his examination would stand. Chanda was thus helplessly isolated from the University administration and it is natural that he would become a personal target of the examinee's wrath. This foolish and cowardly act of the Controller amounted to have brought down the University administration to a stand-still.

The officer-on-duty at the Medical College admitted that when he received the dead body he suspected foul play but he took no care to preserve the dead body. The plea of the refrigerator having been out of order is absolutely untenable. There are chemical means of preserving a dead body for a few days as is practised in mofussil medical schools. The fact that the refrigerator was out of order for three months shows that the persons in charge of the morgue were also equally negligent.

The police must come in for the severest condemnation. The role played by the Court Inspector was so disgusting that the Coroner himself had remarked: "Mr. Muktadin, you are really playing the role of counsel for Shahjahan. It is for his counsel to put the questions you are asking, not for you. I do not know if you are sailing in the same boat with the counsel for Shahjahan." The Inspector was unabashed and openly stated in Court that the "police had found on enquiry that there was no question of suspicion against Shahjahan." The action of this Inspector, as well as the Officer-in-Charge of the Bowbazar Thana and the Investigating Sub-Inspector have aroused a suspicion that causes other than normal must have prevailed over them to deduce the most unnatural conclusion that there was nothing suspicious about this death. Drastic enquiry should be made to find out what led them to take this most unnatural and astounding view and to act in such a manner as to cause the disappearance of the most important evidence.

We shall wait to see what action the Police Commissioner takes after the Coroner's verdict.

Another Instance of Petty-Fogging Highhandedness

Mr. N. M. Khan, I.C.S., ex-District Magistrate of Midnapore and at present Director of Agriculture, Bengal, has earned a notoriety for arrogance and highhandedness to which incompetence may be added. It is strange that this man has not only been retained in service but actually he has been promoted after each time when there had been a law-suit against him. In 1937 or 1938, he came into limelight as S.D.O. of the Brahmanbaria Subdivision in the Tipperah district. A case of malicious prosecution and wrongful arrest had been filed against him at the Subordinate Judge's Court and damages were awarded. The charges generally were highhanded action, tyranny and torture. He appealed against his conviction but dared not contest the case and prayed for protection under the Judicial Officers' Protection Act. The Government has always been singularly kind to this arrogant official whose actions have been condemned by the High Court on more than one occasion and the proceedings against him at Brahmanbaria were dropped. Then we find him promoted to the rank of District Magistrate at Jessore. There his Magisterial dignity was wounded at the sight of a gentleman lying asleep on an easy chair in the waiting room at the Jessore railway station which he himself wanted to occupy. He had the man arrested and convicted on very scanty evidence and had him convicted at the lower court. This harassed man later was discharged by the High Court. Then we find him in charge of the bigger district of Midnapore where the atrocities perpetrated by him were described as "blood-curdling" by the then Premier Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq who wanted to institute an inquiry of his actions but Sir John Herbert took this person under his protecting wings and prevented the inquiry. Vivid accounts of the atrocities in Midnapore in 1942 when this person was in charge of the district have darkened several pages of the official proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

While Mr. Khan was the District Magistrate of Midnapore, his conduct in connection with the requisition of a car was discussed by Edgley and Sen JJ. Mr. Justice Edgley said that his action was not bonafide and Mr. Justice Sen described his action as "petty-fogging highhandedness arising out of the Magistrate's exaggerated notions of dignity."

The harassed man of Jessore had filed an application before the Calcutta High Court for damages which has recently been disposed of by Mr. Justice Gentle. We can do no better than quote the relevant portion of Mr. Justice Gentle's judgment below:

> In a lengthy judgment his lordship animadverted upon the evidence of the defendant which his lordship disbelieved. His lordship observed *inter alia* that upon the evidence he had to make up his mind on the facts. The defendant in his lordship's opinion was a bad witness. His demeanour was most unsatisfactory. On more than one occasion, when asked a simple question, he made long statements mostly upon irrelevant matters and did not give a reply to the question put to him. His lordship rejected the defendant's evidence of the plaintiff's indecent posture as a fiction and invention. It was an embellishment in his evidence. If his lordship had any regard for reliability of the defendant's evidence, this part of his testimony would have destroyed it. Unhesitatingly his lordship rejected everything that he had stated save where it was in accord with the evidence given by the plaintiff, for example, his arrival in the waiting room and finding the plaintiff asleep, in the only easy chair. The plaintiff, his lordship remarked, was a good witness and his evidence was given in a perfectly satisfactory manner. His lordship accepted what he stated and found as an established fact what he had stated in the witness box.

So much for his arrogance. As regards his incompetence we may say that after 1942, when it became difficult even for Sir John Herbert to keep this man posted as a Magistrate, he was sent out to his home province, the Punjab, as the wheat purchasing officer

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acting on behalf of the Civil Supplies Department. The people of this province bitterly remember that it is this person who purchased the poorest quality of wheat and rotten atta for our consumption and that at an unreasonably high price. The man who failed to administer a district or even a sub-division, who betrayed utter incompetence in the procurement of food has now been placed in charge of the Department of Agriculture, which concerns the food of 60 million human beings.

Aborigines and Backward Classes in Bihar

Mr. A. V. Thakkar writes in the *Leader*: "The Section 93 Government of Bihar has recently been pleased to abolish the Advisory Board for the uplift of the aborigines and backward classes in Chhota Nagpur and the Santhal Parganas of Bihar. This board was started as a result of the work of the late Congress Government of Bihar after its resignation in 1939. Thus, after a few years' working, the Bihar Government has thought it wise to abolish the Advisory Board and thereby to close the special work of uplift of a very large section of backward people of that province.

"It is strange that when the whole world is frantically planning for betterment, the Bihar Government has seen fit to close down an important activity, which it was its special duty to attend to. A glance at the census figures will show how vital and of what great magnitude this uplift work is for Bihar. The total population of Madras, Bombay and Bihar is 493, 208 and 288 lakhs respectively. The population figures of aboriginal 'tribes' in the three provinces, in the same order, are 5·6, 16 and 50·5 lakhs. Thus, the tribal population is 1·1 per cent of the total population in Madras, 7·7 per cent for Bombay and 17·5 per cent for Bihar. Madras with its 1·1 per cent considers it a necessary activity and the department responsible for this work has earned for itself a reputation for efficiency. But here, in Bihar, with its 17·5 per cent of tribal population, the work is considered not worth pursuing, but worth closing down!

"Neither is this uplift work a minor activity, when we look at the question regionally. One should not be misled by the expression 'Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas.' This 'partially excluded' area in Bihar really consists of six whole districts of Ranchi, Singhbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribag, Palamau and Santhal Parganas, which are to a high degree tribal in population. And when we remember that the total number of districts in the province is only 16, the magnitude of the injustice done to the tribal people appears in its true proportions.

"What will the poor Mundas, Oraons, Santhals, Kharias, Hos and other tribals, who were tempted to come out of their darkness and taught to dream of a better future for their children, say now? I can mentally see their rude yet childlike eyes, tear-stained, wondering confounded."

The Christian missionaries have no doubt done much for the uplift of the Bihar tribals, but that is evidently coupled with their proselytisation. The duty of the State does not end because of the work of the Christian or Hindu missionaries. The Madras Government has a special department, called the Labour department, for the last 25 years, which looks after the welfare and uplift of all its backward classes and spends lakhs of rupees annually for their betterment. The Bombay Government has its Backward Classes Department for the last 15 years, which watches the interests of its hill tribes and aboriginals. It started a large number of free hostels for boy students, and awards scholarships and free in its schools and colleges with a liberal hand. Bihar Government, instead of coming forward with appropriate scheme for the betterment of 50 lakhs 17·5 per cent of its population, has abolished the which was doing only a little bit of the work.

Aborigines—the Forgotten People of India

For years the exploitation and degradation of helpless aborigines of India have been going on. Government did not care to do a thing for their Under the Government of India Act of 1935, they constitutionally buried in the excluded and excluded areas. Their plight has been worse than of the untouchables for the harijans have found pions; they have huge funds devoted to their Social conscience is at last being aroused on their by selfless workers like Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Dr. Elwin and others.

Mr. Porus A. Mehta, writing in the *Indian Reformer*, has given an account of what good work be done among the aborigines only if the authority exerts itself in so doing. He writes: "Mr. G. Kher, as Premier of Bombay, exerted himself Mr. D. Symington, I.C.S., made his report in the aborigines which shocked the conscience the Government. Mr. Kher had by that time but he had impressed Sir Roger Lumley with sincerity and zeal for the forgotten men and Sir promised to help. A conference of local workers called and with the support of Mr. A. V. Thakkar small committee was formed to ameliorate their dition. The Adi-Vasi Seva Mandal has been working several centres for the uplift of these men and bring them a sense of self-respect. Mr. Kher was ing the district at this time to open several hostels Adi-Vasi boys and girls. With him were some who had taken the cause of these helpless people heart. As the bus rolled I mused, Is it so small a that an ex-Premier of a big Province should so himself in men without a vote or a voice and any influence and power, should go huddled in a swallowing large quantities of dust and sweating the sun in May, sleeping on hard floors, eating simple fare of villagers, drinking whatever kind water was available in these Cholera-ridden days on the move all the time? It was not like Governor or Collector on his well-planned tours all the comforts that money and power can When there are such men available in our land is hope, however black the present and however the horizon, that justice and humanity will not perish here below."

Mr. Mehta then narrates his visit of the tribal and describes the selfless devotion of the workers have dedicated their lives to the uplift of these men. He sums up his impression saying that there men among the workers to remember and be "Most of the men in this party had been jail-fact I was perhaps the only respectable member party with no jail record. And I was the most the party also. What times to live in when good men are chronic jail-goers and when it is a

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of pride and proof of your bonafides to have served a sentence! For the first time in my life, against all copy-book maxims, I felt small for not having been confined as a detenu."

Black Deeds of White Men

The tyranny of colour prejudice is probably nowhere so rampant as in South Africa. A very timely publication, *Verdict on South Africa* by P. S. Joshi, gives a vivid account of the black deeds of white men in the dark continent. It proves that although Germany is defeated and Hitler probably dead, Nazism is still alive thriving right in the British Empire itself. Despite the natural emphasis on the problem of Indians, the author has asked for full justice to all the Asiatic and African peoples who are victimised at the altar of "Whitemanism." Mr. Joshi writes about the countless inhumanities:

> The history of South African Natives is a saga of countless inhumanities and indescribable injustices perpetrated by Whites, a tragedy pregnant with calamities caused by colour bar, a narrative of nameless horrors practised by the strong over the weak.
>
> The natives are like foreigners in their own land. Their life is held dirt cheap. The colour-mad Europeans consider it to be lower than even that of their dogs. Their spokesmen have been heard to exclaim, in fits of anger, that one white life is more valuable than a thousand black lives. It is always possible for Indian Untouchables to get justice in law courts; but in South Africa, black-white criminal suits are decided on the assumption that a black life is less precious than a white life.
>
> The history of a century will hardly show the instance of a single white man awarded capital punishment for the murder of a native. But it will bring to light scores of cases in which the white murderer escaped scot-free or only with nominal punishment.
>
> The Whites are not prepared to think about their most elementary rights as human beings. They cannot even brook the spectacle of natives driving a car or riding a bicycle. Although equipped with most meagre means of livelihood, the natives are required to pay a number of taxes, excluding a very heavy hut-tax.
>
> South African politicians would like it very much if they could drive away the natives from cities, farms and villages to far off deserts. But this is practically impossible. The Whites are accustomed to behave as bosses in South Africa. They are so brought up as to think that the work of cleaning vessels, sweeping houses and roads, carrying burdens, tilling, cooking and washing is meet only for Kaffirs.
>
> The status of the South African natives is the worst of all. They are insulted every moment of their existence. Many whites refer to them by the opprobrious term *Kaffir*. The prejudice prevailing against them in educational spheres, too, is harrowing.

Slavery in "Civilised" South Africa

About civilised slavery in South Africa Mr. Joshi writes:

> The current South African Government policy is to keep the natives under perpetual bondage and slavery. This slavery is not of the old but of the modern type . . . The slavery thrust by whites upon the natives in South Africa has played havoc. The encroachment of white civilisation has broken the domestic life of the natives, shattered their traditions and destroyed their religious enthusiasm. Their racial pride has been humbled, and they have become the victims of immorality and evil conduct. The moral degradation of the natives has been accompanied by their economic downfall.
>
> Natives working on the white farms have to live on the razor blade of misery. They get nominal wages and heaps of insults. The white farmer could treat them like dogs, whip them and make them slave for him. No attention is paid to their complaints. On the contrary, more and more laws are being framed to suppress these poor people.

These conditions of slavery run rampant in the "Commonwealth of Nations" presided over by Great Britain, the birthplace of Wilberforce.

Anti-Indianism in South Africa

Mr. Joshi's book throws a flood of light on the condition of Indians in South Africa. He writes:

> . . . The whole white populace of South Africa is to blame for the injustice that has sprung from colour prejudice. In Natal, the English are busy doing injustices to non-Europeans; in the Transvaal, the Afrikander antipathy to colour and the Jewish intrigues for trade monopoly are waging war against Indians; in the Cape and the Orange Free State, the Afrikanders are carrying on an open and the English a secret anti-Indian propaganda.
>
> It is three quarters of a century since the Indians came into this country. And yet the British have not reconciled themselves to their presence. They are always engaged in the horrifying task of crushing, tormenting, ruining them. A single proclamation has eliminated the "Indian menace" from the Orange Free State. The Transvaal white is vehement in his demand for the downfall of Indians. The agreements with the Indian Government have not even the ghost of binding effect on the South African whites. These whites put any construction they like on them and treat them as scraps of paper. The South African bureaucracy has chosen to compromise itself with these currents of colour prejudice. No minister in the whole history of South Africa has ever uttered a word against anti-Indianism. On the other hand, instances are not wanting in which ministers have fanned the fire of anti-Indianism instead of extinguishing it, and have encouraged the hydra-headed monster.

The terrible suffering and humiliation of Indians in South Africa have been tolerated by the weak and indifferent Government of India which has very little to do with the welfare of her people both in India and abroad. The new overseas member, Dr. Khare fulminated against the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa and threatened retaliation but ultimately his temperature came down to humble submission. The Broome Commission angrily takes "a serious view of the present attitude of Indian politicians in India" and says that "the propaganda now emanating from India is highly damaging to South Africa and may well have serious international repercussions." The Commission contend:

> South Africa's problem is not merely a problem of a quarter million Indians against two and a quarter Europeans. The problem is largely conditioned by the presence in South Africa of seven and a quarter million natives and three-quarters of a million coloured people in addition.

The Broome Commission must be aware of the fact that in the British Empire, non-white population

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exceeds the whites by hundreds of millions. Does it follow that the South African policy should be extended to the whole of the Empire and the non-white people should be deprived of their vote and other rights of citizenship ? We wait for the day when a fully Independent India will bring these votaries of racial discrimination to their proper senses.

Government of India's Oil Policy

No mention of mineral oil or motor and aviation fuel has been made in the Government of India's industrial plan, and those have not been included within the scope of nationalisation. Oil is the most important mineral either for war or for peace. It is most surprising that although the Government of India Act of 1935 leaves discretion to the Central Government to undertake legislation for controlling the development of minerals, including oil, no such attempt has been made so far with the result that each province is at liberty to follow its own course in the matter. As a result of repeated suggestions made by Mr. K. C. Neogy at the Central Legislature, Dr. Ambedkar made the declaration that the Central Government proposed to initiate legislation for the purpose of controlling the development of certain minerals. Oil will, of course, be one of the minerals to be centrally controlled. Apart from oil-fields that are at present actually worked in India, very large petroleum deposits have been discovered near Rawalpindi, and the Punjab Government granted a prospecting license to a non-Indian company in 1936 over the oil-field concerned. The prospecting license, as is usual, contains the condition that the licensee has the discretionary right to take a mining lease. The result is that this oilfield, which is supposed to be the largest so far discovered in India, is passing into non-Indian hands; but as the holder of a prospecting license under the Government rules has the prior right to a mining lease, it is too late now to suggest that the concession should be granted to genuine Indian interests. Apart from this oil-field, it is an open secret that certain non-Indian concerns have secured licenses for the purpose of carrying out preliminary scientific investigations over virtually all the areas in India where oil is suspected to occur. The terms of these licenses granted by the Provincial Governments have not yet been disclosed, and the Central Government pretend that they have no knowledge about any licenses granted by the Provincial Governments in this matter. The first step that should be urged is early legislation at the Centre to enable centralised control over oil as well as other important key minerals. Having regard to the provisions of the Government of India Act, it is futile to suggest that genuine Indian concerns should be granted these concessions in preference to British and other foreign interests. It is also useless to demand that the concessions that have already been granted in favour of British or other foreign interests should be cancelled and granted anew to Indian interests. Apart from the statutory difficulties in this matter, there is no Indian concern of any standing which can justly expect to be granted an oil concession, as no Indian industrialist can be said to have any experience or organisation which is essential for the purpose of carrying out investigations about the occurrence of oil. The best course, therefore, is to demand nationalisation of all oil resources in the country on payment of due compensation to the interests that already hold these concessions. If any industry deserves to be nationalised it is oil, and we consider it very reasonable to put forward a demand of this character.

The Four Judges' Statement on the Draft Hindu Code

Four Judges of the Calcutta High Court have, in a recent statement to the press given their opinion against the draft Hindu Code. This statement of their own accord seeks to carry importance because it bears the stamp of having emanated from the judges *qua* judges and not as public men. We do not know of any other instance where judges of a High Court came forward in this fashion to give their opinion in public on a proposed measure of legislation which, when passed, might come up before them for adjudication. In the U. S. A. when the entire country was rent with the New Deal controversy, the Supreme Court judges could not utter a single word about the soundness of the Bill. When the measure was passed and a provision of the N. R. A. came up before them under a suit, they declared the main provision of that Act as *ultra vires* of the Constitution. In another case, while reviewing the conviction of the Founder-Editor of *The Modern Review* for the publication of Sunderland's *India in Bondage*, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court Sir George Rankin admitted that the law under which the prosecution had been made had many defects, but he had no other option but to obey it *as it stood* for the function of the judges is to interpret the law after they have been passed, as the judiciary have nothing to do with the course of legislation. Any opinion passed by them during the process of legislation is bound to make one of the parties in the controversy to think that the judges are prejudiced. People may be afraid that they may not get justice at their hands. We wonder what led these august judges to break the age-old judicial tradition and to go out of their way to pronounce a verdict in favour of those in this controversy, who are distinctly on the side of reaction. We are extremely sorry to find at least one name in a very strange company. Judging from the trend of public opinion in and out side the Central Legislature and from the volume of evidences before the Rao Committee it may reasonably be expected that the Bill will get through. There is no doubt that these judges have partly compromised the position of the Calcutta High Court and it will be very difficult for parties to appear before them for the decision of cases under the Code when and if it is passed. Prefacing the statement they say that they have expressed their views as a result of requests from several quarters and "a detailed discussion would have been more useful and appropriate with the members of the Rao Committee if they had thought it fit to invite them to meet them." This is no explanation. If they can come up in the controversy of their own accord, they could certainly send a memorandum to the Rao Committee and appear before it in their personal capacity. To our mind the Rao Committee was perfectly correct in not anticipating that in Calcutta a group of judges were then ready to break the judicial tradition by joining in a public controversy over a legislative measure.

The Judges Against Codification

The four judges say : "At the outset we must express our serious doubts as to the wisdom, necessity

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or feasibility of enacting a comprehensive Code of Hindu Law . . . Most of the rules of Hindu law are now well settled and well understood and a code is not therefore called for at all. There is, in fact, no general demand for it, neither those who are affected by Hindu Law, nor those *who have to administer it* have felt the necessity of a Code."

The preceding sentence proves that they have given their opinion as judges and have arrogated to themselves the position of representing "those who have to administer" Hindu Law. We do not as yet know whether any other judge of any other High Court in India has authorised these four gentlemen to speak for them and to declare publicly that the Hindus will stoutly resist any attempt to foist a code of personal-law upon them." They have not however stated if they are prepared, in the event of the Code being passed, to resign and lead the movement for resisting the Code.

The other two arguments advanced by them are absolutely untenable. If there is any law in the country which needs to be immediately codified it is Hindu Law. At present Hindu Law is administered in different parts of India under different schools of principles. In ancient India when there was no mobility of movement in this vast country of ours, local schools of law in different localities naturally sprang up and developed. With the introduction of modern and quick means of transport, the mobility of population has enormously increased. The divergent and sometimes contradictory nature of the various local laws are more a hindrance than a help. Do not the judges believe that the levelling down of the difference in Hindu Law as administered in different provinces under a common code will unify the entire Hindu community and consolidate them for the achievement of Akhand Hindusthan? Do they believe that the salvation of the Hindu lies in perpetuating the differences by leaving them free to be multiplied through the continuous growth of local customs all over this huge sub-continent? It is a matter of utmost regret that even High Court judges fail to realise the danger of division and sub-division in the Hindu society even at a moment when it has come on the verge of extinction and bluntly declare that "uniformity is an impossible ideal." Reactionary idea can go no further.

Their third argument against codification is that Hindu Law is well understood and therefore no codification is called for. The criminal law is well understood in the country; do they consider that it is time that the Indian Penal Code should go? Different provinces have different systems of land tenure; do they consider that a unification of all these tenures under one common system for the whole of India is unnecessary?

The Judges Against Daughter's Rights

The judges have expressed their strong dislike about the proposed inclusion of the daughters in the list of simultaneous heirs. They consider it a "change of revolutionary character." Their objections are mainly two: (1) that it would lead to further fragmentation of property and (2) that there is a traditional dislike in the Hindu mind of allowing strangers to the family to come and share the inheritance. The first objection is useless because the fragmentation of land is already at its worst. The inclusion of an additional claimant in the property will add no more complication to the already acute problem of fragmentation which has reduced the average holding to a patch of one or two acres for over 70 per cent of the agricultural people of this province. The second objection also is untenable. Fear of participation in ancestral property by relatives through the married daughter may produce one very beneficial result, it may improve the relations between the two families united through the marriage.

In connection with the daughter's rights, the judges have made the statement that: "No Smriti writer, ancient or modern, no school of Hindu Law, progressive or otherwise, have recognised the daughter as such heir, (*i.e.*, co-heir with the son)." Those of us who have had the opportunity of studying Raja Ram Mohun's famous tract on Hindu Women's Rights have found that famous lawgivers like Vrihaspati, Vishnoo, Manu, Jajnavalkya and Katyayana have clearly defined the daughter's rights in the ancestral property and have accepted the daughter as a co-heir with the son. We give below some relevant extracts:

Vrihaspati says:—The daughters should have the fourth part of the portion to which the sons are entitled.— तूरीयांशास्तु कन्यकाः

Vishnoo says:—The rights of unmarried daughters shall be proportioned according to the shares allotted to the sons.— अनुढाश्च दुहितरः पुत्रभागानुसाराः

Manoo says:—To the unmarried daughters let their brothers give portions out of their own allotments respectively. Let each give a fourth of his own distinct share and they who feel disinclined to give this shall be condemned.—

स्वेभ्योऽंशेभ्यस्तु कन्याभ्यः प्रदद्युर्भ्रातरः पृथक् ।

स्वात् सादंशाच्चतुर्भागः पतिताः स्युरदित्सवः

Judges on Polygamy

As regards monogamy, the judges say: "We share the general view that as polygamy has practically disappeared from Hindu society, it is not necessary to enforce monogamy by legislation." Bestiality is a crime punishable under the Indian Penal Code. It is of very rare occurrence. Do the judges think that this clause should be removed from the Penal Code because the crime has practically disappeared?

It is common knowledge that polygamy is still quite frequent in the Hindu society. It is still a source of unmitigated suffering for many innocent Hindu women. Several people high up in the social ladder in Bengal and belonging to the same generation as that of the judges are known to have married a second time in the lifetime of their first wives. The reasons for these acts of polygamy were not barrenness or afflictment with incurable disease, etc. We consider it imperative and urgent that polygamy should be prohibited under severe penalty of law. This crime is still prevalent in all the strata of Hindu society.

These judges do not think that "the right of divorce has conduced to better social wellbeing or harmony where this right exists. At any rate Hindu conception of marriage as a sacrament is diametrically opposed to the idea of divorce, and we feel this idea is abhorrent to the average Hindu." We wonder what is the sentiment of these judges when they find either

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in their own courts or in those of their brother judges, young Hindu girls appearing with prayer for divorce as converts to the Muslim religion. The Muslim law has granted her an opportunity to start life afresh and to get out of an intolerable position which her own law has denied. We consider that Hindu law suffers a great deal in comparison in this matter. The ancient lawgivers from the Vedic times down to Kautilya had granted the right of divorce and remarriage to women even on the ground of continued absence of the husband. This birthright of the tortured women fell into disuse during the supremacy of a corrupt Brahminism in the later Middle ages. This right of divorce is such a crying need for Hindu women that even these judges have faltered to pronounce their opinion definitely against them.

Bengal, even a few years ago, was renowned for having been the torch-bearer of progressive thought which lighted up the whole of the country far and wide. It is a matter of utmost regret to find her degenerating into a hotbed of reactionarism. The degree of degeneration may only be guessed when one finds eminent men like these judges going out of their own sphere to intervene on the side of retrogression.

Development of Fisheries in India

The Fazal Rahimatoollah Sub-Committee appointed by the Government of India has expressed the opinion that no material increase in fish production is possible unless a comprehensive programme of development based on an all-India policy is adopted and enforced at an early date. The first thing to be done towards this end is to obtain detailed knowledge about the sea, the fishes, catching methods, organisation of the fish trade and the economic conditions of the fishermen. They recommended collection of detailed statistics, and a preliminary survey of commercial fisheries, such as fishings grounds, vessels and boats employed for catch. The Committee, as also Dr. B. Prashad, the new Fishery Adviser of the Government of India, have recommended the establishment of a Central Fishery Research Institute. The work of the institute will be biological, physio-chemical, statistical, technological and educational.

From recent experiences, people will believe that the latter part of the recommendations, which seeks to create some high salaried posts, will be adopted while the former which deal with the welfare of the fishermen and the people will be pigeon-holed in the usual bureaucratic manner.

Development of Sunderban Fisheries

The Sunderbans in Bengal have great potentialities. Dr. S. L. Hora, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in May last, gave a valuable discourse on the development of the Sunderban Fisheries. At the outset he pointed out that among the body-building foods are fish, meat, poultry, eggs and milk. Of these, it would take a considerable time to increase the supply of the last four articles, whereas fish supplies could be easily increased. Development of Sunderban Fisheries was likely to play a very important part in the nutrition of the famine-stricken people of Bengal.

Public doubts about the sincerity of the Central Government plans were confirmed when Dr. Hora stated that on several occasions the Government wanted definite schemes from his department for the development of Sunderban Fisheries, but no facilities were provided to Dr. Hora, the Director, to visit the Sunderbans on the plea of lack of suitable transport. About the month of April, Dr. Hora of his own accord availed of an opportunity to visit the area when the Divisional Forest Officer of Khulna took him out with him in his launch. It was during this visit that Dr. Hora found that all early accounts of these fisheries, carefully preserved in the antiquated departmental Reports had become out of date and that favourable conditions now obtained for the control and exploitation of the fisheries of this region on a proper commercial basis under governmental direction.

Dr. Hora expressed himself against the introduction of trawler fishing in the Sunderban area. He said that the types of boats which were being used for fishing at present were quite suitable for they could be easily taken into shallow creeks during unfavourable weather conditions. As regards nets, he said they were being used rather too effectively and the only change immediately needed was to widen the meshes in order to check the slaughter of young fishes. Dr. Hora admitted the need for an improvement in boats and nets, but at the same time he emphasised that any change undertaken must not be hurried and must satisfy the fishing conditions of the particular area. Any foreign method of fishing, such as the trawler and the drift netting recommended for the locality must first be tried on an experimental scale before any substantial measure could be taken to introduce them wholesale.

Dr. Hora's Fishery Plan

Assuming that the supply of fish in the Sunderban area was unlimited, the Government of India set a problem for Dr. Hora to draw up a scheme for obtaining one hundred thousand tons of fishes from the Sundarbans annually. On visiting the area himself, he found that the working of these fisheries was a very simple matter. He indicated that in working these fisheries twelve primary fish assembly centres along the northern boundary of the forests could be established from where motor-boats could go into the forest with ice and procure the fish from the fishermen, distribute the daily requirements of the fishermen to them and thus every day bring back fresh fish to the Assembly Centres. At each Assembly Centre, the fish should be sorted, graded and packed in numbered boxes to be sent to the consuming centre, chiefly Calcutta. Twelve such Assembly Centres could be worked from two secondary Fish Assembly Centres at the railway heads or road heads to Calcutta. One such head could be at Hosirabad area and the other at Port Canning. From these rail or road heads, fish could be sent to Calcutta where there should be a big cold storage accommodation sufficient to stock 50,000 maunds of fish. Such an organisation, according to Dr. Hora, could be set up for a capital expenditure of 17½ lakhs of rupees and could work at an annual recurring expenditure of 8 lakhs of rupees. Against this expenditure, he calculated on the basis of one lakh maunds of fish annually procured from this area at an average cost of Rs. 20 a maund for all varieties of fish and sold in Calcutta at the price of Rs. 40 a maund. The chief point for consideration was who is going to work such an organisation? Instead of the Government taking up the procurement, transport and marketing of fish, the

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Hora favoured the idea of entrusting it to a commercial enterprise. In his opinion, the Government might float a limited liability company in which half the capital might be invested by them, the remaining half being open to public subscription. Dr. Hora is definitely against any direct Government management, he thinks that the best result will be obtained by entrusting the management to an efficient and reliable firm of Managing Agents. The Government should retain only a controlling interest as in the case of the Port Trust or the Calcutta Improvement Trust. In order to ensure smooth working, he believes that every servant of the company should have an interest in the fish trade by having a portion of the profits given to him as gratuity at the end of the year.

Enhancement of Sales Tax in Bengal

While the Wavell talks proceed favourably at Simla, economic repression continues unabated in Bengal. The Bengal Government has enhanced the sales tax to three pies per rupee. Considering the scarcity of price coins, this enhancement in many cases means one anna in the rupee. The sales tax in Bengal has been planned and collected in a manner so as to make it the most disgusting and oppressive tax in the province. Exemptions under the Sales Tax Act have been so planned as to be extremely lenient for the British and the rich while the poorer and middle classes have been brought ruthlessly under its operation. It is a flat rate, and makes no distinction between luxury products and necessities. Its method of collection is such that it works out very heavily on the common people. The purchaser of a luxury product worth Rs. 100 will pay three pice in the rupee while a common man purchasing a tooth-paste with nine annas will have to pay three pice, *i.e.*, about 10 per cent in taxation.

This enhancement, we apprehend, is only a foretaste of what is in store for this famine-stricken province. The Government of Bengal is carrying a stock of rice, worth about sixty or seventy crores, purchased by means of borrowed capital. The handling of such a huge stock and malpractices in purchases and sales is bound to lead to heavy losses, which in fact has occurred. The losses are estimated as follows :

1943-44 —				
1944-45 (Budget)	Rs. 3	crores	50	lakhs
1944-45 (Revised)	„ 5	„	—	
1945-46 (Budget)	„ 13	„	39	„
	„ 5	„	53	„

Judging from the proportion of difference between Budget and Revised Budget estimates in 1944-45, it would be no wonder if the revised budget for 1945-46 does reveal Rs. 16 crores as the loss for that year. It may be even more, but not much less. The famine-stricken people of Bengal have already paid Rs. 19 crores as losses on foodgrain transactions by the Government in two years. The present Governor of Bengal has shown concern for the cleanliness of Calcutta streets, Calcutta markets and Calcutta slums. Some one will have to exert himself to examine the accounts of the foodgrain transactions of this government in order to rid the people of the province of the augean stables of the civil supplies department.

Raisman Champions Birth Control

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Ex-Finance Member of the Government of India, who frittered away enormous wealth from this country for the benefit of his own and had done thereby little else but harm to the Indian people, has now become a champion of their welfare. In his opinion, the regulation of Indian population by means of birthcontrol is of greater importance than planning to house, clothe and feed those already living. He said :

> It is all very well to draw up plans for better feeding and housing. But how can these plans be put into operation when the population of India is increasing at the rate of approximately 10,000,000 annually? It is like trying to build a house to accommodate ten people, knowing full well that by the time it is finished the family will have increased to twelve.
>
> The methods used in other countries to regulate the population should be widely introduced into India. Clinics should be set up throughout the country at which Indian women could be taught scientific methods of birth-control and where they could receive advice on this subject. If earnest workers would be prepared to go to India, feeling that they were doing great social work, they could accomplish much. I think it highly desirable that the Government of India should sponsor this work, but I doubt whether any Government would face the criticisms that would arise from religious and social organisations. The sentiment in India is as much against birth control as in the Roman Catholic world.

A lady member of the British Parliament gave a suitable reply to Sir Jeremy's proposal. We need not add our comment on Dr. Edith Summerskill's statement. She said :

> I was in India last year and I was greatly impressed by the problem of India's rising population. The first thing to do is to educate the people; to teach them birth control is merely putting the cart before the horse. Better houses, education, proper food—these are three essentials needed for a solution of the problem.

"Caste Hindus"

Right at the outset of the Viceregal invitations, Mahatma Gandhi took exception at the term "Caste Hindus" used in the Viceregal broadcast. *The Hitavada* has given a very pertinent quotation with remarks, which speaks for itself :

> In this connection we should like to quote what the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report said about the introduction of the communal principle: "Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it proposes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charges of being hypocritical or short-sighted." We refuse to believe that the persons at the India Office are ignorant of past history and that they did not realise the implications of a communal division of power.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

After the cessation of the European campaigns, the question of intensification of the Asiatic and Pacific campaigns against Japan has been the main topic of interest. The sudden collapse of the Japanese defence in the main territories of Burma, which led to the almost complete occupation of the bulk of the Burmese mainland and culminated with the capture of Rangoon after some desultory defensive fighting by the Japanese, has added to the hopes for a quick rise in the tempo and an early climax. The landing operations in Borneo conducted under the personal supervision of General McArthur is generally assumed to be the preliminary to a new campaign being formed in a fresh field. It has been announced apropos of the assaults delivered in this area that the Japanese naval forces in the waters of the Dutch East Indies have been whittled down to the point of almost absolute neutralization. If that really be the case then we may look forward to fresh developments in that quarter which may lead to large-scale operations of the magnitude of the campaigns in the Philippines. Admiral Mountbatten has been waiting a long time in Ceylon and if he has not got sufficient forces at his command by now, he ought to have them before long if the Allied Supreme Command is really in earnest about finishing the Asiatic compaigns of the World War No. II by the end of the next campaigning season.

As yet there are two factors militating against a sharp rise in the tempo and magnitude of the campaign against the Japanese, one being natural and the other artificial, but both of temporary character. The seasonal climatic conditions now prevailing over the South-East Asiatic mainland and the Dutch East-Indies are anything but favourable for mechanised and aerial operations. Cloudy and stormy weather with continuous heavy rainfalls will now go on for about two months more. The weather will start clearing up in September and the soil start to regain its *terra firma* characteristics. Aerial strafing and bombardment would be easier to conduct as well as the maintenance of field supplies by air be easier. In short the campaigning season would open by the middle of October, and if by then the bulk of the forces to be transferred from the European to the Asiatic fronts have been brought into the field, then the real battle for South-East Asia will commence. The artificial factor mentioned is the elections and that should be over and the new Cabinet in action in Britain well before the opening of the campaigning season. It is to be hoped that the elections will not cause any slackening of the transfer operations in the meanwhile, for if there be any halting or weakening of the assault operations at the initial stage due to lack of forces, supplies or to insufficiency of mechanized or aerial armament, it may lead to a prolongation of the war in these areas. There is no doubt that the transport of large forces and very considerable bulk and weight of armament over long distances involves a certain amount of unavoidable time lag. But both in the matter of transport and in the availability of fighting forces and equipment, the Allies have vastly a preponderating advantage and so that factor should not affect the conduct of the South-East Asiatic campaign.

The battle for Okinawa has virtually come to an end and at last the U. S. Pacific Command has a really large base within easy striking distance of the Nippo[illegible] mainland for aerial warfare on the continental [illegible] We do not know as yet what this 82-day struggle [illegible] the American forces to conduct to a successful end, bu[illegible] from all reports the ferocity of the fighting rose to [illegible] new height even in comparison with Iwojima. [illegible] Japanese seem to be very far from folding up as [illegible] and when the Japanese campaigns really begin on [illegible] full scale, either on the mainland of China or in [illegible] Nipponese islands, we may yet see fresh peaks [illegible] ruthless fighting and appalling slaughter, and that on [illegible] scale comparable with that of the European fro[illegible] Much has been said—and might be yet said w[illegible] considerable justification—about the hopeless inferio[illegible] of the Japanese in the matter of armament, both [illegible] regards technical quality and weight. But we must n[illegible] forget that the Japanese will have matters somewh[illegible] more in their favour as the battle nears their home a[illegible] Manchurian bases.

There is a considerable amount of speculation a[illegible] regards the nature and terrain of the Japanese mast[illegible] plan for the final defensive campaign. More and mo[illegible] of the Western war-commentators are adopting th[illegible] view that the Japanese defence centres on the Manch[illegible] rian territories. Some have gone so far as to defi[illegible] that by now the main arsenals and war-producin[illegible] plants have been dispersed over Manchuria and th[illegible] the campaign against the Japanese will not end eve[illegible] if the greater part of the Nipponese islands be occupie[illegible] by the Allied forces. In conjunction with this theo[illegible] there is some speculation as to whether the Soviets would enter the war against Japan and if so, whe[illegible] One such writer has discussed the matter at length a[illegible] has come to the conclusion that the Russians mu[illegible] declare war on Japan and that within six months fro[illegible] the end of the war in Europe.*

There can be no doubt that the entry of th[illegible] Soviets on the side of the Allies in the Asiatic strugg[illegible] would shorten the Japanese war considerably. Assu[illegible] from both sides the Japanese would be put in the sa[illegible] position as the Germans faced after the opening of th[illegible] second front. But it must not be forgotten that th[illegible] Soviets have very much of an open choice in th[illegible] matter and that they are in a position now to delibera[illegible] on the pros and cons and to take their own time over [illegible] The formal repudiation of the Russo-Japanese Pa[illegible] leaves their hands free and there is little possibi[illegible] of their hands being forced in the way it was on June [illegible] 1941. As such the Allies must make their own pla[illegible] and fight the campaign to the fiery finish. They certai[illegible] have matters very much in their favour now and th[illegible] only dangers before them are of procrastination and faulty planning. Meanwhile, the world must wait and speculate on the extent of Japanese additions to th[illegible] war-like resources in the three years' partial hiatus. It is impossible that they could have developed anything to match the tidal wave of American production wh[illegible] engulfed Germany. But even if they have got anything really ponderable by now then the campaign will be bitter indeed.

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* Fedor Mamaevetov. *Asia and the America*, [illegible] 1945.

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CIVIL LIBERTIES IN INDIA DURING PEACE AND WAR

By Prof. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (Oxford), Bar-at-Law

Modern political thought, liberal and democratic, is based on the fundamental concept of civil liberty. It implies the freedom of the individual in regard to expression of opinion, religious belief and worship, the possession and use of property, and personal action. It is a right of the individual against the State and implies a right of protection against private or governmental interference. It is born out of the schools of thought of liberalism and individualism. It implies resistance to the State in certain conditions as a moral protest. It recognises the worth of the individual as a person distinct and apart from the State and as possessing interests and freedoms of his own.

In the modern world there is developing an increasing government control over the individual. It is necessitated by the complexities of modern economic and social life. The problems of health, morals, safety, education, social insurance have expanded government's control and regulative and coercive authority. Constant wars and problems of security have still strengthened this encroaching tendency of State authority. There is repression of freedom of opinion, speech and press, movement and association under sedition and ordinance laws far beyond the military necessity or the demands of national safety. These laws are very broadly drawn, very vaguely worded, and very widely interpreted, and their application is in many cases not legitimate and oversteps genuine dangers. Under them it is for the active leaders of public opinion that prisons open. In modern governments the faith in civil liberties is decreasing. The totalitarian governments, and the totalitarian religions have been attacking this doctrine of Civil liberty. The modern collective tendency and the medieval religious rigidity are emphasizing this tendency. Since the World War of 1914 new ideologies, fascist and communist, have proved adverse to civil liberties. Under fascism the individual has no rights against the State or party. Communists subordinate all rights and interests to the needs of the Communist State. Individuals and groups cannot have any independence. The citizen is considered merely a means to an end. He is merely a functionary. He has no rights which he can exercise independently. Therefore, it is now a major problem of modern political theory and statecraft as to whether the concept of civil liberty can be adapted to the forms of a modern state which is becoming increasingly complex and interrelated as a social and economic order.

I. During Peace

The problem of civil liberties in India has three aspects: (1) their nature, (2) their guarantees, and (3) the circumstances, necessities and interests which affect their working. Their nature is very limited. There is no recognition of any fundamental rights of citizens in the so-called Indian Constitution. The conception of citizenship in India is not common, but differential, based on racial, communal and feudal interests in some respect. The State is composed of two separate parts, the foreign rulers and the native ruled, and the Constitution is fundamentally constructed on the supreme authority of one and the complete obedience of the other. It is not democratic, where the sovereignty of the people is recognised. The sovereignty of the State does not lie in India but outside in England. Therefore, the law which sanctions civil liberties and assures the guarantees of their maintenance are in the hands of this foreign authority.

The nature of the state in India is completely autocratic both in peace and war. What it allows is law and liberty. The government in India is a monoparty government. This party is the British party. It is not directly responsible to nor representative of any section of the Indian people. The British are not Indian citizens in any political sense. Their rights in India are the rights of British rulers and citizens. They have established a monoparty dictatorial state in India. Its essence is the identification of the British party with the whole apparatus of the Indian State-power. The heads of the Indian government in England, in the Centre and in provinces in India are not only executive heads, but also legislative and in a way judicial heads, though the process through which law making in peace times is carried on is very intricate and associative in some respects. It is not however the constitution which binds them, but it is they who make and unmake, suspend and override the Constitution, dispense with and change the laws. This has meant that all opposition to the British party has become opposition to the State and its government. The result has been that every aspect of citizen's life—political, economic, social and cultural—and his liberty, civil and political, has become subordinated to the single need of that party's retention of power, and the various guarantees and obligations it has created for the permanent maintenance of its rule. This has implied and worked in the overthrow of all constitutional habits and guarantees when circumstances developed so as to endanger the party's interests and foundations of power whether during times of peace or war. Therefore, there is no real difference between the question of our civil liberties during peace and their status during war. The problem is only one of degree.

We do not enjoy full and beneficent liberty during peace, and its dimunition in war is only a problem of its lower degree. The contents and guarantees of our laws and liberties come from the British party's government in India. They have no other source. They depend in their formation and application on its ideas of government and the institutions and services it has organised to carry them out. What they have actually meant and how they have been put in practice in the past are too well-known. There are no binding principles but only compelling interests in the so-called constitution of our country. They are stated in various forms of obligations to be held sacred and binding even before the ordinary principles of citizenship and civil liberties are recognised. Therefore, no political scientist can profitably discuss or analyse the condition of civil liberties in peace and war in India and elucidate or estimate the conditions or principles under which they can be limited or controlled. Really speaking whoever has power, poitical and economic, has and controls civil liberty. It is the fundamental maxim of politics and civics. If the people are sovereign, have made the

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constitution, have the democratic power of making laws, and have willingly accepted a definite set of civil liberties, then this question of civil liberties will have some scientific value. But if the centre of sovereignty is extra-territorial and ultra-popular, if the constitution is not of their make, if the fundamental laws are not made, maintained and executed by them, and if the civil liberties can be suspended at the first breath of opposition, then the problem becomes non-political and unconstitutional. How few civil liberties can people enjoy under foreign and autocratic governments, history furnishes ample testimony. Civil liberties have not been maintained and advanced through any changes in constitution in India, but only after the confidence and guarantee the British party has felt in getting its interests assured and its obligations admitted. To the extent they are endangered or repudiated, they have been denied, suspended or withdrawn. The history of the press law and the law of association, and of the safeguard clauses and reserved powers and discretions in the various government of India Acts—miscalled Indian Constitutions—make it very clear. The overriding consideration is that the present government—the monoparty government—will and must exert all its power to preserve itself, as it is, regardless of so-called guarantees of civil liberties. In India the law relating to and sanctioning civil liberties is ordinary, not constitutional. There is no sacredness about it. Therefore, to discuss the question of civil liberties in non-democratic systems of government has no political value. The law relating to it is changed at will.

Thus the question reduces itself to this: Is civil liberty in war and peace to any assured extent possible without any real self-government based on the will of the people and responsible to the people? Can there be any fundamental guarantees for any system of civil liberties under a monoparty and foreign government which makes its own constitution and the laws relating to them? My proposition is that under such a system of government even though administered according to its own law, where law is established by the executive, the law itself primarily protects its vested interests and is worked according to its notions of security, necessity and emergency. The conception of civil liberty can have political value only when the government is popular and impartial, promoting adjustment and harmony between conflicting interests but not when it is itself one of the contending and dominating interests and all political and economic power is centred and controlled by a monoparty which represents it. Under it a people may enjoy some civil liberty to the extent to which they subordinate or neglect their own interests for the sake of those of the party in power or identify their future with theirs.

In a master and slave society the conception of civil liberty has no independent political guarantee or value. It becomes a question of privileges. In peace times the problem of civil liberties must be approached from below, from the point of view of citizens' welfare and opportunity. In war times it will have to be approached from above, from the needs of the security and safety of the State. But in India it is always interfered with under a theory of protection against disturbance and sedition within the State, and against aggression from without. There is a theory of internal protection and justice and there is a theory of external defence and security. To what extent these necessities of immediate protection and justice, defence and security should supersede the normal laws and constitutions and give place to a rule of the pure executive and its ordinances uncontrolled either by legislature or judiciary? This is an important question. In peace times if the government is popular, if the laws are not discriminatory, if the executive is responsible to the legislature and judiciary and does not supersede them by possessing concurrent or overriding powers, then the civil liberty will consist in applying impartially the laws to cases of conflict and disturbance without fear or favour. In questions of internal rebellion by discontented or revolutionary minorities it will take strong action against them in the interests of common law and order. The problem of civil liberties in modern times is not merely of individual rights but of their extension towards social security and economic welfare. It is not a problem of their limitation but of their expansion in desirable directions in times of peace which are not a period of disturbance. Civil liberty, however, is always a conditional and relative concept. Its aim of social security and economic welfare must recognise individual freedom and opportunity. But the government must not forget or ignore or limit this individual aspect in its own party or political or economic interest which it conceives as special or primary or overriding.

II. During War

Modern wars which are now total and totalitarian have practically destroyed the slender and slippery foundations of civil liberties in India. The world mind is orientated towards the security of existing governments and to the new problems of world security and economic welfare of groups. But the problem of civil liberties concerns primarily the group and the individual. There is a collapse of international law and morality between states. There is aso a collapse of the rule of law within states, under the stress of war emergencies and necessities. There is also an advance of collectivism, totalitarianism and authoritarianism of the State over the life of the community on account of the needs of defence and order, war effort and war services. There is growth of the executive power and bureaucracy, their laws, ordinances and regulations for organising tranquillity at home and war abroad. The monoparty government decides all the questions of necessity and emergency, law and liberty, safety and welfare from the point of view of its own interests and needs. The new need of social, economic and educational planning makes it divert its attention from the political and civic rights involved in civil liberties and undertake itself these tasks in a way suitable to itself.

The presence of war creates the primary problem of the safety of the State. *Salus populi supreme lex.* It has three aspects: (1) the mere existence of war, but not within its borders, (2) the actual invasion of the country, and (3) the locality or area in which it is being fought. The problem of safety and defence assumes greater and graver aspect successively in these three aspects. All these aspects give rise in a modern state to the organisation of war effort—the creation of fighting services, supply services, mechanical and engineering services, scientific services, civil services, industrial equipment and output, control of roads, communication and transport, and popular support. To promote its smooth working and to mobilise all the political, economic, physical and moral resources of the

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country a certain unitary control and centralised direction become necessary, and all internal controversies and conflicts require to be laid at rest. And if they cannot, then the party in power adopts severe laws against those individuals, groups or interests who are against its own views of the necessities of war and war effort. The war effort may be opposed or interfered with by aliens and spies from abroad, and by opponents and profiteers from within, who may promote anti-war activities and hamper or tamper with war effort. These may incite disloyalty and foster indiscipline in the military and other services, or they may sabotage industrial output and transport system. They may communicate with the enemy or cause discontent amongst the people.

Though generally the argument about the safety of the State during war and invasion can be safely admitted in a self-governing country, most difficult and delicate problems arise when there is no identity of political aims and economic interests between the rulers and the ruled in any particular country. Besides this, we must differentiate between the actual necessities and emergencies of the fact of war and invasion and those of the interests of the ruling class who is not from amongst the people, and is not responsible to them, and has other interests to serve. Then the problem of necessity or emergency has to be judged on its own merits. The war may not be of its own making and in its interests. It may be for the extra-territorial obligations or political and economic interests of the foreign ruling class. This complicates the matter of judgment about its necessity as a whole and the particular emergencies which arise under it. The war having been undertaken by the rulers, the ruled cannot keep out of it, in spite of their protests or differences on the question of necessity. Then the question as regards civil liberties limits itself to whether the invasion is actual and is confined to a particular area, or has extended over the whole country. The study of the problem of civil liberties during peace and war is a great necessity in any self-governing country when governments are becoming more powerful and total under the stress of modern life, when the area of liberty is getting narrowed, and new despotism of the executive is increasing. It becomes much more important in a country which is not self-governing and which has very little civil liberty, which itself it is losing under the demands of modern life, and during both peace and war. It often happens that liberty may be suspended not so much in the interests of war effort, but in favour of the bureaucracy of services and their rights and interests which have been already created and also promised during the war and which are being extended in peace times. When war emergency ends, these new plants of irresponsible power will leave a dangerous legacy of precedents, interests, and obligations which will themselves become detrimental to the civil liberties and opportunities of the common citizen. Civil liberty can be assured after the war only if the people will possess full political liberty and are then assertive of their common citizen's rights.

No doubt there is and will be some need of delegated legislation and growth of administrative law after the war in view of the new economic and social planning conception, which is taking root in all countries. But the control and direction necessary on that account must be in the interests of the people's common security and welfare. At present Indians possess no guarantee of their own soveriegn legislature, independent judiciary and a national executive. Till that political event takes place it will be futile to talk of civil liberty as an independent concept or category in Indian politics. The fundamental necessity for the existence of any system of civil liberty is an independent judiciary and a constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights which the executive cannot set aside on its own authority, even if they require to be curtailed during war and invasion emergencies. The legislature must be there to enact or sanction ordinances on its own authority. But a plea of emergency or necessity in the interests of the safety of the State must not give uncontrolled power to the executive to cover or excuse or indemnify all the vagaries and illegalities of its own discretion and administration.

It is very necessary in the interests of civil liberty that there should be definite statutory conditions which should be strictly complied with by the executive when it uses its discretionary powers very widely. There is however, as yet in India no sovereignty of legislature, no rule of law, and no independent judiciary as such. In each of them the executive shares and dominates and in some cases possesses independent and overriding powers. Unless the gulf between the rulers and the ruled disappears, and the ruled become the rulers, civil liberty in peace times cannot be satisfactory, and in war times it will hardly exist. No doubt it is true that it is not possible to demarcate a definite line between the limits of civil liberty and the executive control needed in an emergency, but this does not justify handing over all the control over liberty to the executive which in its nature is authoritarian and autocratic.

In a country like India the interests and objects of the executive are something over and above and independent of the necessity of war effort. Does the British party in power in India want to maintain its imperial hold and rights or only to fight the war in the interests of the security and independence of the world? If the legislative and executive powers are used for ulterior purposes and extended during and after the war to strengthen them, then the plea of war effort becomes invalid. In India the danger is of its being used against the political movement of the country for independence and against the freedom of individuals. Even before the war we had indefinite detentions without trials, and arrests without warrants on suspicion. Freedom of speech and press, freedom of association and procession, freedom from search and seizure, freedom of opinion and belief in academic bodies and public services were not free from a number of severe restrictions in the interests of the British political order established in the country. War legislation has extended them overwhelmingly. The nature of these restrictions is not definite during war, the delegation of ordinance powers to lower authorities is enormous, the central supervision if seriously meant is little, the guarantees of fair trial and safeguards against an abuse of power are few and weak. The ordinance of 1944 has taken away the power of the judiciary over all these ordinance cases. The executive reigns supreme in areas where there is no war or invasion or even a threat of it. There have been a large number of detentions without trial, without specifying any grounds and without providing any judicial trial or control or ministerial appeal or inquiry. Then there is an unpreceded censorship of the press and of the private postal correspondence, unlimited prohibition of meetings, asso-

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ciations and processions, and movements of persons without any external check.

Dangers to civil liberty have arisen out of mere discussion and criticism of government war aims, of the causes of war, of governmental war measures, of the form of government prevailing, of the actions of individual officers of servants, even when there is no organised rebellion or disloyalty against the state or government as such. This confusion of real criticism with rebellious interference or opposition is the greatest enemy of civil liberty in India during this war. If the judicial and legislative process gives way or is superseded by the executive process in determining the breaches of laws, and the emergencies of the political situation, then civil liberty cannot be said really to exist. Civil liberty as a value in political life does not exist, or disappears when the executive is all in all and really rules, whatever may be the processes through which it operates. When there is no real separation of powers and consequent checks the system of government does not make civil liberty a stable and sacred element in a people's life. When there is actual invasion in any part of the country and when any system of ordinary courts, laws and procedure cannot work, then martial law, courts, and procedure are the only instruments of security and of whatever freedom is possible under the situation. But one cannot apply the rules of martial law areas to other areas of the country where there is an absence of invasion or where its chance is very remote. The British courts have laid down that martial rule cannot be introduced merely because a state of war exists or an invasion is threatened. Its necessity must be actual and present and the invasion must be real. It must lead to the closing of courts and civil administration. Then martial law must be confined to the actual area of the invasion. All the arguments advanced against Stuart ship-money theory are worth considering in this connection. There is a difference between the mere existence of a state of war and a state of actual war. In the latter case not merely the safety of the society but also the safety of the army, its discipline movements, etc., are to be considered. If ordinary judiciary will be allowed to interfere, it may paralyse the war effort. In a way the executive and the military must get a blank cheque in such areas, and their excesses though inquired into later on are indemnified by an Act of Indemnity. Certain considerations of military necessity are to be allowed, certain scope for honest individual judgment or discretion is to be conceded to the executive and the military.

Again what should be the limits of the war area has to be left to the military authorities. But there must be a clear line of demarcation between the theatre of war where civil liberties cannot properly function and will be greatly curtailed and other contiguous territories where civil courts and authorities are working. There specific controls may be introduced only over defined matters, leaving other aspects of civil life under normal control.

Having considered the area, the problem of the duration of ordinance legislation as a whole is very important. If it is continued long after the invasion and war are over under a plea of post-war rehabilitation it will be very harmful to civil liberty. In a system of such legislation the power of little bureaucrats is great, and there are no sufficient safeguards procedural or personal against its misuse.

The variety and complexity of situations and emergencies arising out of the war are great. An executive officer or servant who has to carry out the provisions of innumerable ordinances and regulations has to decide quickly and to work on his own responsibility. Unless he is free from corruption and greed and shows power of good judgment he may apply the rules in a way detrimental to whatever civil liberty is left under the emergency legislation. But after the necessity has ceased, it will be a great tragedy and tyranny to allow this power and discretion to executive officers and agents. The rules under the Defence of India Act have conferred on the Executive the most sweeping powers in matters covering almost every aspect of a citizen's life. They are not subject to any scrutiny by the representatives of the people. They have left no judicial remedy or redress whatever to any person detained without trial or affected in different ways. This power has been exercised recklessly and justified irresponsibly. Lord Atkin has laid down that even "amidst the clash of arms, the laws are not silent." But in India the laws and the ordinances are treated on the same level. The assumption of these powers needed on the plea of emergency and possessing no safeguards for their due exercise have been exercised for a totally different purpose—the suppression of the legitimate rights and activities of citizens. Civil liberties in India are in a precarious condition. No war whose theatre of operations is localised can justify the executive action and process of a large number of detentions in camps and prisons of persons without trial for an indefinite time and in places far removed from the field of operations. The Courts have decided that the powers of the executive can legitimately supersede the rule of law during an actual invasion alone. In a case of disputed jurisdiction it is for the civil courts to resolve the conflict, but in India the ordinances have themselves taken away the power of the courts to judge the validity of ordinance rules and their applications. It is the greatest encroachment on any scheme of civil liberties which a modern state has made. Therefore, to speak of civil liberty under fascist or foreign ruled states will be a contradiction in terms. Under them the rights of the citizens are always impaired by arbitrary legislation to protect some extra-national interests or to promote some imperial adventures, and many a time their citizens are treated worse than aliens. They are detained with trial, and often do not know the grounds of their detention. All avenues of redress or appeal are closed to them.

Civil liberty in India also suffers from a very dangerous doctrine of a discredited medieval jurisprudence about the collective responsibility of persons belonging to a particular group or area for crimes or agitation happening in that area. It is a resuscitation of the old medieval forms of criminal responsibility imposed on a particular area or group, without taking into consideration the actual perpetrators of crimes. This is done in case of crimes against or dangers to public safety and property even on mere suspicion and in cases of riots and agitational movements. In these cases every person in a particular area or a group has to suffer certain restrictions on his freedom, to undergo certain punishments, to pay certain collective fines and to live under a system of punitive police or military control. This conception of collective responsibility and collective fines and punishment is a grave attack on civil liberty. Its underlying principle is the hostage

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...ory, resulting in detention without trial and ...ections without appeal. It is only possible under ...-party state or foreign or autocratic rule which ...siders every manifestation of opposition or agitation ... crime as a sign of incipient rebellion against its ... power, and every person as a lurking or potential, ...ious or criminal character.

When such a conception of citizenship prevails and ...h a theory of law and jurisprudence is held, the ...ory of civil liberty has no place in the politics or ...stitution of the country.

There is also a system of compulsory labour ...vailing in India for government services. During war ... disturbance it develops into a system of compulsory ...scription of persons for various services, of compulsory acquisition of houses, lands, goods, property, conveyances, machinery, factories and industries. What should be the limits of control and compulsion in these matters is left to the sole discretion of the executive or the military authority. The conception of war, war-area, war-period, war-effort are so elastic and expansive that the claims of civil liberty are disappearing under the new despotism which war creates.

In India the struggle for civil liberty remains connected with and dependent upon the success of the struggle for national independence and the introduction of full responsible government in all the political units of the country. Otherwise modern totalitarian governments, new totalitarian parties, and old totalitarian religions will destroy the very foundations of civil liberties in India.

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OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE IN THE LIGHT OF THE STATEMENT ON INDUSTRIAL POLICY

By Prof. P. A. WADIA

...the last twelve months the air is resounding with ...k about planning from all sides. Last year a leading ...up of industrialists and businessmen, anxious as ...ey proclaimed themselves to be about the phenomenal ...verty of the millions of their countrymen and seized ...th compassion for their condition, placed before the ...untry their fifteen-year plan, involving an expenditure ... Rs. 10,000 crores. A policy of gradualism was to ...olve all glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunities, and by a magic wand the country was to be ...verted into a land of plenty, with security to the ...ners" of their profits but with "bread and circuses" ... the toiling millions. But the desire to plan was not ...fined to our industrialists; M. N. Roy followed up, ... a representative of the "have-nots" with a con...ted plan, and the teachings of Gandhiji inspired his ...ples to formulate a different type of plan, resting ... an implied yearning to return to the simplicity of ... past, with regional self-sufficiency and a break with ... artificial wants of an age of large-scale, ...hanised production with its trend towards ...ing the human to the likeness of the ...chine. To these have to be added scores of ...ns with five years and ten years targets for growing ...re food grains, for road building, for the rehabilitation ... the disbanded soldiers and seamen, which have been ...ared by the Central and Provincial Governments ...ng the last year and more Advisory Committees ...ve been appointed consisting of experts for guidance; ...tistical departments have been set up for collecting ...urate data; and one of the signatories of Part I of ... Bombay Plan has been appointed a member for ...ning on the Executive Council of the Central ...vernment. And to complete the implementation of ...vernment intentions the Government of India have ...ued a statement on Industrial Policy which will ...ern the transition period before the grant of self-...vernment to India.

The statement claims as the fundamental objectives ... the new policy (a) increase of national wealth by ... maximum utilisation of the country's material ...ources and manpower, (b) better preparation of the ...untry for defence, and (c) the provision of a high ... stable level of employment. These objectives are to be achieved by the abandonment of the *laissez-faire* policy which marked Government attitude down to the end of the last world war and the adoption of a more positive attitude with a view to promoting rapid industrialisation. Government propose the nationalisation of ordnance factories, public utilities, and railways which are to be State-owned and State-operated; as regards basic industries of national importance, such as aircraft, automobiles, chemicals and dyes, iron and steel, transport vehicles, electrical machinery and machine tools—such industries may be nationalised, if adequate private capital is not forthcoming, and if their promotion is essential in the national interests. It is also contemplated that Government may take over industries in which the tax element is more predominating than the profit element, *e.g.*, the salt industry in the past. Certain industries of national importance, such as shipbuilding and the manufacture of locomotives and boilers will be run by the State as well as private enterprise. State enterprises will be managed by the State but in special cases management may be handed over to private agency for a limited period. All other industries are to be left to private enterprise, with no control except such as is required to ensure fair conditions for labour, or such control as may be necessary in the case of scarce natural resources or semi-monopolistic industries.

Government assistance is to be given by making loans or subscribing a share of the capital, or by guarantee of a minimum dividend on capital or undertaking to meet losses for a fixed number of years. Support will also be given to research organisations and by purchase of products of the particular concerns. Government will also exercise control with a view to counteracting the concentration of industries in a few big cities, and take legislative powers for licensing the starting of new factories and the expansion of existing factories. Such control will also secure balanced investments of capital resources, fair wages, decent conditions of living, and a reasonable security of tenure for industrial workers, and prevent excessive profits. Finally there will have to be control of capital issues and licensing of machinery.

This is a brief summary of the latest announcement

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of what Government intend to do in the future for our economic development. It is an incongruous combination of what we are inclined to call State-capitalism with private enterprise and the profit economy. We see in this Government communique the natural complement of the proposals contained in the second part of the Bombay Plan. There is a remarkable parallelism between the proposals contained in the Bombay Plan and the recent Government communique. The following quotations from the Bombay Plan will afford convincing testimony. "Where ordinary methods of state control have to be supplemented by state ownership, it will be necessary to place management also in the hands of the state, as for example, in the manufacture of materials exclusively required for war purposes and the organisation of vital communications such as posts and telegraphs." (Part II, p. 29). "Enterprises owned wholly or partially by the State, public utilities, basic industries, monopolies, industries using or producing scarce natural resources should normally be subject to state control." "The following are illustrations of the form which control may assume: fixation of prices, limitation of dividends, prescription of conditions of work and wages for labour, nomination of government directors on the board of management, licensing and 'efficiency auditing'."

Any one who has carefully studied the Bombay Plan will recognise in its attempt at preserving a balance between private initiative and profit economy on the one hand and State control and State capitalism on the other an ominous presage of coming events. Both the authors of the Bombay Plan and the Government of India find themselves unable to accept *laissez-faire*; both want government control. What they seem to forget, both alike, is that the term controlled capitalism is in one sense a contradiction in terms, for it is impossible to separate economic and political powers. Any attempt to separate them makes for bribery and corruption and converts a pseudo-political democracy into a plutocracy. What we are heading for appears to be a combination of the forces of capitalism with the powers that be—an alliance of an open, undisguised character, which on the one hand by its profession of nationalisation of a few industries endeavours to win over the leftists who would advocate a socialist re-organisation of the economic structure, and to capture the profiteers by leaving vast fields of exploitation still open to their activities. Such an alliance between the profit-earning classes and the government would be bad enough in a free India; but it is infinitely worse as between the present ruling elements and the friendly combination of British and Indian capitalists, exploiting the resources of the country in the name of rapid industrialisation. It was only lately that Prof. A. V. Hill stated that British industry will not help in the development of Indian resources unless "they go equal shares with Indians."

Are we to accept, in the name of rapid development of our resources and of effectively raising the standard of living of the masses—a problematic assertion at the best,—a policy that makes for fascism in a new form? The history of Fascism in other countries in recent times reveals the presence of certain preparatory conditions favourable to its growth. One of these conditions, the most striking so far as India is concerned, is the absence for the last century and a half of democratic institutions and the habituation of the masses to rule from the top—whether the rule be that of secular powers wielding the sword, or the of the Brahmin elite over the inferior castes. Se the inflationary trend of the war period has b with it the increasing impoverishment of the m classes, amongst whom are to be included the workers and the products of our Universities, a for whatever jobs can save them from the th poverty and unemployment. We may also includ these classes the teachers and professors of Eco and other Sciences who may be converted apologists of the coming order by the offer of h appointments. In the third place there is the f the communist, the possibility of a revolt of the letariat, both industrial and rural, against oppressors, the Zemindars, the landed interests a industrialists. Both the Bombay Plan and Government communique are guardedly reserved their attitude to the landed interests, and the indu ists will have security of tenure under the prote of the government, purchased by handing over t state a few industries in the management and e of which they will have a predominant share.

It is equally significant that there has been reference in the Government communique to nationalisation of banking institutions, and control over investments as the present Govern assigns to itself can well be exercised in favour British capital which in co-operation with I industries is to benefit under the protective clau the Act of 1935. Whilst in other countries legisla intended to protect indigenous capital against f inroads, it is the unique privilege of our country have in the Constitution special provisions for protection of foreign investors against competition indigenous investments. Our press is dependent upon capitalists. Their bias towards maintaining the p order will be re-enforced by the fact that they have depend upon the patronage of advertisers and upon bankers who lend them money. They are a p capitalistic enterprise, existing primarily for the profits to their owners, and if they profess to have heart the general interests of the public, it is be fortunately or unfortunately, that is the only devi which they and the rest of us can maintain contact the world in which we live.

Whither, then, are we moving? Let us not misunderstood. We fully recognise that the capi order is in a process of disintegration. There has enough of loose talk about the new social order. the Bombay Plan and the Government communique implication seem to give us a general impression we are entering on an era of prosperity with the the war. But such an era of prosperity cannot achieved by perpetuating the old institution of p property. So long as this new order is based on private property in the instruments of life, w perpetuate dominance and competition, strugg strife, with profits as the reward of business prise. We shall also need co-operation in the order, but not the co-operation based upon compu which results in increasing rivalry between the peting units, whether these are classes or nations only co-operation worth having must be on a that will bring a peaceful world and an economy abundance for all. But we in India are further from the promise of this new order than many parts of the world. And we are led to believe th

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about to enter on such a promised land, the land milk and honey through exclusive reliance on ...-meal, gradual reform, on a philosophy of ...alism. We are being intellectually coerced by ...ings which we might well call aggressive, into their ...petty patterns of belief and behaviour. What do ...want to-day? If we want *order*, we can easily get ...the use of soldiers and policemen, by regimenta... ...our youths in schools dependent on capitalist ...ts, and regimentation of our adults through a ...alist-controlled press and cinemas and theatres and ...s. We may even get our bread and circuses, if ...desire them. If, on the other hand, we desire that ...natural resources should be so used as to give ...k for all, plenty for all, genuine security, increased ...dom, greater equality of opportunity, then let us ...forget that the fulfilment of such a desire cannot ...accomplished without a drastic and fundamental ...k with the present system, all the more difficult ...achieve at a time when the methods of free ...ernment are suspended all the world over under ...stress of war and human beings are converted into ...ts. It cannot be accomplished by any fresh New ...s by half-hearted endeavours, by the grant of a ...concessions to the working classes, by appeals to the conservation of consumers' interests under a profit economy. The new order "cometh not by observation" but by the development of a national movement of which the roots will have to be found in those whose income is derived from service rather than from the possession of property and of which the goal will be the transformation of our economic organisation.

It has been the misfortune of our country that it should manifest and has always been manifesting a lag in its economic and political life. Western nations have, during the past three or four decades, left behind them the phase of individual capitalism of the classical economists and have witnessed the growth of industrial combination and a caste of economic directors who have held even states to ransom. We are, here in India, entering on that stage of concentration of economic power, and instead of benefiting by the experience of the West are about to enter on the era of a planned society where the few will be the masters of the many, where giant corporations with the help of the government will acquire special privileges. This, and not any other, is the future that looms before us, if we judge the trend aright in the light of Government communiques and the activities of our businessmen and industrialists.

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THE PRESENT CLOTH SITUATION AND CLOTH RATIONING IN BENGAL

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

...Bengal Government have announced their inten... to ration cloth in Bengal. An interim rationing ...me has already been put into operation, though a ...me of distributing cloth only to a few selected ...ons can hardly be called proper rationing. The ...r 1943 saw an unprecedented food shortage in ...gal that took a toll of several million human lives; ...years later we are faced with an unprecedented ...h famine that has almost forced nudity on the ...ple of Bengal. The question that haunts the ...ddered and the perplexed public is this : India was ...ssing reasonably sufficient amount of clothing and ...industrial capacity has, it is told, gone up during ...war; why, then, this acute shortage when the mills ...supposed to be working to capacity ? If we investi... ...into the causes that have led to the present ...ation we would find that, as in the matter of food, ...there also Governmental indifference to the needs of ...people, administrative incompetence and deliberate ...versity have combined to make the situation what ...is to-day, while failure of controls, insufficient ...ply and large-scale corruption have given rise to ...ocked and shameless black-marketing and other ...social acts.

Clothing, like food, is one of the fundamental ...essities of life. Though the actual amount of clothing ...ired depends on various factors such as the ...matic conditions of the country, the habits of the ...ple and so on, the use of plenty of clothing by one ...d all is a sure indication of general prosperity. In ...20, the per capita consumption of cotton piece-goods ...as 64·0 sq. yards in the United States, 37·7 yards in ...Canada, 36·0 yards in Sweden, 34·0 yards in Germany, ...9 yards in Malaya, 30·0 yards in Denmark, 21·4 ...ds in Japan, 19·1 yards in Egypt, 18·9 yards in ...Iraq, 16·9 yards in Iraq, while it was only 16·1 yards in India.[1] The National Planning Committee estimated that the minimum requirements of per capita clothing in India should be 30 yards per year. But the actual consumption, as we see from the above figure, falls far short of that estimate.

An examination of available statistics will show that the cloth situation has begun to deteriorate from the beginning of the war. Generally speaking, there are three main sources of supply of cloth in India. Indigenous manufacture is undoubtedly the most important source, but handloom production still plays a considerably important part. The third source is net imports, that is, the balance of imports over exports of Indian cloth and re-exports of foreign cloth from India. As a result of the war, imports have fallen but exports have, quite strangely, gone up very rapidly. Mill production has not increased to any appreciable extent, while handloom production, about which reliable figures are not available, is supposed to have remained stationary. There has thus been a sharp reduction in over-all supply.

The following figures taken from the *Monthly Survey of Business Condition* are revealing :—

Mill Manufactures, Imports and Exports
(in Million Yards)

	A Production	B Imports	C Exports	D Re-exports
1937-38	4084·3	590·8	241·3	12·5
1938-39	4269·3	647·1	177·0	15·7
1939-40	4012·4	579·1	221·3	16·7
1940-41	4269·4	447·0	390·1	43·5
1941-42	4493·6	181·5	772·5	85·2
1942-43	4109·3	13·1	819·0	16·3
1943-44	4870·6	3·6	461·9	0·6

1. Vide *Bombay Plan*, Part I, para 12.

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By adding A and B and subtracting C and D we arrive at the following figures :—

Net Amount of Mill-made Clothing available (in Million Yards)

1937-38	4421·3
1938-39	4723·7
1939-40	4353·5
1940-41	4282·8
1941-42	3817·4
1942-43	3286·8
1943-44	4411·7

It is estimated that the total amount of handloom production varies from 1,200 million yards to 1,600 million yards, though chances are of its being more in the neighbourhood of 1,200 million yards rather than 1,600 million yards. If we add this figure of 1,200 million yards to the net amount of mill-made clothing available, we arrive at the following figures of total over-all supply though it must be remembered that civilian supply in the last few years has been less than the total amount of cloth available by 850 million yards, the quota reserved for the defence services.

Total Amount of Cloth available from all sources

	1. Total supply (million yards)	2. Estimated population (million)	3. Per capita supply (yards)
1937-38	5621·3	373·7	15·0
1938-39	5923·7	378·8	15·7
1939-40	5553·5	383·9	14·4
1940-41	5482·8	389·0	14·0
1941-42	5017·4	394·1	10·2
1942-43	4486·8 (less 850)	399·2	9·1
1943-44	5611·7 (less 850)	404·3	11·7

It will be seen that there has begun a steady decline in over-all supply from the beginning of the war and the total supply of cloth in 1941-42 was only 68 per cent of what was available in 1938-39, the last pre-war year. It is no wonder that this sudden one-third reduction in itself would be a cause of great hardship and would lead to cloth famine.

But these figures of over-all supply do not give a true picture of the situation. A few weeks ago, Mr. Krishnaraj Thackersay, Chairman of the Textile Control Board, made it known in a Press Conference at Bombay that out of this total supply, a very large slice does not reach the civilian consumer, for out of the total, approximately 750 million yards of cloth per annum,—at one time this reached the figure of 1,000 million yards—are supplied to the Defence services. Over and above this, a further quantity of 23 million pounds of yarn is being taken away by Government which is equal to about 100 million yards of cloth. To get a true picture of the present situation it would be necessary to deduct this amount from the total supply in order to get at the figure of civilian consumption; on this basis, the total amount of cloth available for civilian consumption comes up to only 3637·1 million yards in 1942-43 and 4761·7 million yards in 1943-44. Converted to the per capita basis, it means that in 1942-43, civilian population did not get more than 9·1 yards per head in 1942-43 and 11·7 yards per head in 1943-44. Thus from a per capita supply of 15·4 in 1938-39, the supply was brought down to 9·1 per head in 1942-43, a reduction of 40 per cent.

What did the Government do to avert the situation? Instead of making any effort to solve the problem by ensuring more supplies and better distribution, themselves created difficulties and made the situation still worse. It will be seen from the figures given above that though imports are continually decreasing since the war (imports have fallen from 647·1 million yards in 1938-39 to 3·6 million yards in 1944), exports have not shown a corresponding decrease. On the contrary, exports have been ever increasing until very recently. It is astounding that exports should go up from 177·0 million yards in 1938-39 to as much as 819·0 million yards in 1942-43, an increase of about 500 per cent. The Government tried to create the impression that these exports are agreed to by the industry and helpful to the building up of an export market. But on being closely questioned by Mr. K. Neogy in the Central Assembly, the Hon'ble Mr. Azizul Haque had to admit that the industry was not really consulted and such exports are done under orders from abroad. In the words of Sir Azizul, "All foreign countries do not state their requirements to the Government of India, but quotas are determined in accordance with a global planning scheme which is discussed with His Majesty's Government and subsequently considered by the Combined Production and Resources Board, Washington. The type of goods licensed for export against quota are controlled by the Government of India in the light of the supply position in the country." It is the same story of imperial exploitation over again. We have it on the authority of the Famine Commission that exports of rice from Bengal went on increasing until there was a net outflow balance in 1942-43 when the deep shadow of famine was already over the province. It is the same story over again; under orders from outside, exports must be made no matter whether such exports are justifiable or not. Exports have not ceased even now. The United States War Production Board has announced recently that applications for the importation of raw cotton from the Indian west coast may be filed by any person wishing to import this cotton.[2] Arrangements have at present been made to export from India 5,000 bales of raw cotton.[3]

But forced export is not the only feature of the disgraceful policy. To quote Mr. Thackersay again:

> "There are two ways of achieving an increase in production. One is rationalisation and the other is by working the machinery for longer hours. The available machinery in the country could produce 6,000 million yards and perhaps some more yarn but this could be achieved only under certain conditions, chief of which are more labour and more coal."

Unfortunately the Government did nothing to ease the coal and labour position. On the contrary, the Government advised organised closures as a result of coal shortage and the total loss due to such closures in last January alone has been to the extent of [illegible] million yards. It is interesting that though the cotton mills had to be closed because of coal shortage, collieries were ordered by the Government to [illegible]

2. Vide *Capital*, May 24, 1945.
3. Vide *Capital*, May 10, 1945.

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supplies of coal from other places to paper and jute industries which are incidentally primarily British concerns. The recent closure of the three Bengal Mills due to coal shortage and the disclosures made thereon by Mr. S. K. Basu are but another episode in this sad tale.

The Railways also had their share in this bungling mismanagement. Instead of making better arrangements for the transport of cotton and cotton goods they set on curtailing transport facilities when the need for more and better transport was at its highest. The following table gives the figures of wagon-loading of cotton[4]:—

Wagon Loading—Cotton (in terms of 4 Wheelers) 1st April to 31st March

	1943-44	1944-45	Percentage increase or decrease
Broad Gauge	66412	64472	—2·92
Metre Gauge	61779	51960	—15·0

This continued scarcity of cloth had also another effect; it gradually depleted all stocks of cloth and left no reserve to draw upon in times of emergency. The stage was thus set for the cloth famine. The over-all supply had begun to decrease from the beginning of the war; imports fell, but exports went on increasing; production did not increase; on the contrary, it actually decreased in some cases because of coal shortage and various other difficulties; transport arrangements were faulty and wagon-loading of cotton had been steadily decreasing; over and above all these, a large slice was cut off from total production and reserved for the defence services; yarn-supply to handloom producers has also been scarce in recent times and handloom production, specially in certain parts of India, is rapidly going down; reserves are run down and there is acute demand for cloth—it is no wonder that any sharp reduction in supplies or sharp rise in prices would, in these circumstances, lead to a severe cloth famine.

We now turn to the special situation in Bengal. Though the pioneer in boycotting foreign cloth, Bengal has, unfortunately, not sufficiently developed cotton mills of her own and has to depend on western India for supplies. At the end of 1942, she had only 33 mills, though 22 more mills were in the course of erection or had been registered.[5] It appears from the same source that these mills consumed cotton to the extent of 18,000 bales of 400 lbs. in 1940-41, the largest figure in recent years. Assuming that 1 bale is equal to roughly 1,100 to 1,200 yards of cloth, we arrive at the following figures of cloth production in Bengal in recent years:—

1935-36	11,88,00,000	Yds.
1936-37	9,48,00,000	"
1937-38	11,04,00,000	"
1938-39	10,20,00,000	"
1939-40	12,12,00,000	"
1940-41	14,16,00,000	"

This falls far short of the needs of the province. If 16 yards of cloth per capita be the bare minimum, then the total needs of the province, on the basis of 1941 census, become as high as 983·3 million yards. Bengal's own production is a very small fraction of her total needs; she has to depend on outside sources for meeting her demand. It is quite understandable that suffering in such a case would be too great if supplies are not coming from outside or if arrangements for distribution break down. This is exactly what happened in Bengal when she was being led, step by step, into this critical cloth situation.

Years of famine and distress had already impoverished the middle classes and pushed many other sections of the community to utter destitution. Bengal was the worst sufferer in this respect. This had the effect of exhausting all household stocks of cloth and reserves were drawn upon as a measure of economy instead of new purchases being made. The situation was beginning to be critical; shortage, in the sense of physical absence and relatively high prices, had begun to appear. Only a steady supply of cloth at cheap rates could have saved the situation. But the Governmental machinery failed exactly at this critical moment.

First, there was the question of over-all deficit. We have seen how the total supply for civilian consumption was gradually decreasing since the outbreak of the war. Bengal had to share this over-all decrease. But that is not all, for her sacrifice was more than proportionate. As she was not self-sufficient in the matter of cloth and depended largely on imports from outside, any breakdown in transport arrangements means more than proportionate reduction in her supplies. Curtailment of transport facilities produced precisely this effect.

Thirdly, Bengal did not receive her quota during the earlier period of the crisis and even the meagre quota she was supposed to have received did not finally reach her, for large exports were made out of that quota to places outside. As the cloth situation began to deteriorate schemes were prepared for the production of 'Standard cloth' on a large scale and its sale at a fixed price through authorised agents for the benefit of the poorer classes. But these schemes never materialised and the trickle of Standard cloth that reached Bengal hardly improved the situation. Cloth supply since then has been extremely scarce. Figures of what Bengal received during this period have not been made public, but there are reasons to believe that Bengal did not get her proportionate share. It is astonishing that even now the Bengal Government do not know what is the total quota fixed for Bengal (*vide* Press Note of 16-6-45). It has been irrefutably proved that large portions of the Bengal quota are still being sent to China and other countries. Further trouble was created when the Government suppressed the normal trade channels but could not build up an alternative and efficient system of distribution and supply. The appointment of special agents for handling yarn and cloth, of special shops for selling Standard cloth, etc., displaced the usual traders from the market, but this Governmental encroachment in the field of trade not only opened floodgates of corruption but also increased the chaos. Those who were allowed to exist went on black-marketing and hoarding and no real efforts were made to check these anti-social acts. It is strange, but significant, that new traders and firms are springing up like mushrooms under Government patronage; firms without any previous experience are being given large favours and monopolistic rights; even those prosecuted for anti-social acts have not

4. Vide *Capital*, May 24, 1945.
5. Vide *The Indian Cotton Textile Industry*, 1942 *Annual*, p. 26-27 (Gandhi & Co.).

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been excluded from such favours. Unless there is a through clean-up from top to bottom in the Government departments and in the big business and unless very serious efforts are made to weed out dishonesty and corruption, no scheme, however honest in itself, will have any reasonable chance of success.

The situation bears a close resemblance to the food situation in 1942-43. Food situation was then deteriorating fast, but the authorities went on shouting that there was no shortage and the situation was being over-dramatised. But soon the famine reached its peak and Calcutta had to be taken off the Bengal market and put on a rationing scheme. Similarly, the cloth situation has become too critical, but Mr. Vellodi, the Textile Commissioner, has declared that to describe the existing state of supply of cloth or of yarn in Bengal as famine is unwarranted by facts and that it is indeed a gross exaggeration. Yet at the same time rationing is being introduced in Calcutta and a cloth drive, like the food drive, has been undertaken.

The rationing scheme, as at present contemplated, is thoroughly unsatisfactory. Handloom products are at present excluded from the purview of the scheme and only mill-made cloth has been brought under control. The greatest defect of the scheme is that it relates only to Calcutta and not to the rest of Bengal. No announcement has been made as to how the rest of Bengal would be supplied or whether proper supplies would be guaranteed at all and unless precautions are taken from now it would again become, as during the food crisis, a question of Calcutta *versus* the rest of Bengal. It may be argued that the food rationing scheme is working successfully only in Calcutta while the rest of Bengal is not put on rationing and there should be no reason why the cloth rationing scheme should not work on that basis. But such an argument does not hold water, for unlike food, supplies in this case will have to be brought mostly from outside and no equitable distribution will be possible without full rationing all over Bengal. The Government recently announced that up till 31st May, they have sent 19,271 bales to the districts, that is, 28·9 million yards. But as we have seen, 28·9 million yards is only a very small fraction of what is required at the present moment,—it is in fact only near about 3 per cent of her total needs.

Secondly, the total quantity of cloth sanctioned per capita is totally inadequate. The peace-time per capita consumption of 16 yards per head must be regarded as the barest minimum. Plea is taken that Bengal must now also share proportionately the sacrifice that has to be made in view of the over-all deficit and the per capita yardage now sanctioned is probably 10 yards, though assurance has been given that it will be raised to 12 yards per annum. But it is known that Bombay City will get 16 yards and Delhi City 12 yards per head every six months, (*i.e.*, 32 yards and 24 yards per annum). It is also known that Bombay, Punjab, U.P. and Delhi will get 18 yards per head per annum. To call this a proportionate sacrifice for Bengal is, to say the least, a palpable falsehood and a clear distortion of facts.

Thirdly, no provision has been made under the present scheme to supply cloth to children under twelve years. A rationing scheme must include all sections of the public and must provide for [illegible] individual. To call a scheme that provides no [illegible] for children up to 12 years. a cloth rationing sch[illegible] is nothing but a misnomer.

Fourthly, the arrangements for distribution [illegible] been made too clumsy and the system has been [illegible] too rigid and inelastic to admit of any individ[illegible] variation. In the United Kingdom and almost all oth[illegible] Western countries, cloth rationing has been mad[illegible] the basis of points value, so that any person [illegible] need of a particular type of cloth may buy alte[illegible] types of equal points value. It is easily understo[illegible] that a middle class family would be in a greater [illegible] of, say, shirting than the agricultural labourers; it [illegible] help the middle class families, labourers and [illegible] authorities as well if arrangements can be made, on [illegible] basis of points value, for allowing the option of b[illegible] more shirting instead of dhoties or more dhoties in[illegible] of shirting.

An interim arrangement of cloth distrib[illegible] through non-official Ward Committees has [illegible] brought into existence pending the introduction of [illegible] final rationing scheme. Only 2,000 bales will [illegible] distributed during this interim period in Cal[illegible] while nearly 19,000 bales have been sent to the mofu[illegible] It is estimated that during the cloth drive the Gov[illegible] ment unearthed and seized a total of more than [illegible] bales and there was a stock of nearly 30,000 bales [illegible] hand; the question very naturally arises; if Cal[illegible] and mofussil account for only 21,000 bales where [illegible] the other bales gone? What can be the reason [illegible] withholding them from sale when suffering has be[illegible] so acute? Why should the people be forced to m[illegible] unnecessary sacrifice even when stocks are avail[illegible] The interim scheme will be nothing better than a [illegible] if it means the grant of one dhoti or one sari to [illegible] person in every fifty or hundred persons; The W[illegible] Committees, again, have been formed with [illegible] haste; it can hardly be expected that these made[illegible] order committees can in any sense represent [illegible] opinion and be of any real help in cloth distrib[illegible] But even these Committees have been unanim[illegible] in their chorus of protest against the pr[illegible] unsatisfactory arrangements. The way in w[illegible] the interim scheme has been inaugurated [illegible] the way in which it is functioning force [illegible] to the conclusion that it is a trick to befool [illegible] public and divert their attention from the main is[illegible] to minor ones. These committees have been for[illegible] to take upon themselves the odium that Govern[illegible] are not willing to face. It is the old game of divi[illegible] the public and setting one group against an[illegible] Unless proper supplies are given, these committees [illegible] their useless efforts will only stir up local quarrels [illegible] mutual accusation. It is time that the public [illegible] see through this game; they should demand [illegible] and unequivocally that a Government that have [illegible] in their primary duty of feeding and clothing [illegible] people have no right to be in power. All corr[illegible] must cease; proper supplies should be given [illegible] equitable distribution ensured and sooner the Gov[illegible] ment give up this game of covering up their [illegible] trying to throw the entire blame upon the people [illegible] better, for otherwise there can be no real solution [illegible] the cloth problem, or as a matter of fact, any pro[illegible] facing the country.

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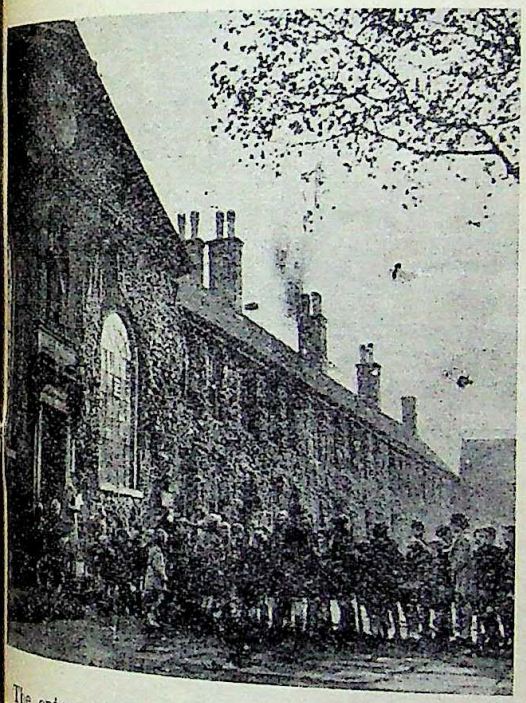
THE CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

By Mrs. LESLEY BLANCH

s in Shoreditch, in the heart of the East-End of ndon, there is a small, yet significant building. By me miracle it has remained unharmed through all the ashing which has shattered so much of this area. This le, unpretentious and rather shabby little place s great significance. It symbolizes that tranquillity f spirit, that casual cheerfulness and normality with ich the people of London have met the challenge of d warfare.



The entrance to the museum, with a line of children waiting to go in

Its name is the Geffrye Museum. It has come to known as the children's museum, for they have the n of the place, and patter in and out un-dragooned, owed to wander there at will. They come in their e time, and on holidays, as well as during school- when some of their classes are held there, as well ertain film shows, talks, and art exhibitions. It is the meeting place for various Saturday expeditions. act, to the children it is their own special club. unpretentious educational experiment—a working ement, too—is none the less revolutionary for s unpublicised. There is none of that complicated ntific approach which clouds so many questions of l welfare and education. The museum is full of ly and interesting things, and any child who cares ntre is welcomed there. The curator, Mrs. Harri- has made it part of her job to be as knowledgeable out each child who comes to the museum as each ame which it houses. The Geffrye Museum has throughout all the past five dangerous years, remained a source of abiding interest, and a source of refreshment amidst the squalor and tragedy of the battered neighbourhood.

Formerly an Almshouse

Originally, the museum was a set of almshouses for old people. It was endowed by an eighteenth century benefactor, Sir Robert Geffrye. His periwigged statue standing in a niche over the creeper-covered facade, stares stonily down the length of the grass forecourt, where garden seats, and rows of two-hundred-year-old lime and plane trees offer an illusion of formal gardens. Beyond the iron railings (now torn up for salvage) is the perpetual clatter and roar of traffic, along the ugly main thoroughfare. Behind the railings, across the forecourt, stands the little museum. The main doorway gives on to what was once the chapel : the remains of the cream-panelled box-pews are still in evidence, while over the porter's desk, the tiny pulpit rears up proudly. On each side, doors lead to the long corridors, which, room by room, are stocked with beautiful and curious things which fire the youthful imagination.

The Curator is explaining the treasures of a panelled Jacobean room to an eager audience of little boys

This is a purely domestic museum. Its exhibits are composed almost entirely of everyday things of the past, and particularly the craft of the iron workers and cabinet makers, who once were centred in the neighbourhood. Spinning wheels, spinets, cradles, early cooking stoves, bible-boxes (in which the treasured hand-written and illuminated Bibles were kept locked), lamps, carpenters' tools, old shop signs, fantastically dressed dolls of all periods, silver, glass, china and earthenware, snuff-boxes, pieces of Grinling Gibbons'

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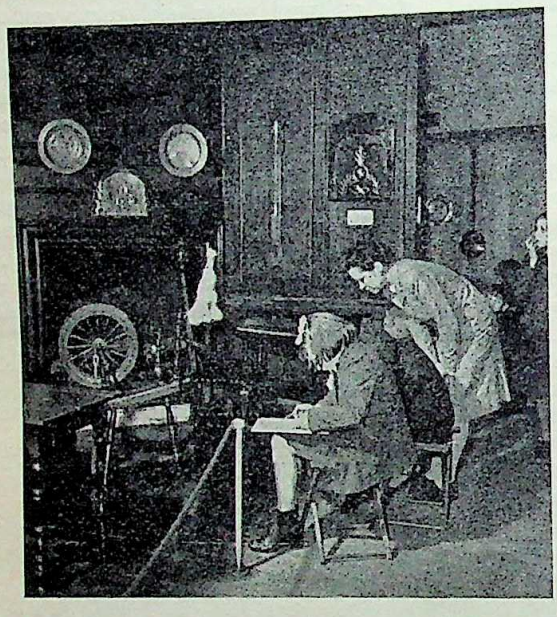
carving from St. Paul's Cathedral, great lush swags of fruit and flowers, a florid plaster ceiling from the Pewterers' Hall, stained glass, crude, early hand-coloured children's books, full of moral adages, delicately embroidered waistcoats, babies' lace bonnets, some fine old carved doorways, and specimens of elegant Regency iron balconies are all to be found here. It is the history of everyday things, through the centuries.

From Tudor Room to Mouse Trap

Room by room, they are set out in period—reconstructions of typical domestic interiors. There is a



Girls are at work with their sketching books in the Elizabethan room

Tudor room, panelled in oak, an eighteenth-century kitchen, perfectly reconstructed, down to the cumbersome but lethal mouse trap, which is an object of great interest to the children. There is a Regency drawing-room, with scrolled sofa, a harp, and handsome inlaid furniture: there are Victorian rooms with their inconsequential collection of curios, samples and bric-a-brac; Stuart rooms, with clouded mirrors, damask covered walnut furniture, Delft china and pewter; there is an early sewing machine, examples of old wall-papers, fabrics from India and China and Lancashire cottons. There are glass-blowers' tools, a carpenter's tool chest, and a cloth loom.

Not, perhaps, a really unique show? No, not by virtue of its exhibits, but unique, nevertheless, by reason of its environment, and in particular by the nature of its visitors.

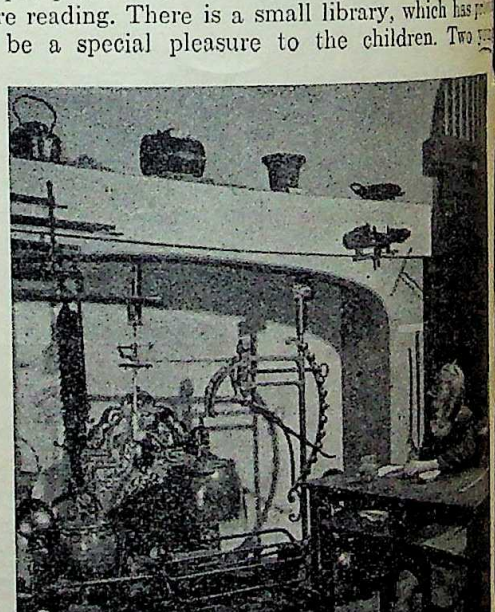
During the school holidays, as soon as it opens, the children come clattering noisily in, for a day of instructive amusement. But however noisy, they are not destructive. Although allowed to touch, they seldom injure the things; you see them pondering over the intricacies of a harpsichord, or studying the complications of a turn-spit cooking stove with equal care and interest. Sometimes they come in little groups—to study, or in separate units of two or three—to play. In 1942 there were 12,760 spare-time visits to the museum, excluding the 12,552 school-time visits, accompanied by teachers. They are given paints and chalks to draw (or freely) what they admire best in the museum.

One small room was crowded with laughing talking children, some sucking their paint brushes the agony of creative frustration, others crowded a boy who was modelling an Elizabethan frigate. Th model ship classes are particularly popular among older boys. Younger children enjoy playing with huge Victorian dolls' house, arranging and re-arrang the quaint old toys inside.

However, much as they admire the various period rooms at the museum, no interior has evoked such spontaneous burst of enthusiasm as the modern living room which has just been set up, as a tail-piece to period interiors. This is regarded by the children the acme of perfection.

Special Lectures and Exhibitions

Special lectures and exhibitions, some of a surprisingly advanced nature, are held from time to time such subjects as Design in Daily Life, Town Planning Social History, or such as the one on Nineteenth Century French Art, which the children were helping arrange when I was last there. They were unpacking Forain, Degas and Toulouse Lautrec sketches with intent faces, stacking them methodically, and with proprietary air. The children enjoy being given such jobs. In the "Children's Room" as it is called, some babies were working out jig-saw puzzles cut from simple pictures of the various period rooms. Others were reading. There is a small library, which has proved to be a special pleasure to the children. Two young



This little boy is intent on his sketch of the fascinating kitchen utensils used by cooks of past centuries

girls, scarcely seven years old, were making a study of English domestic architecture, by means of tiny cardboard houses, modelled county by county, according the distinctive style of each area, Devon thatch, Cumberland flint, Berkshire red brick, Suffolk gables, and so on. "I'm going to live in this one," shrilled one, "this is mine, this is mine," reiterated her companion, as at the delicate models on show.

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TVA MODEL FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA

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By KAMALESH RAY, M.SC.

In the previous story of the Tennessee Valley it was told how a barren tract of half the size of Bengal, which was frequented by catastrophic flood and systematic drought, was converted into a garden of prosperity through scientific regional planning under a national Government. We have seen why the river basin is chosen as a self-contained unit for the regional development of the economic resources and how Nature's water cycle offers a great potentiality for agricultural development and industrialisation of a country.

Why was this story told, and why is the talk of TVA so much in the air? Is it possible to translate the methods of the TVA and apply them to our lands or to any other country? The present discussion gives its answer—an answer in the affirmative.

All the River Basins Have Similar Problems to Solve

Some are apt to think that the Tennessee River enjoys a unique and favoured position, and that the American solution of the American problem does not apply to our rivers, and the TVA is a utopia for us.

This idea is not true. Rivers or their basins have no nationality. Rivers are rivers and valleys are valleys. What is true for the Tennessee basin is also true for any other river basin of the world. The difference, if any, is in degree. Flood, soil erosion, undeveloped mineral wealth, poverty, malnutrition, etc., are the fundamental problems in regional planning of this kind. The problems are fundamentally the same, the broad principles of solution are also the same. The differences are in the details of technique which varies from river to river, valley to valley even in the same country. TVA model has been worked out on a natural basis: its applicability is universal.

Mr. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, puts it clearly while writing his book on the TVA:

> "I write of the Tennessee Valley, but all this could have happened in almost any of a thousand other valleys where rivers run from hills to the sea. For the valleys of the earth have these things in common: the waters, the air, the land, the minerals, the forests. In Missouri and in Arkansas, in Brazil and in the Argentine, in China and in India there are just such rivers,—rivers flowing through mountain canyons, through canebrake and palmetto, through barren wastes, rivers that in the violence of flood menace the land and the people, then sulk in idleness and drought—rivers all over the world waiting to be controlled by men—the Yangtze, the Ganges, the Ob, the Parana, the Amazon, the Nile. In a thousand valleys in America and the world over there are fields that need to be made strong and productive, land steep and rugged, land flat as a man's hand, on the slopes, forests—and in the hills, minerals—that can be made to yield a better living for people."

The problems are natural and human. Flood control, irrigation, navigation, electric power generation, sanitation, better living, etc., are all true for all countries and all nations under all governments. The problems remain the same for any country, nationality, polity, and government: the same is the case about their solutions. To solve or not to solve is the lookout of the government concerned.

The Solution is Possible Through an Autonomous Powerful Organisation of Scientific Personnel

The principle lies in the controlling of Nature's power and resources: and it is easy to do so through harnessing, primarily, the water resources of the valley, employing them for irrigation, navigation, generation of hydro-electricity for industrialisation, and production and distribution of wealth for the people. The entire project of this kind, as now it has come to stand, requires a vast organisation of technical staff, in which basic scientific knowledge has to be applied in every step to cope with Nature's power and for her exploitation.

The TVA method is characterised by its unique comprehensiveness. It is both a planning and an executive body. It not only looks forward for flood control in the river, but for generation of electricity from the same dams. The same dams are also utilised for navigation and fishery. In short, the dams are 'multipurpose', and the purpose is democratic. The entire organisation is devoted to the improvement of the valley for the people of the locality and for the nation. People of the world are yet to learn about the TVA's multipurpose project and its farsightedness in drawing up plans. It should also be noted that any constructional project of the TVA is not only multipurpose in itself at the moment but also considers in detail the possible future developments which might be affected by the construction so that there might be an ample provision for the future expansion.

Contrasted with this TVA method, the older ones are degenerate or broken up,—without life and real purpose,—each department of piece-meal development is conflicting with the other. The entire human problem, the solution of which lies in the development of the natural basin in its entirety remained unsolved, and the attempts to solve them piecemeal made all of them out of gear and unworkable. The general machinery of the governments of the world is still so complicated and grossly partitioned out into water-tight compartments that it is impossible to make a headway in economic planning which otherwise could have taken full advantage of modern science and technology which have made the word 'impossibility' meaningless as demonstrated by the activities of the TVA.

The characteristic features of the TVA are that:

(1) the Government has given it all power to deal with the valley's problem—technical and economic, and the minor provincial questions, vested interests, etc., have been cut through in favour of the greater interest of the people of the valley and of the nation,

(2) the TVA is a large body of scientists and experts (numbering 40,000 in 1943) who plan and execute for the entire problem of the valley,—technical, economic and social.

Planning of the kind we really mean for the people of the land is not a fun of an individual or two. It involves a large variety of problems, each of them requiring a large batch of experts—to plan and to execute. All the jobs are linked up and interwoven. For example, flood can be cured by putting dams at suitable sites. It is not a one-man's job. The sites are to be surveyed by experts, the suitability of the dam

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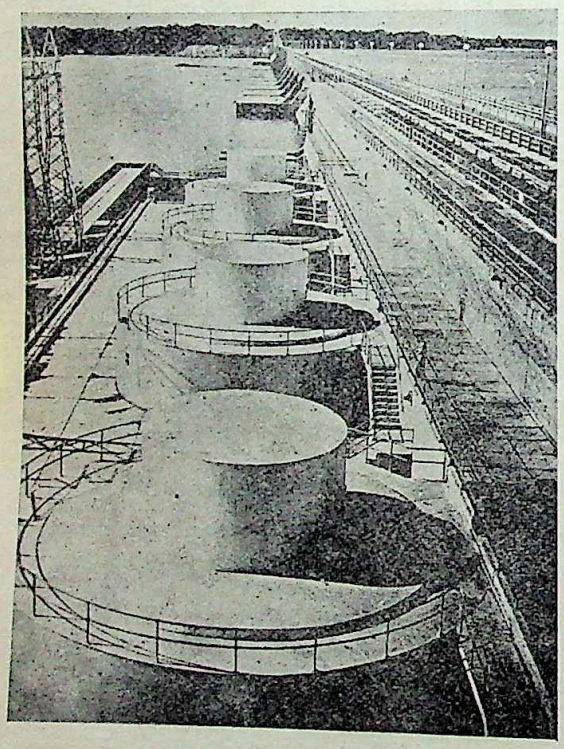
foundation is to be judged by expert geologists; the construction of dams involves scientists and engineers, and requires researches and model experiments in the laboratory for determining suitable size, shape, strength, etc. The design, again, depends on stream gauging,—the planners must know how the river flows in all times of the year, how it has actually behaved for the last five, ten or fifty years. The holding-off of water and their release depends upon rain gauging and meteorological forecasting of weather. Again, the dams are likely to be silted up,—the erosion of land has to be reduced to the minimum both for the sake of the dam life and for the fertility of the soil of the basin. The problem of forestry and scientific cultivation comes in, the problem of irrigation comes in, artificial manuring also does not escape consideration. The mobilisation of men and materials for these problems involves industrialisation and easy communication :



Looking past the four turbine casings along the whole length of Wheeler Dam in Alabama

general economic planning involves them also at the very root. Industry needs electricity which is generated in the power-house at the foot of the storage dams. And so on. It is a colossal national task in which a large number of experts are required to participate—physicists, chemists, civil,- mechanical- and electrical engineers, geologists, statisticians, foresters, architects, soil experts, health authorities, research workers, teachers, lawyers, and what not. Jacks and Whyte remark, "Its (TVA's) salary list includes almost every recognised profession and some that would scarcely be recognised outside the Tennessee Valley." It is already noted that the organisation of the TVA employed some 40,000 men in 1943.

Thus, planning is not a freak of one's sweet will. Planning is not for idealism. Planning is not an end in itself. TVA plans are practical and are based on real human propositions chalked out by idealist technicians —'dreamers with shovels',—a colossal batch of them. They believe in people's basic wants and needs. The plans are real, human, universal and workable.

The Many-Province Problem

It has already been said, and it goes without saying, that the rivers do not obey political boundaries of the country. Rivers flow through many provinces and states with their respective governments. And the hard fact is that a river cannot be controlled or utilised by taking it to pieces.

Take for example, the Damodar River. It flows through Bihar and Bengal. Bengal suffers from the periodic and catastrophic floods, and the government has tried to save the tract by raising embankments. The embankments have always breached; the breaches are accompanied by terrible flood disasters; water resources have been wasted into the sea through the embankments; peasants have suffered from chronic dearth of water under the threat of flood; sanitation of the country has deteriorated with highest epidemic mortality and with spleen index of hundred per cent in most part of the valley. Such is the Damodar problem of Bengal, and such has been the method of solution in Bengal.

The mistake is there—to call it a problem of Bengal. It is, in fact, the problem of the river itself—in its entirety. The river has nothing to do with the political boundary or the Government of Bengal or Bihar: the problem does not change with the boundary nor with the ministry, nor the flood would stop for its courtesy towards Provincial Autonomy. No amount of embankment will reclaim the Damodar basin within Bengal or outside : it will mean, as it has done in the past, disaster and economic death of the valley.

The Tennessee river had the same problem. No, it had a greater problem, inasmuch as it flows through seven states instead of two, and the total water handled by the Tennessee is nearly six times that in the Damodar. The Americans might have done just the same as others are doing here. They might have patched up the enbankments of the Tennessee Rivers within their respective State boundaries just the same way. But they knew the result. Not only that they knew the mistake of trying to dissect the river according to State boundaries, but they knew how to avoid the mistake. The U. S. Government created the River Authority to deal with the natural problem of the entire watershed in the natural way. The state boundaries disappeared to the TVA, and so disappeared the difficulties.

The problem of the Damodar basin and its provincial controversies is just one of the many such cases. The Murray River in Australia flows through three states—New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, and they have entered into the controversy since 1844. They instituted Royal Commissions, River Leagues, River Commissions, etc. and are going round the vicious circle with all sorts of bureaucratic red-tapisms for the last one hundred years to achieve only very little success in certain amount of inland navigation and irrigation. Hydro-electricity has not yet been produced, although the question has been raised since 1924. The matter was deferred till 1930 and again till 1944, but nothing yet availed. The whole difficulty is in not creating an autonomous river authority to tackle the problem of the Murray in its entirety.

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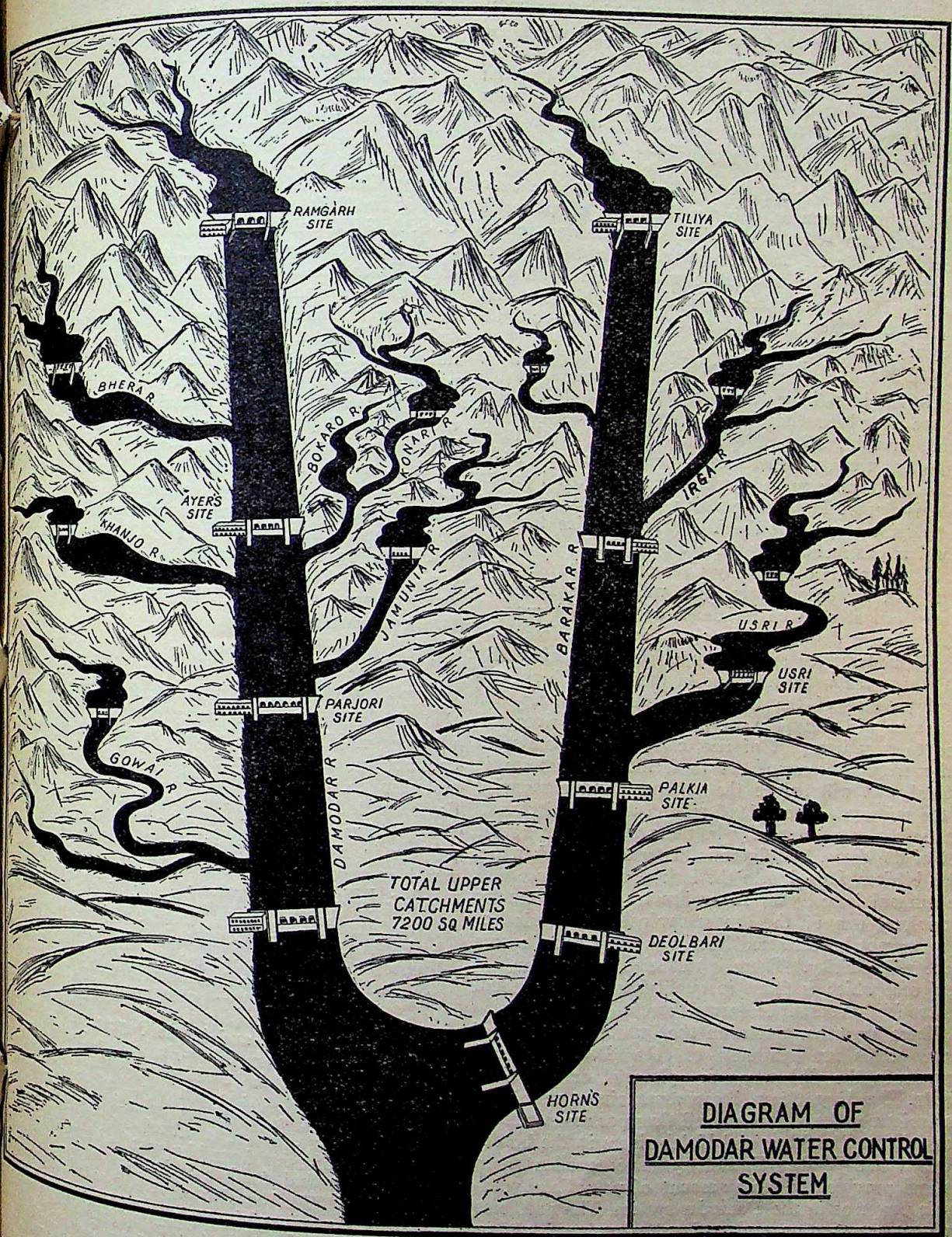

From "Damodar Planning" by Dr. M. N. Saha and K. Ray, *Science and Culture*, July 1944

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So the conflict is between Nature and the Government. The TVA presents a happy reconciliation between the two powers,—not a conflict. "A new chapter in American public policy was written when Congress in May, 1933 passed the law creating the TVA. For the first time since the trees fell before the settler's axe, America set out to command nature not by defying her, as in the wasteful past, but by understanding and acting upon her first law—the oneness of men and natural resources, the unity that binds together land, streams, forests, minerals, farming, industry, mankind."

That which is required by science cannot be overruled by a government only by the merit of 'power' it possesses. The attempt has always proved and is still proving disastrous. The Government has to find out ways and means to co-operate with Nature and take advantage of modern science and technology in the matters of economic planning for the welfare of the people.

Problems of India

It has been indicated in the preceding pages that all the river basins have similar problems to solve—the flood, drought, soil erosion, and the conservation of water resources, maintenance of inland navigation for trade and commerce and generation of electrical power. In this respect India has nothing new to do, excepting to adopt the spirit of the TVA. This is also true for world reconstruction.

Take up the case of any river or river basin. The Damodar, for example, to start with. The Damodar Valley can at once be reclaimed on the TVA model.* More than a dozen of dam sites have been found on the Damodar river and its important tributaries. By harnessing the water resources in the dams the agricultural produce of the tract will double, malaria and epidemics will disappear, navigation in the river will lead to easy transport of rice, coal, building materials and mercantile commodities to facilitate commerce in general, and will reduce the pressure (and monopoly) of the railways. About 1,000 million units of electricity can be generated annually in the power-houses at the foot of the dams. The figure is likely to be much more, not a bit less. It is due to the lack of cheap power that the mineral industry of Bihar has to suffer so much: aluminium, one of the most valuable minerals of Bihar, cannot be extracted locally as there is no source of cheap electricity. There is excessive pressure on the Bihar coal which is finest in quality and is a national asset which must be conserved carefully.

There are other rivers on the western border of Bengal, which run parallel to the Damodar and originate in the Chhotanagpur plateau or its close vicinity. The Ajoy, Cossy, Rupnarayan rivers are nearly as notorious as the Damodar, and thus possess enormous potentialities. The Sileru and Kolab rivers in the border of Orissa and Madras Presidency have excellent dam sites and provide the same amount of potential hydro-electric power as in the Damodar system. The problems of water conservation and regional planning in Bihar and Orissa have been discussed elsewhere (*Regional Planning in Bihar*, 20th Cen. Pub. Patna 1945).

Almost all the Deccan rivers have enormous possibilities on the TVA lines. The Punjab Rivers, and others down the Himalayan slopes, like the Ganges and its tributaries, the Tista, Brahmaputra and host of others remain to be surveyed for resources-planning in India. These will entail the said 'conflict' between provinces or states. All of them have to be removed, in future, by the TVA method.

It has been thoroughly explained how the conservation of water resources and utilisation of the great water cycle of Nature comes to the aid of industrialisation and efficient agriculture—both being at the root of the economic welfare of a country. India has her rich soil and rich mineral resources. But they go unworked and undeveloped. For *working* always involves power and energy. Compared with other civilised countries, while Britain has 2,000 units of energy per head per year, and U. S. A. 3,000 units, India has only about 100 units per capita. One can now easily imagine the helpless position of India in matters of developing her agricultural potentialities and mineral resources. The potentiality of power in India is by no means meagre. Nature has endowed India not only with agricultural soil and mineral resources but also with necessary power potentialities to develop them. India is now producing 4,000 million units of electricity while the total utilisation of power—including manual labour, animal labour, coal and other fuels—amounts to some 40,000 million units (in terms of electrical units of Kilowatt-hour). The water power resources of India is now estimated (more tentative than thorough) at 39 million horse power amounting to some 2,60,000 million units a year, leading to an increase of some 650 units per capita. Out of these 39 million horse power of potential water power, only about one million horse power has so far been harnessed.

TVA and World Reconstruction

The TVA is built with such a fundamental structure that the model can be accepted for any economic planning which is to be carried on natural regional lines and not on the old basis of governmental pigeon-holes, sectarianism. The fundamentals have been so clearly demonstrated that the TVA organisation has occupied the position of being the only training centre for all nations in the matters of the future development of world resources under democratic planning.

Mr. Lilienthal narrates:

"Among the more than eleven million people who have visited the TVA in recent years have been representatives of almost every country in the world. Since the war there has been a marked increase in foreign visitors. They come in a steady procession: a Chinese general returning to Chungking, complete with military cap and battle dagger, an agricultural Commissioner from New Delhi, the British Ambassador, a group of Swedish journalists especially observant of the modern architecture of the new power-houses, a Brazilian scientist, a prominent Australian politician, a Czech electrical expert—hundreds of men from the most distant lands."

Mr. Lilienthal further adds:

"The TVA has also served as a training ground for foreign technicians; two score engineers and agriculturists from a dozen republics of South America, a similar contingent from China, singularly enthusiastic and intense. There has been a group of Russian engineers working with TVA technicians on Lend-Lease hydro-electric plants. . . . Studies are being made of how a set-up of general TVA could be adopted to serve as an international instrument of a national agency (thus among other things undercutting and transcending nationalist sovereignty

* The problem has been discussed in detail and plans have been drawn up elsewhere (see *Science and Culture*, July, 1944).

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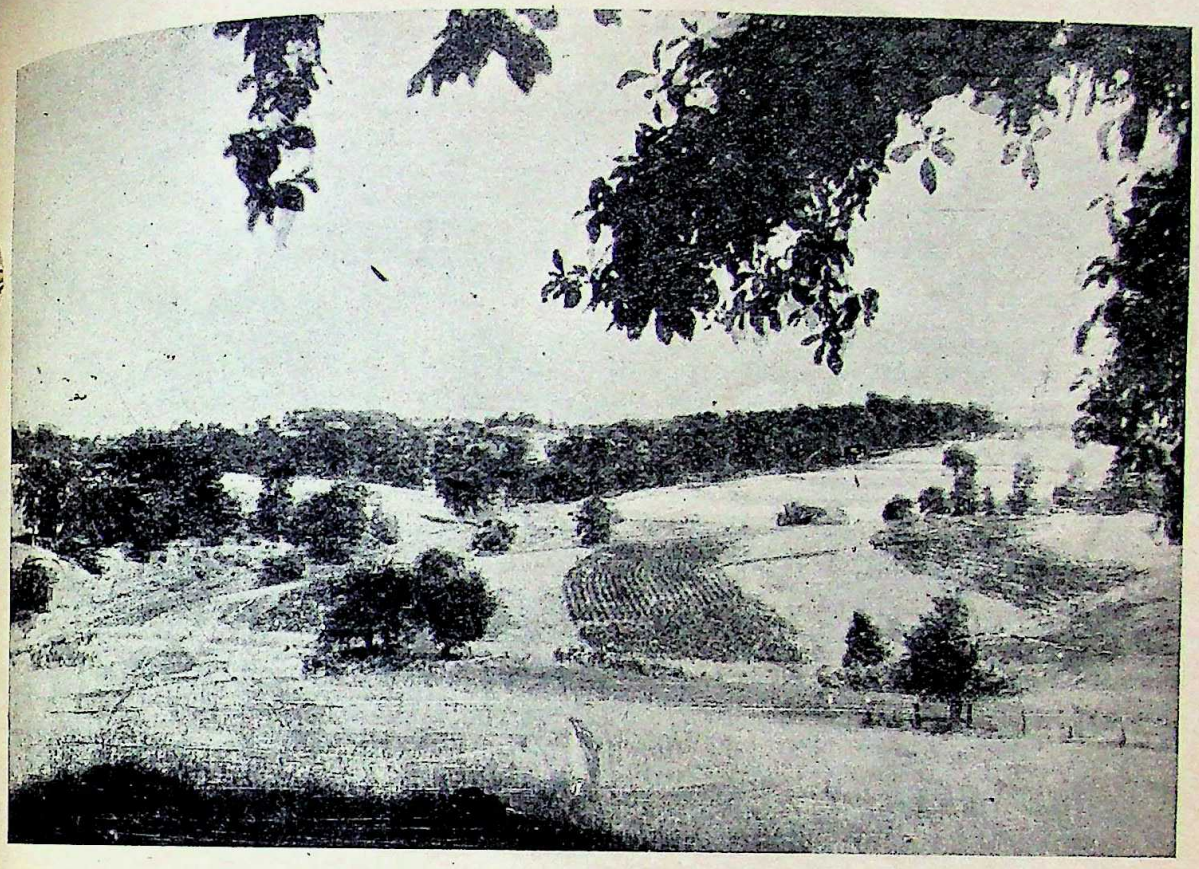

Utilising superphosphate fertilisers produced in TVA plants, farmers of the Tennessee Valley have restored the soil's ability to produce

A century and a half of cultivating on mountainsides had left millions of acres of the Tennessee Valley in an eroded and impoverished condition

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Courtesy : USOWI

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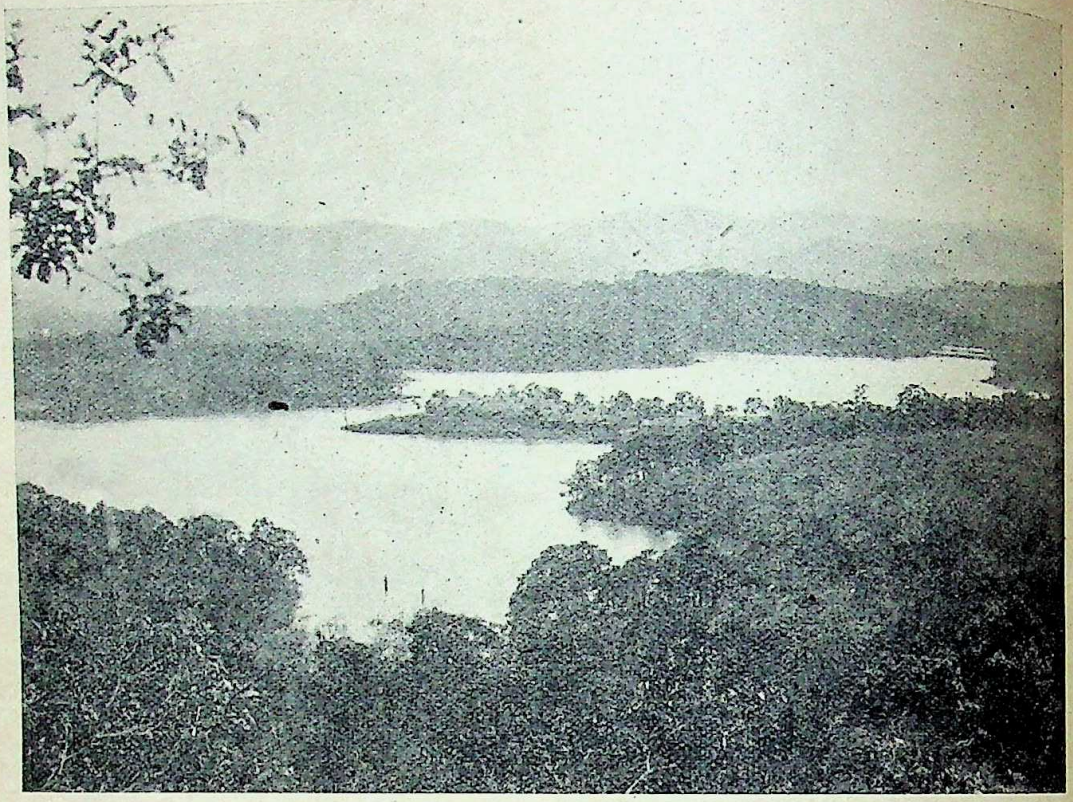
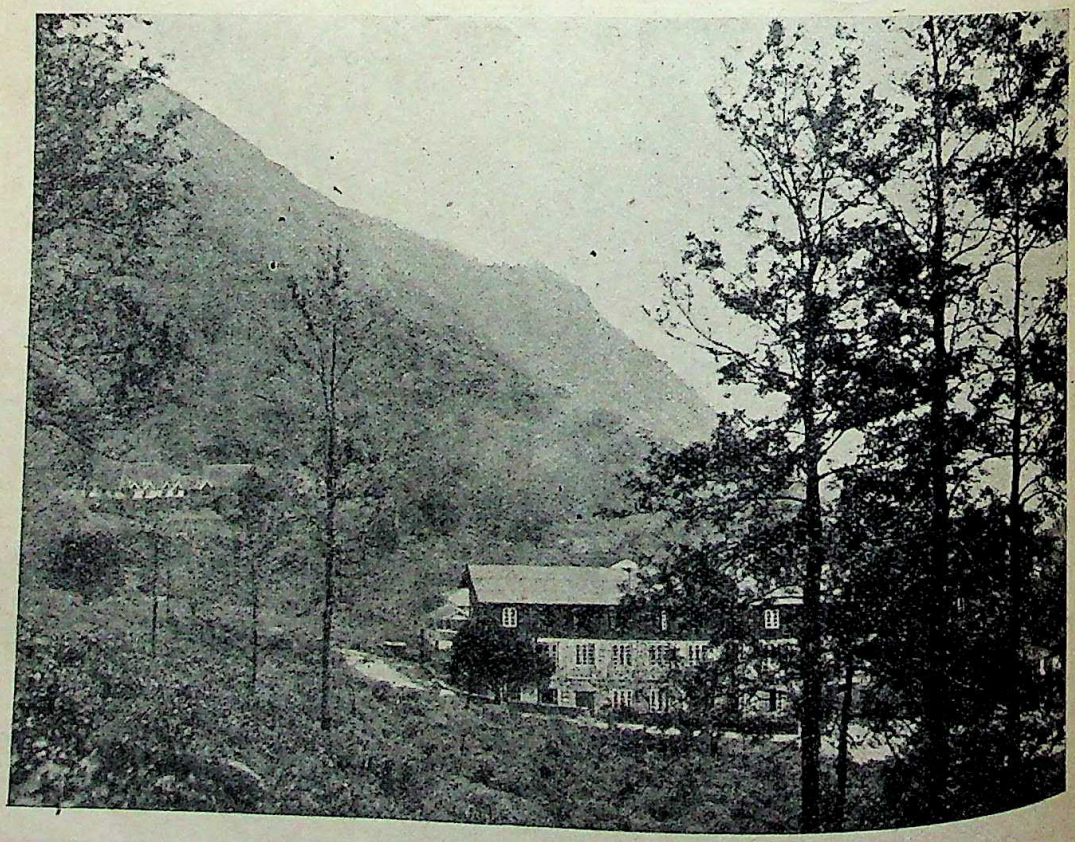


A general view of the Edapalayam Camp in the Periyar Lake. The Royal Game Sanctuary here is a great attraction



A tea estate and factory in the romantic High Ranges

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ties, as the TVA undercuts and transcends State's rights and boundaries), and adjust to promote the planned development of regions of greater backwardness."

Another lesson of the TVA is that the resources development should not only be *for* the people but *by* the people. It is the democratic method which is at the root of the project. Visitors of TVA have also often remarked, as Mr. Lilienthal narrates, "We are even more interested in TVA's way of working with people than we are in its dams and furthering of industrial development." It is the principle, policy and the spirit of the TVA that is so fundamental and universal.

It is now clear how TVA model would work anywhere, provided that the adoption of the model has been genuine in spirit and form at the very root of the governmental machinery and its policy, and in the technical organisation.

———:O:———

THE MALA URALIS OF PERIYAR

A Hill Tribe in Travancore

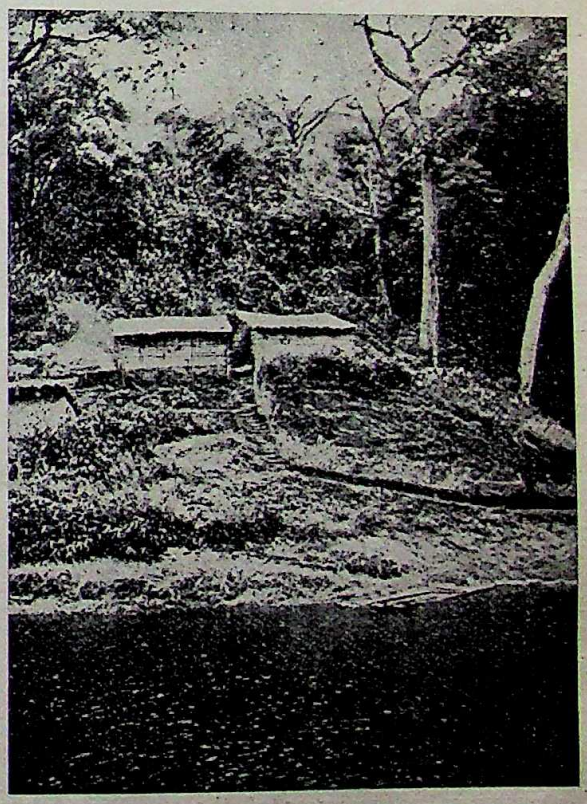
By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

No person who is a lover of the mountains can afford to miss the delightful trip to the High Ranges in Travancore, which constitute an extraordinary mountain range resplendent with life, colour and charm. For a traveller whose heart is after new experiences, the High Ranges—the region of sunny plains, glistening mountains, singing woods, roaring torrents, unique fauna, full-blooded aborigines, vast tea, rubber and cardamom estates and gigantic hydro-electric undertakings—offer a diversity of attractions.

The Periyar lake in the heart of the High Ranges is a magnificent stretch of water which fills a series of valleys to a length of eight miles. The terraced hills rise in delicate curves from the shores of the lake covered with virgin forest. The Royal Game Sanctuary at Edapalayam on the Periyar lake forms the natural habitat of a wonderful variety of wild game. A happy hunting ground alike for big game hunters and the aboriginal tribes who share the forests with wild beasts, the Periyar region is a beauty spot where Nature has lavished all her charms.

Human life in the Periyar forests is most primitive. This region affords ample scope for research to the enterprising anthropologist and ethnographist. The hill folk who inhabit this area are a set of interesting people, shy by nature, simple in manners and habits, primitive in dress, and contented. They are known as Mala Uralis. The Urali population is somewhere about a thousand. Legend and tradition aver that the Uralis are the descendants of the umbrella-carriers of the Madura Kings of old, and that they had ordered the Uralis to rule over the Hills. The word "Uralis" connotes rulers of the country. They are divided into eight exogamous clans. Colourful stories describe the origin of these clans. The offspring belong to the clan of the mother. There is a scarcity of women among the Uralis. According to their marriage customs, a man who has no sister is not entitled to a wife, for marriage usually takes place by the exchange of sisters. Cross-cousin marriages are, however, not rare. Marriages take place both before and after the attainment of puberty. Polyandry is rare and is not encouraged by the Uralis. On the day of the marriage the bridegroom accompanied by his father pays a ceremonial visit to the bride's hut. After a sumptuous feast, they return with the bride to their home. The dowry comprises weapons, implements, clothes and utensils. Remarriages are not uncommon among the Uralis. *Marumakkathayam* is the form of inheritance prevalent among them. The sons are not given a share of the earnings of the father. The Uralis treat their womenfolk with great respect and deep affection.

The Uralis are comparatively a little more civilised than their brethren in other hills, due to contact with the Planters. The Uralis in the High Ranges take delight in wearing shirts, coats and turbans. The men wear a loin cloth four cubits long and two cubits wide. They purchase second-hand clothes and use them until they become tattered. They do not bother about niceties of attire. They wear the same dress during summer and winter. When out hunting or travelling



A beautiful spot in the High Ranges on the bank of the Periyar

they invariably carry a blanket which serves as a hold-all to accommodate all their necessities of life. They frequent the hill markets and now and then descend to the low country for purchasing tobacco, salt etc., which they regard as precious delicacies. The Urali is distinguished by his long head, flat nose, thick lips,

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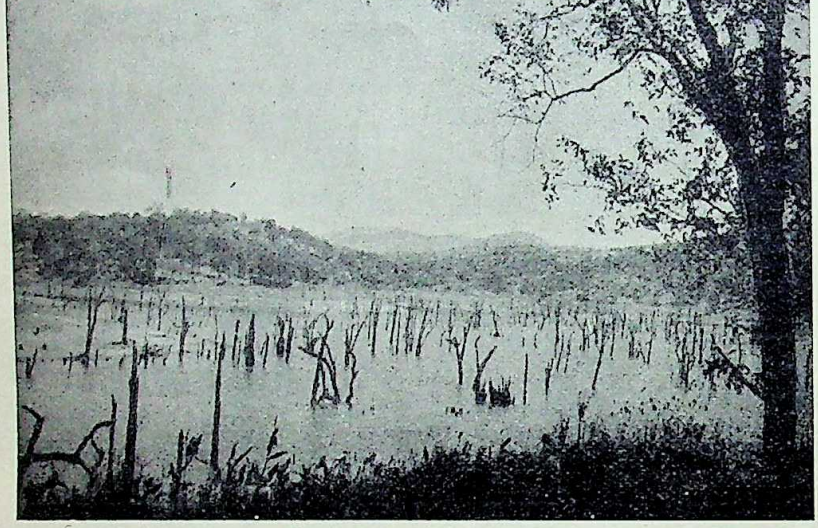
broad forehead, black curly hair, massive chest, large torsos and somewhat fair complexion. They wear thick tufts on the back of their heads. *The Travancore Census Report* says that "the Urali is the most dolichocephalic of the hill tribes with a cephalic index of 70·6", and that "the average nasal index of the Urali is 84·6." They are still in the lowest rung of the ladder of civilisation and are quite contented to be so. Extraordinarily strong, sturdy, and well-built, the Uralis are eminently fitted by birth and breeding to live in their wild surroundings. Of extremely active habit and ever alert, they have developed a keen sense of smell which enables them to scent out wild animals, with amazing ease. The forest tribes who live in the inaccessible wilds are attached to the Forest Department and they collect and supply some of the forest produce such as honey, cardamom, wax, dummer. Their primary occupation is nomadic agriculture. They subsist on roots and herbs which form their staple food. They cultivate hill paddy on the slopes of the mountains. A part of the produce they take to the markets, and barter it for clothes, tobacco, salt and the like.



A view of the Periyar Lake. In the forests adjoining the shores of this lake dwell the hill folk

The customs and manners of the Uralis are interesting. Girls who have attained puberty observe pollution for seven days. During that period such a girl is accommodated in a tree-house exclusively reserved for the purpose and situated away from the other residential huts. On the eighth day she takes a bath, proceeds to another tree-house and lives there for a couple of days. She then returns to her own home. Women during the period of menstruation to confine themselves to distant tree-houses. birth takes place inside a specially constructed tree and the consequent pollution lasts for 21 days. husband has to sit at home and abstain from work the 22nd day when his wife returns to the house with child. The Urali women wear pretty little bandea in their hair in Grecian fashi and adorn their bodies with lands of beads and shells. use bangles and bracelets, and and nose ornaments. The U are highly—almost ridiculo superstitious. They offer to crests of hills which they lieve are the sanctuaries of "Shining Ones." The hill believe that the forests peopled with fairies, devils, d and all sorts of uncanny creat Their prayers are in the form petitions and entreaties wi immunity from disease and d ger, the supply of sufficient and for general happiness. them the Sun is the creator father of the universe and Moon the mother. They be that the earth rests on the sive shoulders of two gi demi-gods by turn and that quakes occur when one (demi-god) hands over charge another. To them, thunder,

A group of hill folk in the High Ranges standing in front of their huts

lightning and rain are the manifestations of between the *Bhimas* in heaven and the is Sri Rama's Bow. Beliefs, traditions, the legacy of centuries and the origin of which be sought for in the twilight of dim and

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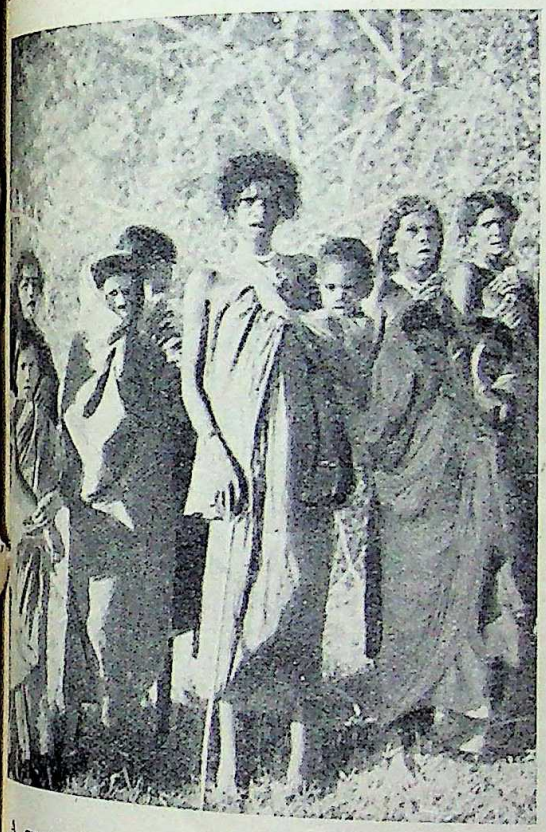
legends—are firmly rooted in the minds of the credulous hillmen who as a rule retreat at the advance of civilisation. Their colourful legends and tales reveal that they are steeped in superstition.

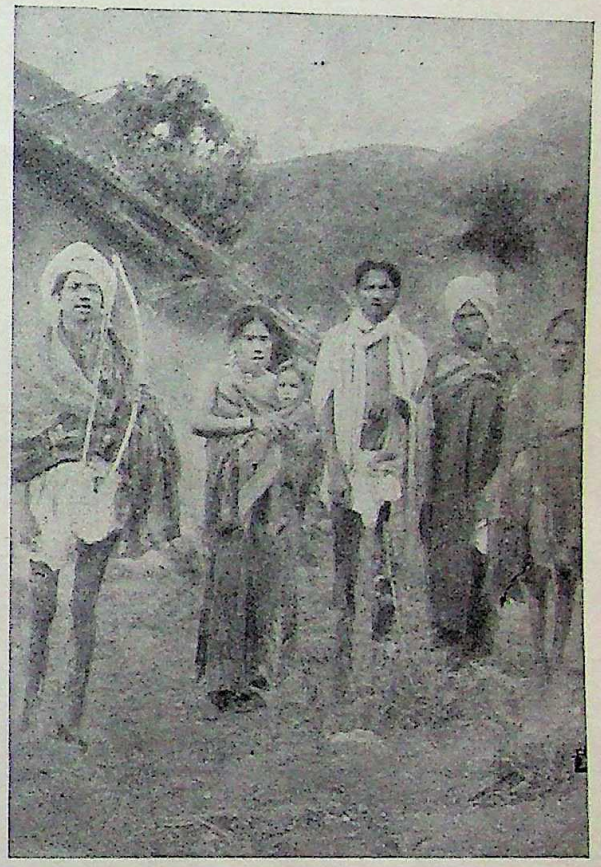
The Uralis bury their dead about a furlong from their hut. The principal mourner is the nephew. The grave is dug deep and billets of wood, and reed mats are thrown into it. The sides of the grave are also covered with reed mats. The corpse, bathed and covered with a new cloth, is then consigned to the pit and a new reed mat is placed over it. Each relative has to put one cloth in the grave. In the right arm pit of the deceased are deposited the bill book and chewing



A group of typical forest folk inhabiting the Periyar region

materials used by him. A small quantity of boiled rice is also placed in the pit. The grave is then filled up with earth, a stone planted by its side and a shed reconstructed over it. The mourners observe pollution for sixteen days.

The spirits of the departed ones are propitiated with elaborate ritual and overwhelming awe by the Uralis during the season of harvesting and on other festive occasions when pleasure and excitement, expressed in song and dance, are at their highest pitch. During these special gala days the tribe works itself up to a hysterical pitch of excitement and enthusiasm by often stimulated by intoxicating beverages. Their songs indicate their attachment to earth, their simplicity and their hoary belief in the numerous spirits. The colour, fire and sparkle of the songs and the poetry of their smiles and tears provide an interesting study. Their songs are mostly prayers and are sung by their priests who are held in absolute fear and veneration by the simple and credulous Uralis. The priests also assume the role of medicine men. Their medicine men who, in their own language, are known as *Plathis*, are credited with the power of curing diseases and other human ailments by invoking the aid of the gods and spirits. The *Plathis* or witch doctors endeavour to cure diseases by songs and gruesome contortionist dances accompanied by prayers, incantations and wild and intoxicated chorus. In the course of performing black magic, they let loose a full blast of incantatory gibberish spiced with obscenities. The Uralis have implicit faith in sorcery and black magic and in the prowess of their witch doctors. These medicine men who are adepts in weird sorcery carry on a lucrative trade.



Some of the hill folk who inhabit the Periyar region

The Uralis dwell together in clans and each settlement consists of a large number of small huts, some on raised ground and some perched on the tops of trees. The huts are made of reeds, bamboos and leaves of the elephant reed, all got in plenty from the forests. The floor of the hut is on a level with the ground. The safety huts on the tree tops serve as a protection against wild elephants that roam in the forests in large herds causing considerable havoc to human life and crops. The tree-houses are called *anamadams* (elephant huts). The rectangular type of hut is most popular with the forest folk who inhabit the Periyar region. The tree-houses are built forty to fifty feet above the ground. A thick, strong bamboo the side shoots of which have been carefully chopped off serves as the ladder which establishes communication with the ground. The roofs of the huts are thatched with reeds and leaves, and walls are constructed with sticks and split bamboos. Though primitive the huts are rather smart in appearance. The dwellings are, however, ill-ventilated

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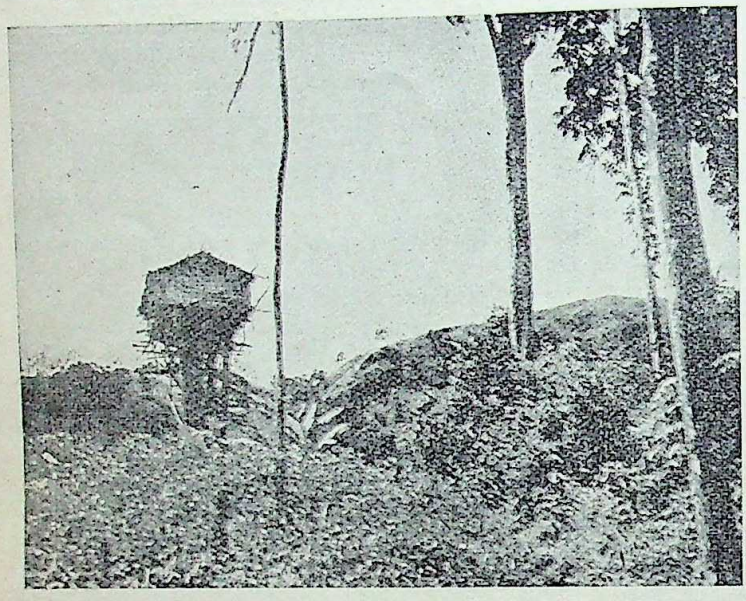
and untidy, and sanitation is very poor. Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer, the well-known anthropologist, in his informative book *The Travancore Tribes and Castes*, says :

"The Urali huts are isolated. Each man has a tree-house which is about 50 feet from the ground. . . . Each hamlet has a common tree-house reserved for women in menses. There is a common tree-house for granary."



A view of the Urali tree-house in the midst of a cultivated area in the dense forest

The Uralis are experts in rattan and reed-wicker work and basket making.

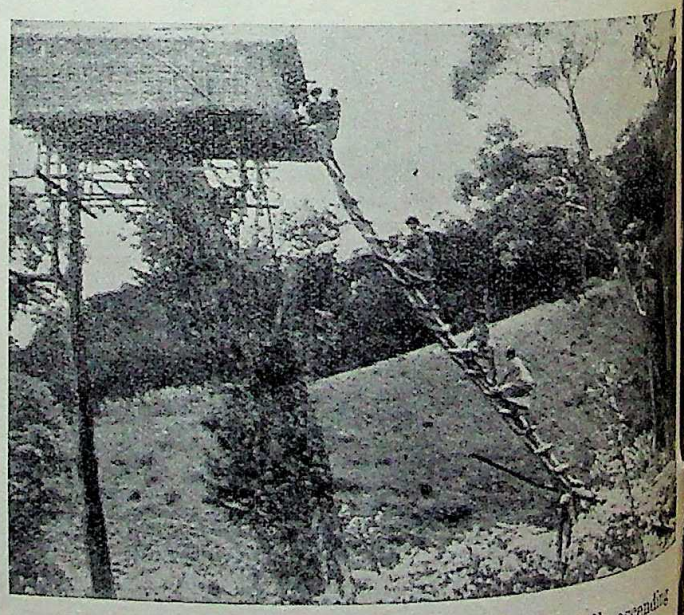
The *Kanikkaran*, as he is called, is the patriarchal chieftain for a group of Urali hamlets. The uncrowned monarch and the supreme director and dictator of the social, religious, and agricultural affairs of his tribe, the *Kanikkaran* is the lode-star of the hill-folk. Each village has a *Plathi* or medicine man who is responsible for the good conduct of the inhabitants of the hamlet. The *Plathi* reports to the *Kanikkaran* about disputes in the village. The *Kanikkaran* forthwith proceeds to the hamlet, summons the *panchayat* (village council of elders), presides over the meeting and settles the dispute peacefully. The delinquents are not as a rule punished with fines.

The Uralis inhabiting the inaccessible wilds prefer the aboriginal method of producing fire by rubbing two pieces of wood. The wood used is *Isora Cori Folia*. Their cooking is simple, for they have only very few dishes. For the most part they bake roots and fruits by thrusting them into the glowing fire. Their most delicious dishes are bamboo plantains, bamboo joints holding honey, fruits, roots, beasts, birds and fish. Some of them use milk but the majority do not like it. Tea has become an indispensable beverage with most of the Uralis. They use copper and brass vessels.

Their chief weapons are chopping knives, pellet-bows and muzzle-loading guns. The pellet-bow which fi with tremendous force sharp stones has a range of yards. It is of great use to the hill folk in k small game and driving away monkeys. The Uralis sickles and spades.

The Uralis are a good-natured, freedom-lovin pagan people, sun-bronzed, and handsome in a sort of way. They live in close association with N and their simplicity is really re able. They are extremely orthodox do not intermarry among or inter with the other forest folk. The hill are supposed to be the original in tants of the country. These abori tribes speak a corrupt form of Ta and Malayalam. They are very hos able and their concern for and good towards those people who go into forests are proverbial. They po their visitors with rich and ample and are always attentive to their gu They are honest, truthful, trustwor simple, modest and hospitable to a degree.

The Uralis are experts in wood and their services are indispensable big game hunters. They willingly the *shikaris*, cheerfully guide through the dense jungle and them into the mysteries of hunting game. These Uralis keep hunting and are fond of these animals. W marvellous precision the Uralis spot and explain the marks left by



A typical Urali tree-house. Note the hill folk ascending the bamboo ladder

animals and lead the sportsmen on. They would up precarious position over jutting rocks and crags and with nothing except wide space in them, search the surrounding country with their eyes and point out to green patches on the hill and assure you that a herd of Sambhur stags fully grazing there.

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Due to their great reverence for the hills and rivers which they believe to be the sanctuaries of the "Shining Ones", the hamlets of the Uralis are generally situated on beautiful sites and in superb natural surroundings. Their acts of adoration are characterised by devotion, simplicity and superstition. On seeing a hill folk at prayer one is reminded of the beautiful lines of Wordsworth, the high priest of Nature :

Great God, I'd rather be
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn—
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn,
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
Or hear Old Triton blow his wreathed horn.

———:O:———

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE

By Rai Bahadur BIJAY BIHARI MUKHERJI

It has just been announced that the Government of India through the Secretary, Federal Public Services Commission, has issued a pamphlet on the recruitment of candidates, with approved War Services, to fill war-reserved vacancies in the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. Unfortunately the pamphlet has not been made available to the public by sale or by distribution. The subject-matter, however, is of very great public importance. No constitution can be of effective use to the people unless the agencies for administration are selected, trained, developed, and permitted to function and do respond to the demands to function for national progress and welfare. The recruitment and the future of these, which are generally termed the "Security Services", need very careful analysis and examination. While on the one hand the administration must perpetually guard against incompetence and corruption, on the other the personnel must be devoted workers for national cause and for national uplift. Nothing that militates against the one or the other could on any ground of expediency or sentiment be permitted to jeopardise the chances of success of the one and definitely the one objective—India's national progress and the progress of all sections of the nation.

Unfortunately political subjection brings on repercussions on varied expressions of national life. The marks thereof are patent all round. It was H. G. Wells who pointed out that the most outstanding contribution of the 19th Century to the history and the progress of the world was the constitution of the public services. It is so even in England which of all European countries is believed to have developed the highest standard of integrity and efficiency of the public services as a rule. It is not contended that the standard there reached is uniform or that there is no room for improvement. An analysis of the state of public services there from the day of Lord North to the present day will bear out the contention that a definite, marked and steady progress has been made in the morale of the public servants of that country. Even Disraeli and Gladstone had to be fought against because of their efforts to preserve the patronage system of distribution of the public offices and the provision of jobs for keeping the political party together. It is one of the inherent weaknesses of democracy and of the representative institutions that in power the human weaknesses have a strong urge to get to the top. In England a group of persons stood up and relentlessly fought against the tendencies that corrupted the public services and the standards of morals of public men. In India the very unnatural conditions of non-national state raise other problems and produce what the modern psychologists would term other "behaviour-patterns" to the detriment of the efficiency of the public administration, to the degradation of national honour, and to the damage of the national interests. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in the 19th Century India did develop a definite standard of morals and of efficiency in the public services. Subject to the Imperial interests up to a point these standards worked to the improvement of the public servants and to the betterment of the public administration and thus of the country in general. Then came the struggle of nationalism and the fight with bureaucracy. On the top of all came the Communal Award, followed by the communal representation in services. India finds in the complex the undignified spectacle of some one being picked to be a minister with the least qualification of being so from the intellectual and the moral point of view followed by the appointment of brothers as ministers, nephews as I.C.S.'s; in other cases brothers are followed by brothers in the ministry with brothers-in-law as Parliamentary Secretaries and so forth. The authors of the constitution which under the high guise of political philosophy brings about these changes, with disastrous results to the administration which is corrupted to the core and with deaths to millions such as the Bengal famine showed, escape. The cause and the effect are confounded. The syllogism is lost in the haze. In Bengal today no one in the Government is ashamed to put up a public advertisement for "the 1st Surgeon" of the Calcutta Medical College (the premier Medical Institution of the East) inviting candidates *only* from the Muslim community or putting an advertisement on behalf of the Government for "the Principal of the Government Art College" (again a premier institution) *only* "from the community of scheduled castes". The situation is comic but for the tragedy involved. To the credit of some sane individual in the Government, it must be said that both these advertisements were withdrawn later. But almost similar ones appear daily.

Those who are familiar with the history of the evolution of the public services in England from the patronage system of the era ending with the first quarter of the nineteenth to the present quarter of the twentieth century know what England owes to a group of strenuous fighters for dignified standards of public morals. Those interested might be referred to Northcote-Trevelyan Report (of Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan), to their paper on "the Re-organisation of the Permanent Civil Service" which with a letter from Benjamin Jowett was sent to

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eminent men for criticism in 1853, to the Report of the Playfair Commission in 1874, to the Report of the Ridley Commission of 1888, to the Report of the Macdonnell Commissions of 1912 and the scrutiny thereof by the Re-organisation Committee of the National Whitley Council. Fortunately England had produced men of the type of Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Benjamin Jowett, John Bright, John Stuart Mill, Robert Lowe (Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Gladstone Ministry) to carry on an unceasing campaign. They fought against corrupt vested interests.

"Jobbing," said the Right Honourable H. N. Addington, the Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, *"is a part, though an ugly part, of the price* which a free people pay for their constitutional liberty."* The same argument that is strutted out for nepotism in the shape of so-called selection against the competitive system open to all and adjusted to the needs in the country was voiced there too. The Permanent Secretary to the Board of Control argued that "the best scholars were not necessarily the best clerks." Mr. Booth, Secretary to the Board of Trade, contended that the service would be, in the case of the open competitive examination being introduced, "filled by picked clever men from the lower ranks of society and that in consequence a lower tone of feeling would prevail."† One would hear the same voice against any system that stood for fair field and no favour. In India this is expressed in different terms and in different tones. But England had after all a national state, a national will, and a glowing improved standard for public morals. A just system was developed, freed from nepotism and patronage. No one, after the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill had been made into an Act, contended that in view of the great disabilities imposed by Law and the Public Acts on the Roman Catholics against entry into the public services for long periods in history a "Religious group representation" in services ("communal representation in services") should be introduced to make good the loss to the Roman Catholic. The leaders of public opinion had the sense to see that the ideal was to provide the best servants for the social organism—the State—in the interests of the people themselves.

The recital, brief as it is, shows what even in England had to be contended against. The task in India must be more difficult. The conditions for obvious reasons are more complicated. The call on Indians, therefore, is greater—provincialism, communalism, sectarianism, and ego-centricism must have to be ruthlessly rooted out. No euphemism, no slogan, no seemingly high falutin bunch of political ideologies could be permitted to stand in the way of a fight against principles that are unsound and that stand in the way of the evolution of a vigorous, efficient, broad-based Indian nationalism being built up. So far the self-governing institutions, the legislatures, even the universities, have not succeeded in holding up—specially of late—the touch of the highest idealism that may inspire the youths to dedicate themselves to the service of their country by an emulation of personalities in power and in action. A good constitution with a bad machinery for administration is bound to fail. A bad constitution develops the worst traits in character and helps the scum of society to seize power and use it to corrupt the administration by examples as well as by actions. That self-government is better than good government is a truism. But bad government is not an inseparable accident of self-government. Self-government is good because it paves the way for the efflorescence of all that is the best in efficiency and effectiveness for national progress which is at once the one objective and the foremost test. The machinery of the administration, therefore, needs the most careful and the most anxious attention. India must strive to produce dedicated super-intellectuals to run her democracy, a vigorous public opinion and a vigilant press to uphold the standard of public life, and an effective, incorruptible, efficient, and strongly nationalistic public service to administer her affairs. The challenge goes to the youths of India irrespective of caste, creed and colour. It is for them to decide and to act.

A brief analysis will show that in the period that ended with the battle of Plassey outstanding administrators were born in India. Apart from kings like Chandra Gupta, Asoke, Akbar, Aurangzeb, men like Sher Shah, Man Sinha, Todar Mall, Shivaji, Rana Protap, Protapaditya, Guru Govinda Sinha, to name only a few, were born and brought up in India and left their impress on national life and administration. That in more restricted spheres outstanding personalities were developed could easily be related. In the sphere of philosophy, in religion, in literature, in sociology, in law, names could easily be cited to show the wealth of personality and imaginative powers. Since 1757 the Indians slipped out of the positions of effective leadership and were condemned to occupy what, to quote an official phrase, were "positions of minor responsibilities." The stature of a nation is determined by its highest. It is regulated by the opportunities to play an unhampered part in the effective evolution of the national life. A country, which had produced the Sikhs and the Jats, the Gurkhas and the Dogras, the Pathans and the Punjabis, a country which produced a Protapaditya and even in the nineteenth century a Ranjit Singh is held to be a country incapable of producing one single military Commander of position! In administration even the associating Commissionership of a Division was considered an unlooked-for concession even up to the end of the nineteenth century and the then Headship of a Provincial Department, unconnected with law and order, a dearly conceded privilege. While the indigenous material was rejected the imported material the moral achievements of which are written on the pages of history in the diaries of Cornwallis, in the journals of Warren Hastings, in the proceedings of his impeachment, was provided with pay, positions and privileges till the Indian Civil Service reached a stage that was rightly noted by Mr. Montagu not as a service but a "ruling corporation."

Theoretically Indians had promises solemnly given. Sec. 17 of the Charter Act of 1833 assured the Indians that there was no bar of caste, creed, or colour (the Caste Hindus for the last decade read these with peculiar zest) "to hold any place, office or employment under the said Company. This was repeated with particular emphasis in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. The concrete result, however, was "[illegible] for Indians to positions of minor responsibilities." In the despatch of 30th May, 1878, on the subject

* See *Papers on the Re-organisation of the Civil Service*, 1854-55, page 393.

† See *Papers on the Re-organisation of the Civil Service*, 1854-55, pages 106-7.

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Lord Lytton was constrained to write, "Since I am writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of *having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.*"

The Indian feeling was voiced by that outstanding advocate for freedom of his country, Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale in the 20th Century when appearing as a witness before the Welby Commission he deposed that apart from the administrative and economic loss to India by the employments of foreign labour "there is a moral evil which, if anything, is even greater. *A kind of dwarfing and stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority* and the tallest of us must bend in order that the exigencies of the existing system may be satisfied. The upward impulse, if I may use such an expression, which every school-boy at Eton or Harrow may feel that he may one day be a Gladstone or Nelson, or a Wellington and which may draw forth the best efforts of which he is capable, that is denied to us. The full height of which our manhood is capable of using can never be reached by us under the present system." The result of such a system is almost possible to demonstrate with scientific exactitude. We see in India an improvement in the blueprints of development and a definite system in view—points in which India is ahead of most Asiatic or any Asiatic country for which the present regime can take legitimate credit but we look round in vain for an outstanding administrator, an outstanding soldier, and an outstanding public servant of vision and creative powers. This system could not produce any and for the conditions imposed it was impossible that any could be produced.

During the World War I, the Mesopotamian muddle brought changes in the outlook. The declaration of 1917 stipulated "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration." It was followed up by Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the final embodiment in the provisions of Government of India Act of 1920. The privileges of the Secretary of State's services were carefully safeguarded. Not only were their appointments and conditions of services reserved to be regulated by the Secretary of State but their emoluments were not subject to the vote of the legislature. A simultaneous selection by nomination of Indians followed by competition in simultaneous examination in India—for which the Indian National Congress and national leaders had moved since the inception of the Congress—was introduced. The successful candidates, however, had to spend initially two years and later one year in a British University which was dropped altogether after the World War II started when a training centre at Dehra-Dun was started.

The Government of India Act of 1920 by its provisions in Part VII-A, Part VIII (Secs. 96B to 100) safeguarded the rights of the services. There was reported difficulty in obtaining British recruits and a Public Services Statutory Commission under Lord Lee of Fareham came out to India. It recommended various additions to the privileges and the emoluments of the services, framed definite rules about Indian nation, and laid down new provisions for leave, passage and pensions.

Sir John Simon then came out and examined the whole question of services in their relation to the constitutional changes. A report by the Auxiliary Indian Central Committee was also submitted and published. The Simon Commission reported that the Governor in Council in Madras and one member of the Council in Central Provinces did not desire the continuance of All-India services and insisted on provincialisation. In two provinces, the Ministries opposed the view of All-India recruitment. The majority of the Central Committee recommended that except in Madras and Bombay, the new ministries should decide the question (*vide* Vol. I Part IV, Vol. II Part IX para 328 of the Report). The weight of evidence, the Simon Commission however reported, supported All-India Recruitment. The Round Table Conference came next—a Sub-Committee (No. VIII) examined the question. Some of the members wished for immediate stoppage of recruitment of All-India service. For all the existing system was kept up to be re-examined after five years.

The position stands thus to-day. The Government of India Act of 1935 secures not only appointments by the Secretary of State but all conditions of service—pay, pension, privileges, of these security services as subject only to the orders of the Secretary of State. The recommendations of the Service Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference that the condition should be re-examined after five years remain unattended to. The provisions stand embodied in Secs. 240 to 263 (Chap. II) of the Government of India Act of 1935. There is a list which enumerates the specific posts that must be secured to the members of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. No change is possible in them without the authority of the Secretary of State. The Governor-General and the Governors are enjoined by their Instruments to safeguard the interests of the services. Rules of business ensure that members of these services *have* special rights of posting and of promotions. They are controlled by the Governors of the Provinces independently of ministries.

With India promised a definite political status—be that only Sir Stafford Cripps' offer as Mr. Amery contends or still farther as the Indian nationalists demand—the retention of services owning privileges on contracts with an extra-Indian authority is not only anomalous but impossible.

In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report it was contemplated that the new Indian Ministries will need the help of experienced administrators. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said that "clearly the first and the immediate task is to make a living reality of self-government" in India[3] but they had seen too that the Indian Civil Service was "much more of a *Government Corporation* than of purely Civil Service in the English sense. It *has been made a reproach to the Indian Civil Service that it regards itself as the Government; but a view which strikes the critic familiar with parliamentary Government as arrogant is little more than condensed truth.*"[4] But they concluded, "Our aim throughout must be to make the change not needlessly difficult for the services, and to enlist their co-operation . . . Of the services much is being asked. We are confident that they will respond to the demand."[5] They either indulged in conventional platitudes or were poor students of human psychology. The representatives on behalf of the British Services submitted

3. *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, para 127.
4. *Ibid.* para 126.
5. *Ibid.*, para 128.

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to the Simon Commission a few years later a memorandum in which they correctly declared, "In some instances Provincial Legislatures have manifested an attitude of hostility to the British Services, and probably in all cases transfer has brought about changes in policy, in character, and the *methods of administration with which the British services with their different traditions and ideas can not be properly in sympathy and with which they would not in fact like to be associated.*"[6]

"The discussions and the proposals in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report are altogether perfunctory and inadequate. *If that report becomes the basis of legislation the contention of the Indian Civil Service that its status will be altogether revolutionised is unquestionably true. That service will no longer rule India . . . It may be committed but it will not decide . . . The seat of authority in India is being removed from the Civil Service to the Legislature and we must build up the system of Government accordingly. Wisdom compels us to see not very far off the end of the Civil Service as we have known it*",[7] wrote Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

The reaction on the Indian public men was strong. "But of one thing I am quite sure, that *no new order can be built up in India so long as the spirit of the I.C.S. pervades our administration and our public services.* That spout of authoritarianism is the ally of Imperialism and it can not co-exist with freedom. *It will either succeed in crushing freedom or will be swept away itself,*"[8] wrote Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.

"The camouflage with which the Act (India Act of 1935) abounds is so transparent that it is not difficult to detect that beneath the pretentious device of Ministers functioning in a system of Provincial Autonomy the real power is still vested in the permanent officials; the Ministers have been given a mockery of authority and the *steel frame of the Imperial Services still remains intact, dominating the entire administration and casting sombre shadows over the activities of Ministers.*"[9]

"During my experience as a Minister I found to my utter surprise that in *many vital matters affecting the rights and liberty of the people the advice tendered by the Ministers was invariably subject to revision in the light of the counsel tendered by the more trusted members of the services whose omnipotence was almost of divine character . . . .*"

"A British civil servant had the audacity to put down in writing that the rates of payments made to the unfortunate evacuees of East Bengal were much higher than what they deserved . . . *as an Imperial officer he refused to carry out the orders of the Provincial Government.* This officer still remains in power and enjoys a position of great trust and responsibility."[10]

The views may be right, the views may be wrong. The fact remains that the Montagu-Chelmsford optimism has not been realised. Unfortunate remarks, such as "over-dramatisation" of distress in Bengal when the tragedy was stalking astride, by a high-placed I.C.S. British officer from his place in the Government of India who could not have been in touch with his peers in Bengal, have not enhanced the reputation for either sympathy or judgment of the I.C.S. The net result is a complete disintegration of the force, a complete integration alone of which could be conducive to the interests of the State and of the people for which the State exists. The conditions sterilise services, hamper the Ministers and paralyse the machine of State.

"It has been for us a sad task to enquire into the course and the causes of the Bengal Famine. We have *been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible.*"[11]

"Between the Government in office and the various political parties and in the early part of the year between the Governor and the Ministry and between the administrative organisation of Government and the public *there was lack of co-operation which stood in the way of a united and vigorous effort to prevent and relieve famine.*"[12]

A million and a half died and many through malnutrition are yet to follow! No legal responsibility can be fixed. England has ceased to produce Burkes and Sheridans. No impeachment has followed. But no camouflage can expiate the moral guilt of the authors of 1935 Act, the authors of Communal Award, the authors of Communal representation of services, the authors who safeguarded Service conditions, and the politicians who foisted the Democracy, and of the crowd that walked into power and of the men who revelled in Service privileges, took pay and shook off responsibilities. England that grows only 40 per cent of her food requirement, under daily bombardment and with imminent fear of attack by a ruthless enemy has permitted one single individual to die of starvation. Bengal which normally produces most of its food and properly organised could produce more let "a million and a half" to die and others to fight death with debilitated vitality and weakened resistance. Crop planning conferences and discussions were ceaseless.[13]

"We have been told that there has been a marked *deterioration* in the morale of the services as a result of the impact of political forces on the frame-work of the permanent administration."[14] The deterioration is skipped over. The syllogism has not been completed. The causes have not been analysed or realised. The Commission easily contented itself with the thought that the Cinderella, the minor official, had deteriorated while definite charges of corruption and inefficiency were made against Ministers and higher officials.

It was the muddle of the Crimean war that drew the pointed attention of the people of England to the inefficiency of the public administration. The indignation of the people compelled the Government to issue the order in Council of 1870. "The order in Council not only checked an abused system but also paved the way for Departmental re-organisation."[15]

"The report of the Mesopotamian Commission proved that the Indian bureaucracy was not a

6. Indian Central Committee Report, page 294.
7. Government of India Report, page 113.
8. *Auto-biography*, page 445.
9. The letter of Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Premier of Bengal, to Sir John Herbert, the Governor of Bengal, dated 2nd Aug., 1942---*Bengal To-day*, page 10.
10. Dr. Shyama Prosad Mukherji---Legislative Assembly, 4th February, 1943.
11. *Famine Enquiry Commission Report on Bengal 1945*, page [illegible]
12. *Ibid.*, page 105.
13. See Proceedings of *Crop-planning Conferences*, Delhi, [illegible]
14. Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee of 1944-45, page [illegible]
15. *The Growth of the British Civil Service*---Cohen, page [illegible]

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bureaucracy—that had always been suspected—*but also thoroughly inefficient.*"[16]

The Bengal Famine brings out the tragedy of sentimental safeguarding of vested interests and of political jerry-building at the cost of a million and a half of human lives with many more to follow. A system which will be genuine Self-Government, which will have its genuinely co-operating, and worked by people power who will not have all privileges and no responsibility, must be evolved. The inefficiency of the present administration is writ large on the country. It is congenital and lies rooted in its constitution. It must change.

The Madras Government had pointed out to the Simon Commission, "Responsible Government if it implies anything implies that *the Province must be free to recruit its own servants as and where it likes. There must be no imposing upon it of a body of men recruited under Regulations from sources and at rates of pay prescribed by some outside authority.*"[17] The Bengal Famine is the result of other alternatives. As with individuals so with State to be effective the powers must be synthetised.

The Egyptian Government when it had to take over the powers of the State had the same dilemma in mind. Loss of experience, risks in sudden changes, additions to pensionary charges on the one hand, and clinging old traditions thwarting initiation of new ideologies, thwarting new life with the urge and the emotion for National reconstruction and progress, disintegration of national forces and consequent inactiveness of the new regime on the other. The new Government chose the former, took all risks, found the expenditure worth incurring. This was provided for in the Egypt New Treaty. Re-appointment of nationals was under strict rules. These rules are contained in Device No. 44 of 1936 relating to the conditions of service of foreign officials.[18]

The conclusions are :

(a) New recruitment should be stopped except on purely temporary basis, to be clearly understood, which does not involve unfairness to recruits or binds India to shoulder heavy compensatory commitments later.

(b) The present All-India services personnel should be completely liquidated, the risk of disorganisation, and addition to pensionary charges must be faced. It is probable that the existing members might have chances, in case of approved persons, of re-absorption in the New Provincial services, or on a contract basis re-newable at option of both the parties on terms which might be carefully drawn up. It is probable that those in the Judicial service might have preferential treatment. A strong, competent, justice-preferring Judiciary should be a bulwark to India in transition. Possibly the best had been drawn to it. The Indian and non-Indian members should be subject to the same rates and same conditions. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald had emphasised, "Mere polished efficiency is not the end of our custodianship of India; a pax-Britannica is not the end; the *end is Indian life, abundant, responsible, and spontaneous.*"[19] Like many other hopes this hope unfortunately stands unrealised. On the background of power-starvation, and of responsibility—starvation of over a century and a half—the Indian officers placed in position not unoften illustrate Emerson's dictum that "many can stand adversity but few can stand prosperity." It is probable that conditions militated against their natural growth of sympathy and fellowship for their suffering countrymen. In the districts of Midnapore, Tippera, 24-Perganas and Noakhali, etc., not unoften the criticism was heard that the Indian officers in power built themselves on the greatest common measure of weaknesses of both the races, Indian as well as European. Probably again it was the difficulty of the conditions which was responsible for the impression. A few, in spite of difficulties, could stand by justice. But India needs *a new outlook, a deeper emotional attitude towards its struggling fellow-countrymen, a more determined will and a capacity to build the India of tomorrow* than could so far be found in its public servants. A new construction must be attempted and a fresh new corps, a new army put on the field of operation.

(c) A Committee of Indians should forthwith be appointed to go into the question of the Public Services in all their aspects and deal with them with justice, sympathy and vision, yet with practical wisdom and firmness. The Committee must lay the foundation for Indian National Service in every sense of the term. If India is to progress, and progress it must, *the new machinery must be evolved for the new tasks. It must be an Indian Committee to formulate the terms and the conditions.*

16. *An Indian Commentary* by G. T. Garrett, I.C.S., page 144.
17. Madras Government Memorandum, page 26; Report of Indian Central Committee, page 294.
18. Page 214. Gouvernement Egyptien-Ministere de la Justice. Recueil des Lois, Decrets et Rescrits Royaux.
19. *Government of India*, page 112.

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A REVIVALIST

Our Debt to the Swami Shraddhananda
PART V

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

XLVI

WHEN I was a boy and the forest was, with me, a matter largely of speculation, I thought it to be quiet to the point of dullness. As I grew up and became acquainted with it, however, I found it to be alive and captivating. The wind-god used the vine-garlanded giants as his orchestra to produce, for persons who had the ear to hear, symphonies of infinite variety. Insects, birds, beasts of prey and those they preyed upon and man's kin—the monkeys—swelled this harmony, often off-key. Every thicket was a battlefield. Every pool mirrored the struggle that went on in the branches above and in the bramble beside its banks.

Beings held in the highest Hindu esteem found in the forest trials that form soul-stirring cantos in our Ramayanic epic. Sita, who insisted upon accompanying Rama thither, was abducted from a sylvan bower. Her brother-in-law Lakshmana cursed himself for a fool for permitting himself to be beguiled, otherwise Ravana would never have had the opportunity for perpetrating that foul deed.

XLVII

The "forest" that the Swami Shraddhananda entered after his *Shashti*—60th birthday—proved to be far from quiet. There originated struggles alongside which naught that could stand comparison could be resurrected from his earlier years, exciting as many of them had been. Ill will had set that forest on fire. The hot breath of the conflagration blew full blast upon him as he entered it. The flames burned his flesh and finally consumed all that was mortal of him.

His real self, however, withstood all trials. Never once did he whimper. Never did he regret having rushed into the fire, much less sought to beat a hasty retreat,—to save as much of himself as he could. No. On and on he went, until there was nothing left of that which could go on.

This is, in brief, the story of this valiant soul's "forest-dwelling" from the sixtieth year to the end of its earthly incarnation, save twenty-two months or so. These had seen him back at the Gurukula. An "S.O.S." had taken him there. That the institution of his creation could not hold him even when he had returned to it is, in itself, a sure indication as to the place where he fain would dwell and strive.

XLVIII

As the events of the final phase pass in front of memory's eye, in an outline that is bold in consonance with his sturdy physical frame and his sturdier courage, it seems to me that all his 60 years he had been, unwittingly it may be but none-the-less surely, almost inevitably, getting ready for this phase. Had he been present in my study as I, letter by letter, punctuation point by punctuation point, imprint these words with the typewriter bars, perhaps he might have joined issue with me. Joining issue had been the delight of his early as well as his mature manhood. He was uncommonly shrewd, however, and even more uncommonly gen[illegible] It is, therefore, not at all unlikely that he may [illegible] dropped contention and concurred with me in [illegible] matter or even applauded me from burrowing [illegible] the surface and discovering the real spring of [illegible] speech and action.

XLIX

As we have seen he had broken away from g[illegible] life to devote all his energy—and his energy [illegible] herculean—and all his time—and his time was stret[illegible] by hours stolen by enthusiasm from sleep—to [illegible] promotion of causes that the Maharishi Dayan[illegible] Saraswati had at heart. These causes would be class[illegible] into religious, social, educational and other categ[illegible] by persons who have specialised in the scienc[illegible] splitting any and every entity into parts—persons [illegible] are increasingly happy as they multiply the number [illegible] parts. Munshi Ram might well have been of [illegible] number—even Shraddhananda also.

He had begun by laying the utmost emphasis [illegible] the soul—*atman*. That being the real self, it [illegible] mattered. It had become corrupt—degenerate thro[illegible] having been fed upon tales invented during a dark [illegible] age—*Poranak Kahanian*, he used to call them. It m[illegible] be led upstream to the head waters of Aryan-Vedic [illegible] culture. Those pure waters would wash away poison [illegible] every description. Society composed of such p[illegible] persons would not need to be shed of evils: for it w[illegible] have become automatically pure.

Sermons and speeches—brochures, books and pe[illegible] ganda organs—he had tried. After years of the [illegible] assiduous and persistent striving he had found [illegible] striving inadequate. Cogitation, searching and st[illegible] had forced him to the conclusion that salvation la[illegible] imparting education to the youth—education mo[illegible] upon the Aryan pattern, in other words, the revi[illegible] the *gurukula* system.

In this fashion had proceeded the developm[illegible] his own mind—the growth of his ideas—the acqui[illegible] of one technique, then another and so on. The dev[illegible] ment had not ended with the inauguration of [illegible] institution by the Ganges bank in the Kangri f[illegible] clearing. No. The process had continued. It had [illegible] him to the objectives and the methods that were [illegible] his as he fared forth, staff in hand, into the "[illegible] tract of life," as the Sanskritists termed the sixtie[illegible]

L

These objectives were political. He was led to [illegible] however, by a circuitous route. It, in fact, looked [illegible] time, as if humanitarian endeavours would absorb [illegible] remained to him of energy and years.

In settlements made by hardy people in Hima[illegible] recesses, life is led with little or no margin of s[illegible] Failure of crops results in scarcity. Scarcity soon [illegible] into famine.

[illegible] the starvelings in Garhwal [illegible] Munshi Ram's ears. He immediately went there. [illegible]

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he saw and heard there moved him to the depths of his feelings. He threw his whole self into the organization of relief.

Hardly had he finished with this humanitarian job when he was drawn into a maelstrom. This had been caused by an unwise move made to control post-war activities. A committee presided over by Mr. Justice Hilett had produced a scheme that roused hostility everywhere in India. In Delhi there had been a conflict between the people and the police.

Shraddhananda sought to stop further bloodshed. He came near to being man-handled.

LI

Here a sudden turn was given to his life. So deeply were Muslims touched by the loving care he gave to some of their men who had been wounded, that they carried him to their central shrine—the Jamma (Jumma) Masjid. There he, by universal acclaim, was invited to mount the *mimbar* (the Muslim equivalent of the Christian pulpit) and preached the cause of unity. His eloquence created an impression that left his Muslim auditors dumbfounded.

And no wonder. They had expected him to speak with force and facility: but speak what he called Arya Bhasha. He had, however, used Urdu, as elegant as any cultivated native of Delhi or Lucknow, and it had flowed from his lips like water from a cunningly contrived jet in a landscape garden, fed from a carefully concealed perennial stream.

It was, however, his burning zeal for the collaboration of the two sections of the Indian people—not peoples—that had made the deeper, the more lasting impression. This was even more unexpected than the unfaltering faith.

LII

When I first had this report, I was inclined to chide myself out of day dreaming. Inside me another voice was shrieking.

It was memory's voice. It was saying, this preacher of unity—of concerted action—was precisely the man who, a generation earlier, was seeking to make Hindus self-sufficing—assertive. Why did the Hindus neglect his calling and that ?, he was asking. Why did they leave the field to others, and retire to their sulking chambers ? Why did they stand with bowed heads and folded hands before persons who abused and belaboured them? Why did they permit their feelings to be harrowed, without uttering even an "ough"? Why? Why? . . .

While memory's voice kept on asking such questions, suddenly the meaning of it all became clear to me. I realised why—just why.

Between a section of a nation inclined to have things its own way and a sister-section habituated to giving in and giving up, there could be no sort of concert. Grab on the one side and give on the other never produced a symphony. The notes may, indeed, be diverse: but they can be harmonised. Only submission to discipline was needed.

Shraddhananda was wise, I realised. He was wise, because he built upon the bases laid down by Munshi Ram. The conciliator was no other than the combatant, hallowed by age, experience and the charity that comes to controvertists as the result of much mental flagellation and tribulation of soul.

LIII

Tribulation of soul was waiting just round the corner. It was tribulation in form and intensity new even to long-suffering India.

It was, moreover, to be the portion of his beloved province. Malignity was to crash upon unsuspecting Amritsar. An unbuilt area, with houses on all four sides, known as the Jallianwala Bagh, was to be the scene of brutality as cowardly as it was unashamed. Near it a lane was to witness acts designed to abase the Amritsarias as never before in their history since the fourth spiritual preceptor of the Sikhs—Sri Guru Ram Das Sahib—chose a site that has become the most sacred to our people.

Lahore suffered agony hardly less excruciating. Gujranwala, too.

I have not the space for the details. This, happily, for me. They harrow my mind even now, 26 years later. There is not the slightest need of recalling them to the reader : they are indelibly etched upon his memory.

Not the slightest effort is needed by me to imagine the sufferings that must have been Shraddhananda's. As hundreds of boys had found out for themselves at Gurukula no tenderer heart ever beat in any woman's form than the one he carried in that huge, muscular frame that often shook with the storms roused by his contentious and contending soul.

LIV

It is not of his sufferings that I wish to speak here. There is no need for me to do so, even if the typewriter-bars that I am using for transferring the words from my brain to paper were capable of reproducing the depth of that agony.

It is the mission that the suffering made him undertake of which I desire to write. It was as sorely needed as it was noble. It was, in my view, the most successful of the many missions that he had undertaken in his life. That is saying much, for he had been a crusader since early manhood.

I at the moment do not recollect whether the idea of holding the Indian National Congress that year at Amritsar originated with him or with some one else. But for him, however, there would have been no such assemblage there.

The idea, in itself, was great. That city had been the scene of outrages unparalleled in civilised annals: and that in the twentieth century and under British rule. The coming in of leaders from every corner of the country and the crowds that would assemble to greet them and to derive inspiration from their words, would focus attention upon the wrongs deliberately done there, as nothing else would do.

The difficulties in carrying out the idea were, however, numerous and stubborn. Dyer's terrible deeds had not only disorganised the place but also demoralised its people. This is what he had meant to do. That had been at least O'Dwyer's aim, and he ruled from Lahore, only 35 miles away, barely 20 minutes' journey by aeroplane, which was being employed in the Punjab then. The aim was to "cow down" the Amritsarias.

LV

The Amritsarias had been cowed down. Most of them had been so demoralised that they refused to talk about the happenings. This, not because the happenings were terrible in nature and they were too

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harrowed and overcome to be able to speak. No. The reason was different. They were afraid that if they talked of that frightfulness they may get into trouble—serious trouble.

Why? By whom they were to be gotten into trouble? Who was to trouble them? What kind of trouble was to be theirs?

None of them stopped to ask these questions. None of them would try to answer these questions, when these questions were put to them.

Put to them these questions were. The putter was no other than this tall, broad-shouldered, big-featured, shaven-pated Swami, with a voice that could ascend and descend the scale of notes as does the air when it uses trees in the forest for its lyre. He would have asked them merely because of the tender heart that he carried about with him. He *had*, however, to ask them, whether he willed or not. This, then, was the reason:

LVI

Our people needed all the relevant facts about the outrages done in Amritsar. They had no faith in the official enquiry. They had only their fears. These fears amounted to a certainty—that the real issue would be burked—every high placed official would escape scot-free, or, at best, with a more or less mild censure.

They had, therefore, themselves instituted an enquiry. It was headed by a man, who had given up legal practice that had brought him lakhs every year, so that he could devote all his time and energies to protecting the people's right to further popular causes. This patriot—the Pandit Moti Lal Nehru—was as shrewd as he was self-sacrificing.

The Amritsarias, who for personal profit, sided with the officials were certain to boycott and even attempt to thwart this enquiry by the people's representatives for the benefit of the people. That was to be expected and had been taken into account.

No one, had, however, anticipated that the demoralisation of the dwellers of the small houses abutting on narrow lanes had gone so far as to make them afraid of their own shadows. If they kept their mouths shut, how was the people's committee to get to the bottom of the tragedy.

LVII

The shaven-pated Swami found the way to unlock the Amritsarias' mouths. They found it impossible to resist him. They poured into his ears the trials they had been theirs—the indignities that they had suffered. At his bidding, rather than solicitation, many of them appeared before the Committee. It had all the material it needed for the Amritsar section of report.

The self-same Swami, almost by himself, made possible for the Congress session to be held at Amritsar—held successfully. This he would have done even if he had not been pressed to serve as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, as he was.

The statements made by the leaders at that session and the decisions arrived at Amritsar are already a part of our national history. There is no need for me to recapitulate them here.

The contribution that Shraddhananda made towards the writing of that history is, I fear, not as well known as it well be. It was a great contribution and one of abiding value. This, because he had revived the morale of the people who had been completely cowed down by frightfulness—not only revived it but rebuilt it stronger than it had been ever before. That is why I call him a "Revivalist"—not merely because he had revived the Gurukula type of education.

There this narrative must end, though there is some humanitarian work in which he engaged later. His work for the sufferers in Malabar, for instance.

We all know how he was attacked in December, 1926 by an assassin, who smuggled himself into the sick-room and stilled the form that lay prone temporarily disabled. Years have elapsed since that deed was perpetrated but I can not yet bear to write of it.

——:O:——

"LOOKING BACK"—II

Causes of Disease and Mortality

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

When looking back to the events of 1943 that led to the famine of 1943, the Woodhead Commission not only bemoaned the moral, social and administrative breakdown (p. 107) but "a complete breakdown in the health services" (p. 142) also. Every measure that goes to prevent famine and relieve distress, mitigate sufferings and check unnecessary deaths failed to attain even the minimum standard. It is, therefore, no wonder that there was a considerable number of deaths that could have been easily prevented. It is a pity that India was under the direction and control of a Government that had been functioning from a distance of six thousand miles or more through a subservient local administration that proved to be inefficient, corrupt, without forethought and foresight and toppling down at the first appearance of danger.

It may be suggested that the local Government was overwhelmed with the magnitude of the problem. If it was, it must be at a very late stage. They failed to adopt any measure which, according to the Commissioners, "taken before a certain stage in the descent into catastrophe was reached, could have fully retrieved the situation (p. 132)."

They failed in every sphere of Government activity and their attempt at concealing truth and suppressing the number of famine deaths by subterfuge have not escaped the notice of the Commission. After a period of 24 days, *i.e.*, from August 16 to September 8, 1943, of the publication of figures relating to famine deaths, the Government of Bengal discovered that "death in the majority of cases was due to chronic ailments and diseases which had been neglected in the past" and stopped supplying figures to the newspapers on September 9, 1943. Due to pressure of public opinion the Government had to yield and from September 9 the number of deaths in the streets, etc., began to reappear. In this connection they coined a word of great significance, *viz.*, *sick destitutes*. It means in other words that death was due to starvation and nothing else. This spirit contaminated the high and

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mighty and on December 16, 1943, Mr. Amery giving the number of deaths etc. during August to December was pleased to say: "But this total may include some deaths not due to starvation."

The remarks of the Woodhead Commission on this matter are:

"A high proportion of the deaths which took place in the early stages of the famine can best be described as deaths from starvation. It is true that disease of some kind or another was usually present in starving patients, adding to the seriousness of their condition . . . . The difference between death from simple starvation and death occurring in a starved individual who is suffering from disease is of medical interest, but a negotiable difference when the broad facts of famine mortality are under consideration" (p. 116).

In dealing with the causes of disease and mortality the Commission repeatedly refer to the undernourishment of the people at large which resulted in deaths of millions of persons from epidemics. They say:

"The calamity of famine fell on a population with low physical reserves and circumstances were favourable for a flare-up of epidemic diseases. The association between health conditions in normal times and the high famine mortality must be underlined" (p. 116).

Again at p. 120 they have dilated upon the point in the following language:

"A famine-stricken population is a sick population. Famine means not only lack of food in the quantitative sense but also lack of essential food constituents which are needed for bodily health. The functioning of every tissue and organ in the body is impaired by insufficiency of food. Susceptibility to infection may be increased, and resistance to disease when contracted will be reduced. Attacked by the same disease, an ill-nourished and debilitated individual is more likely to succumb than a healthy one . . . We have estimated that there were some 1·5 million deaths in excess of the average in 1943 and the first half of 1944. It is impossible to separate these into groups and to assign a proportion to starvation and under-nutrition, another proportion to epidemic disease, and yet another to non-epidemic disease. The famine and its effects on the life of the people must be held generally responsible for the high excess mortality recorded under all the headings in the mortality tables" (p. 120).

Perhaps due to the Government's attempt to divide the causes of deaths into water-tight compartments, the Commission have repeated their arguments that "the fatality rate of almost any serious disease is likely to be increased by undernutrition and starvation" (p. 121) and the one cannot be separated from the other.

In reviewing the causes of high mortality the Commission probed into the matter a little deeper, examined past events and very rightly discussed the conditions of the medical and public health organisations of the Province in normal times. In this connection the Commission have also tried to enquire

"whether, at the various stages of famine, it would not have been possible to reduce mortality by more effective health measures" (p. 132).

As regards the normal public health organisation of the Province the Report says:

"If a public health organization is to be capable of meeting emergencies, it must reach a certain degree of efficiency in normal times. In Bengal the public health services were insufficient to meet the normal needs of the population and the level of efficiency was low" (p. 132).

And it is idle to expect that such an organization will be able to meet the exigencies of abnormal times!

The staff was inadequate, the pay of subordinate members of the service insufficient, financial allotments for travelling were or are often inadequate and in a particular case "District Health Officers and the subordinate staff were employed in activities other than public health, including political activities" (p. 134).

About the Civil Surgeons, who are practically in charge of public health in the districts, the Report has some hard words to say:

"In the opening months of the famine Civil Surgeons in general were not aware of, or at least did not report, the development of a critical situation in their districts. Their lack of knowledge of what was happening appears to have been partly due to inability or disinclination to tour their districts. There seems to have been lack of contact and co-ordination between Civil Surgeons and District Magistrates in certain districts with regard to the medical emergency created by the famine" (p. 135).

And again:

"In general the standard of efficiency reached by Civil Surgeons and subordinate medical personnel left much to be desired. Discipline and sense of duty were defective and morale low." (*Ibid*).

The Commission is, therefore, of the opinion:

"In view of the state of medical and public health organizations in Bengal before the famine, it is scarcely surprising that they failed to rise to the occasion. On the health side, no satisfactory attempt was made during the early months to deal with the situation; there was in fact almost a complete breakdown of health services, affecting both the centre and the periphery" (p. 136).

In times of scarcity and more specially, famine, food is the most important medicine which not only sustains life but imparts strength. Scarcity of food and consequent high price caused the famine; during famine relief there was again a serious lack of appreciation of the need of the hour and

"The quantities of food supplied as free doles of uncooked grains or in the form of gruel at the kitchens were very meagre (p. 128) . . . The gruel as issued did not at the best supply more than 600-800 calories for adults and about half this number for children (p. 129) . . . The methods of feeding followed in the free kitchens have been severely criticised. There is no doubt that the quantity of food provided was below normal requirements—it was in fact a starvation diet. Apart from quantity, the food was unsatisfactory in nutritive quality, *e.g.*, in its content of protein and vitamins. It was widely stated that the unfamiliar millets usually included in the gruel caused many deaths. In the districts recipients had often to walk 2-3 miles to obtain their 800 calories or less" (pp. 141-2).

In connection with food distribution the Commission have administered a most scathing but nevertheless deserving condemnation to those dishonest self-seeking men who are worse than the profiteers who were out for gain and killed people in their greed. These men clothed themselves in the garb of public service to make money, help themselves and their relatives in the thorough disregard of the claim of the dying destitutes

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for whom these kitchens had been started. The Report says :

"The management of kitchens was not always what it should have been; abuse and corruption were far from infrequent" (p. 141).

About hospitals in normal times and the emergency hospitals in Bengal, the Commission have given their opinion in a most candid manner. For weak destitutes hospitalisation is the first and foremost remedy and the Commissioners have discussed in an unbiased manner the disadvantages that were inherent in them :

"Existing hospitals in Bengal were in general poorly equipped and there was a deficiency in the province of most medical supplies, so that there was little to build on in the task of creating hospital accommodation (p. 126) . . . The hospitals throughout Bengal with certain exceptions, were poorly equipped and badly run" (p. 135).

Then steadily and surely came the demand for emergency hospitals throughout Bengal for accommodating the dying picked up from streets. There was shortage of civil medical officers, nurses, sweepers, etc. These added to the existing difficulties. But

"Previous to the famine, hospitals were not popular in rural Bengal. People were reluctant to enter them as in-patients, which is scarcely surprising in view of the low standard of nursing. In many hospitals there were no night nurses or attendants and a patient might die at night without attention" (p. 138).

With regard to emergency hospitals "certain criticisms must be made." The progress was slow at the early stages of the famine and many persons could have been saved if steps had been taken earlier.

"Conditions in certain famine hospitals at this time, notably the Behala hospital in Calcutta, were indescribably bad. Visitors were horrified by the state of the wards and patients, the ubiquitous filth and the lack of adequate care and treatment; in spite of their appreciation of the efforts of the medical superintendent who was striving, against formidable odds, to alleviate these conditions" (p. 138).

With regard to epidemic diseases, the Commissioners have given their judgment on each of the diseases separately. With regard to Cholera the Commissioners agreed "with the views of the 1901 Commission that much of the cholera mortality 'must be deemed to have been preventible'." There was an insufficient supply, no supply of bleaching powder. Water supply was scanty and the tube-wells in the districts were in many cases out of order. There is no regular system of inspection and repair of these tube-wells and "the state of the wells under the local bodies may be ascribed as much to indifference and inefficiency as to lack of money" (p. 128).

With regard to Malaria, the Commissioners say that

"The main responsibility of medical and public health authorities was to provide facilities for treatment . . . and that the responsibility was inadequately fulfilled" (p. 123).

The Report concludes the chapter on "The Failure to Prevent High Mortality" with the remarks :

"The story is, in fact, throughout one of belated efforts to bring the situation under control. This is said with full understanding of the numerous and formidable difficulties and full appreciation of all that was eventually done to overcome them."

No comment is necessary.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIANS IN BRITISH INDUSTRIES : *By Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A. Published by Saraswaty Library, Calcutta. Pp. 74. Price Re. 1-4.*

There is a vague impression even among better informed nationalist Indians, thanks to systematic propaganda, that British industries in India have done us some good by developing the country and finding jobs for our intelligentsia and working class people. How weak and even questionable is this claim has been demonstrated with unassailable evidence and testimony by our esteemed teacher and social worker Dr. Mookerjee within the small compass of 74 pages. He has raised the pertinent question whether the British have any moral or legal justification for building up industries exclusively owned and managed by them, in our country, with our cheap labour and our cheap raw materials, denying all privileges to the children of the soil, drawing for themselves fat emoluments and dividends unheard-of anywhere else. He has also placed before us a lurid picture of the pitiful exploitation of Indian labour about which we have had but a vague and intellectual comprehension. We must confess that the esteemed author has been remarkably restrained in his exposition, allowing his facts and figures to speak for themselves. What heavy price we have paid and are paying for British Industries in India, with what little return, and with what wastage of irreplaceable natural resources, was necessary to be recalled at this stage and Dr. Mookerjee has done a national service by doing it so dispassionately, yet so effectively. We only wish it were possible for him to publish also a table of average profit and personal emoluments earned and of wages paid in England and other western countries along with the Indian tables.

ECONOMIC POLICY AND PROGRAMME FOR POST-WAR INDIA : *By Nalini Ranjan Sarker. Published for the Registrar, Patna University, Patna. Pp. ... Price Rs. 2-8.*

The theme of the book will be evident from the title. The thesis which forms Banaili Readership lectures discusses Indian agriculture, industry, transport, ...

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rency, exchange, trade, finance, distribution and other subjects with a view to "securing the greatest possible measure of welfare of the greatest number of the people." It is necessary to warn all readers beforehand that all these plans and programmes must be regarded as mere academic discussions and not the shape of things which will automatically come after the war. This remark applies particularly to those plans which are not the sanction even of a big political party behind them. Even then, some value should be conceded in their favour, as the distinguished author has himself put it that a sound plan should await the advent of a national government than that a national government should be kept waiting for a plan. In this content the book has raised useful and important discussions with which all educated Indians irrespective of his political or economic creed should be fully conversant.

The weakness of the book however lies in the fact that its author owes his allegiance to the conservative capitalist school of economics and fights shy of all present-day ideologies, nay, of all politics. Says he, "It seems to me that the wisest thing would be not to bring in the conflicting question of ideologies in shaping our plans . . . ." Again, "that the prejudices and pre-occupations which are born of economic or social ideology should be scrupulously dropped," because in his experience these "dissensions grow, rather than diminish, when dealt with on the political plan." This stand of Mr. Sarker—to make a plan without a social ideology or to discuss economics without a political background—is wholly untenable in these days. It is somewhat like playing football without goal-posts and without opposing parties and the only order of the referee is to kick *forward*. This being the position, his treatment of the most important subject of distribution of wealth was bound to be evasive and it has been so. Here his last resort seems to be Beveridge's plan; but he could not invoke his authority by name as the disparity between England and India was too palpable. Thus though the distinguished author has placed his valuable economic thoughts and concepts in a non-political vacuum glass-case, yet we must unhesitatingly say that the book deserves to be read by all people concerned with the building up of India's economic future.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

RAJPUT STUDIES : *By Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A. Pp. 340. A. Mukherjee & Bros., Calcutta.*

Since the publication of Tod's famous book *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* more than a century ago, a halo of Romance has surrounded the medieval history of Rajputana. There hardly breathes an Indian to-day who is not filled with emotion at the very recollection of the Rajput hero of old. Bengal seems to have a special fascination for the glamour of Rajput chivalry which has inspired her poets, play-wrights and novelists far more than perhaps any other historical theme.

With the development of historical studies in a critical spirit the charm of Rajput history has faded to a considerable extent. But to the general public the romantic annals of Tod still pass current as history. It is time that the sober history of the Rajputs should be better known and find a wider circle of readers. For, when critically studied, the history of the Rajputs takes its proper place as a valuable chapter in the history of India, which may be less thrilling, but certainly not less inspiring, than the medieval bardic tales. For this reason we welcome the book written by Mr. Banerjee.

It is not a systematic history of the Rajputs, but a collection of eight essays dealing with different aspects of Rajput history. The first deals with the early history of the Guhilots and the next two with the medieval history of Mewar. The last four essays trace the circumstances under which Mewar, Jaipur, Marwar and other minor Rajput states came under British protection. The remaining essay deals with the political and military organisation of the Rajputs in the days of Tod.

The first three essays were separately published before in different periodicals. Although they do not add much to our knowledge, they are good presentation of interesting topics from all points of view. In dealing with the early history of the Guhilots the author has subjected the different view-points to sober criticism and carefully sifted the available evidence in a judicious spirit. The same spirit of critical study is shown in his review of the struggle between Delhi and Mewar in the thirteenth century, and the character-study of Rana Sanga of Mewar which form the subjects of the next two chapters.

In writing the last four chapters the author has used a large volume of official documents, previously unpublished, and given a connected narrative of events which ultimately forced the proud Rajput rulers, one after another, to place themselves under the yoke of the British. In addition to the deterioration in the character of the Rajputs, the one common factor which mainly led to this tragic end is the rapacious plundering raids of the Mahrattas. The author has vividly shown how the insatiable greed of Sindhia and Holkar led them to bleed these Rajput states absolutely white for more than half a century. The whole of Rajputana was subjected to unspeakable oppression, till exhausted, impoverished, and torn hopelessly by internal dissensions prompted by the Mahrattas, the Rajput rulers had no other way left to save themselves than seeking the protection of the British Raj. The Rajput policy of the Mahrattas is a sad commentary on their statesmanship and patriotism. One even feels doubt whether the Mahrattas were really inspired by the spirit of restoring *Hindu Pad Padshahi* in India. For then they should surely have endeavoured to draw the brave Rajputs to their side by a spirit of friendship and conciliation, instead of using them as their milch-cow to fill their depleted treasury. The author's detailed statements, authenticated by official documents, leave no doubt on the inglorious activities of the Mahrattas, and one is led to fancy how different modern Indian history might have been if the Mahrattas had made a common cause yith the Rajputs in an endeavour to restore the old glory of India. These are sad thoughts, but they are instructive and full of meaning to modern politicians. The author has done well in bringing out the true facts and we have no doubt his book will be widely read.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

MYSTIC TALES OF LAMA TARANATHA : *Translated into English by Dr. Bhupendranath Datta. Pp. 90. Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19-B, Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta. 1944. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a translation, in the abstract, of Professor A. Gruenwedel's German version of a work of the famous Tibetan monk Lama Taranatha dealing with the legendary lives of a number of Tantrik Buddhist saints (*Siddhas*). Neither the manner nor the matter of the original work justifies the alternative title '*A Religio-Sociological History of Mahayana Buddhism*' with which the translator introduces his work to his readers. Nevertheless, Taranatha's volume may justly be regarded as a mine of information for the religious beliefs and practices of medieval Buddhist saints, besides throwing important side-lights on the literature, history and geography of the land. The translator, who is already well-known for his important contributions in the field of Indian anthropology and culture-history, has therefore been well-advised in placing this rare work within easy access of English-knowing readers. We would offer a few suggestions for the improvement of this monograph, in case a new edition is called for. If the translation cannot be made directly from the

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original Tibetan text, all technical terms should be given in the original Tibetan with corresponding Sanskrit forms and full explanatory notes. The numerous historical and geographical references should also be accompanied with similar notes. Finally, the Introduction should contain a critical (and as far as possible historical) account not only of the biographies of the saints, but also and above all, of their cardinal doctrines. In writing such an account the translator should fully utilise the enormous advance in our knowledge of Tantrik Buddhism made since the time of Professor Gruenwedel.

U. N. GHOSAL

REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM OF INDIA: *By R. Coupland, C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt. (Hon.). Oxford University Press, 1944. Part I—The Indian Problem 1833-1935. Pages 161. Price Rs. 3. Part II—Indian Politics, 1936-1942. Pages 347. Price Rs. 4-8. Part III—The Future of India. Pages 208. Price Rs. 3-8.*

In this Report on the constitutional problem in India submitted by Professor Coupland to the Wardens and Fellows of Nuffield College, Oxford, the entire field of the development of political institutions in this country since the assumption of sovereign power by the British Parliament has been surveyed with a view to devising a system of government in which the twin principles of freedom and unity could be balanced and combined. To Professor Coupland, the most burning question of Indian politics today is not so much the problem of freedom as that of unity. The Indian problem, again, is reflected in the wider international situation, and it is held by the author that the victory which will save or restore freedom to all nations will be unfruitful and precarious unless it is combined with the greatest practicable measure of international unity. The emphasis is shifted from the issue of a political settlement between India and Britain to that of a constitutional agreement among the major political parties in India manoeuvring for a share in the governance of the country. This characterizes the author's approach to the entire problem of India's freedom: "The British people want the Indian deadlock to be broken; and it could be broken if the major forces of Indian public opinion could come to terms." These words sound almost like echoes of Amery and Linlithgow, only fortified by the scientific reasoning of an apparently sincere Oxford scholar. Indian politics is not without its shortcomings; Indian political leadership is not infallible; but that alone does not make British intentions of transferring power to the Indian people sincere and beyond questioning. Professor Coupland takes this and several other cardinal points for granted, which unfortunately lends to his otherwise admirable and objective study the taint of bias.

Professor Coupland's Report has discussed a very wide range of subjects connected with the main question, but there is space in this short review only for an examination of some of his principal recommendations. In Part III the author discusses comprehensively the basic principles of a constitution for a free India; it reveals his close acquaintance with the constitutional history of India as well as of the Dominions and with contemporary Indian politics. He concedes, however, that few of his ideas found in this book are original, for many of them have already been canvassed by Indian students and publicists. Anyway, despite the amazing sweep of his knowledge of constitutional history and contemporary politics, the author has not been able to avoid certain inconsistencies while dealing with Indian problems. For instance, he pleads against the balkanization of India and at the same time suggests the retention of separate electorates in the Provinces and the establishment of a "weak" Centre, functions being limited to foreign affairs and defence, tariffs and currency and possibly communications. He further suggests that the other subjects of government will be divided between the Provinces and a new set of units to be created. These new units will be called regions and will be four in number—two Muslim (the Indus region and the Delta region) and two Hindu (the Ganges basin and the Deccan); these Regions and Government will take charge of such subjects as large scale economic planning and the maintenance of law and order in the last resort—functions which each Province by itself cannot discharge efficiently, and which cannot be vested in a 'strong' Centre on account of the prevailing communal sentiment. Further, the Centre envisaged is an "agency centre," that is, the representatives of the regions would come to the Centre not on an all-India footing, but solely as the agents of the regions with mandates from their governments and legislatures. This scheme which contains evidence of much hard thinking on the part of its author introduces a fresh complication, namely, the three-fold division of powers between the Centre, the Regions and the Provinces, and does not solve the problem of freedom with justice since it seeks to assign to nearly three-fourths of the population of a country just equal voice with the remaining one-fourth in the determination of policy. Besides, a "weak" Centre seems to be out of place under modern conditions, as the Centre in federal constitutions is in a variety of ways expanding its functions, both in war and peace. Coupland, however, is prepared to concede to India the freedom to secede from the Empire though he hopes that India's own interests will induce her to decide against secession. In this respect Coupland's proposals go farther than those contained in the Cripps Declaration. That Declaration had envisaged a treaty to be negotiated between the British Government and the Constitution-making body to cover all matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands, particularly the protection of racial and religious minorities in accordance with the British Government's pre-war undertakings. Coupland justly argues that extra-sanctions of any kind, such as a treaty, are inconsistent with the status of a free India. He holds, and we agree with him, that a lasting and valid guarantee of minority rights in an independent country ought to be sought in the fundamental law of the land framed by consent and modifiable only with the consent of all those affected. The author has also made certain suggestions regarding the composition of the Constitution-making body which, however, contain a bias in favour of separatism.

The one undisputed contribution which Professor Coupland has made to the study of India's political and constitutional problems is the introduction of a number of new ideas and proposals designed to solve the vexed problems of freedom and unity. It might be argued by some that he has, by his wrong choice of emphasis, sought to rekindle the extinguished embers of dead controversy, but there is no doubt that his reasoned conclusions deserve the most serious consideration of all those who are interested in the evolution of a free and united India. We have not seen anything like this stupendous study of India's constitutional problem since the Simon Commission's Report, and as the work of an individual scholar, however controversial the issues involved, it is entitled to the highest compliment.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOZUMDAR

HINDUSTAN YEAR BOOK, 1945: *By S. C. Sarkar. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Price, paper cover Rs. 2, board-bound Rs. 2-12.*

The thirteenth issue of this well-known year book has just been published. Its size is slightly thinner this year owing presumably to paper economy but its usefulness

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ness remains as before, if not higher. The most attractive feature this year is the inclusion of summaries of all important post-war plans in India, *viz.*, the Government's 15 year reconstruction plan, the Gandhian plan, the Bombay plan, etc. Summaries of world plans like the Philadelphia Charter of the I. L. O., International Monetary Conference, Dumbarton Oaks Conference, International Civil Aviation Conference, etc., have also been included. The political situation in India during 1944 has been very ably summarised in the section 'The Congress in 1944.' We believe the book will continue to command its worthiness as a work of dependable ready reference.

D. B.

THE RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM : *By D. S. Sharma, M.A. Published by the Hindu University, Benares. Pp. 686. Price Rs. 15 or 21 sh.*

This stimulating volume is the first publication of the Pratap Singh Gaekwad Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion, launched by the Benares Hindu University and edited by its Vice-Chancellor Sir S. Radhakrishnan. This book contains a series of profound studies in renaissant Hinduism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The learned author moves a mighty pen producing a style which is free and flexible, fascinating and dignified. The book is divided into fourteen chapters, besides the glossary and index. The last chapter merely provides a long reading list according to each chapter separately, while the first and the thirteenth are respectively introductory and concluding. In the remaining twelve chapters the prominent leaders of the modern Hindu renaissance, namely, Raja Rammohun, Justice Ranade, Swami Dayananda, Annie Besant, Shri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurovindo, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Prof. Radhakrishnan are separately studied and the contributions of the movements started by them are carefully surveyed. The first chapter which serves as a masterly introduction to the subject gives a short history of Hinduism from the earliest times down to the nineteenth century. The thoughtful author points out therein that the first renaissance in our religion was represented in the Upanishads which laid the firm foundations of Hinduism. The second renaissance took place in the epic age and is probably the greatest in our religious history and the finest flower of that renaissance is the Bhagavat Gita. According to the author, the third renaissance made its appearance in the last century with Raja Rammohun, who is "the morning star of the new day which dawns with Sri Ramakrishna and reaches its noon in Mahatma Gandhi." Mr. Sharma characterises Mahatma Gandhi as the greatest figure of the modern renaissance, Rabindranath as its Leonardo da Vinci, Sri Aurovindo as its self-exiled and self-imprisoned Dante and Prof. Radhakrishnan as its greatest living exponent as well as a world-champion of religion in general. Two long chapters are devoted to the description of Satyagraha movement of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa and India. He pertinently observes that our age will be considered by the future historian as the age of Tagore and Gandhi, two mighty personalities of the present renaissance which is more comprehensive and far-reaching than the two preceding ones in extent and intensity. In the words of J. H. Holmes of Chicago the Mahatma by his unique example has made Hinduism the noblest religion of our times. In the opinion of the learned writer, Shri Ramakrishna is, in a way, the true starting point of the present renaissance; for, his life represents the entire orbit of Hinduism, and with Swami Vivekananda, our renaissance becomes self-conscious and adolescent. While surveying the contributions of the Ramakrishna movement, he rightly remarks that, of all the religious movements that have sprung up in India in recent times, there is none so faithful to our past and so full of possibilities for the future, so rooted in our national consciousness and yet so universal in its outlook and, therefore, none so thoroughly representative of the religious spirit of India as the movement connected with the names of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. The concluding chapter estimates in the light of history the progress Hinduism has made by the present renaissance and insightfully points out what further action should be taken to ensure that the movement fulfils all the demands that modern age makes on us. This handsome volume is a unique and illuminating history of modern Hinduism and indispensable for the students of our religion. The survey is critical and clear, penetrating and popular, illuminating and impartial throughout and is evidently the result of lifelong study and thinking.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDA SAMHITA : *With the commentary of Sayanacharya. Vol. III. 6-8 Mandalas. Published by N. S. Sontakke, Secretary, Vaidika Samsodhaka Mandala, Tilaka Memorial, Poona 2. 1941. Price Rs. 16.*

With the publication of the present volume the Vaidika Samsodhaka Mandala or the Vedic Research Institute completes more than two-thirds of the entire work. And we have every hope there will not be much difficulty for the enthusiastic workers in presenting the concluding portion of the work before the world of scholars within a comparatively short time. For the present volume as many as thirty manuscripts arranged into 9 groups, were consulted. The variants noted reveal the extent of corruption undergone by the text of Sayana's commentary. Even manuscripts are not always dependable, as they did not hesitate, it is noticed, to supply what was lacking in Sayana, as the complete commentary on VIII. 19, 37. Nor do the manuscripts always preserve the correct reading, so that readings not supported by any of the manuscripts have sometimes had to be accepted in the present edition as well as in Max Muller's edition and the Bombay edition. In the present volume it is noticed that the learned editors have suggested two dozen emendations which generally appear to be happy. Besides these, there are a good many other cases where readings better than those adopted by Max Muller have been traced in the manuscripts and incorporated in the body of the text.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

NISSANGA : *By Rampada Mukhopadhyaya. Kamala Publishing House, 8/1A, Hari Pal Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.*

As a novelist and writer of short stories Rampada Mukherji has made a name for himself. He has a style of his own and even in dealing with our common and every-day life he can throw some new light on the theme. But the subject-matter of this novel is not an ordinary one. *Nissanga*, as the title of the book implies, denotes the solitude of a soul. A man unless he gets his soul's companion is alone in this wide world. It is almost the subject-matter of poetry, but unlike a poet a novelist must be objective in his representation of life, and Rampada Mukherji has met with success in making his characters living and full of life. Salil, the hero of this novel, is what may be called a successful man of the world. He lives in affluent circumstances, respected by all, has a handsome wife, and is the head and arbiter of a large family, yet he feels that he is not one of them, he is not happy, he is solitary. Life can be realised through love and not through success. Salil is unfortunate in his love. Nirmala, Subha and Sucharu are all living characters and have distinct characteristics of their own. In a sense Nirmala is also a solitary soul,

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The author has shown considerable skill in dealing with difficult characters and a difficult theme. The story never lags and the interest of the novel is sustained to the end.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BHARATER MUKTI-SADHAK: *By Gopal Bhowmik. Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-12.*

The book contains biographical sketches of Surendranath Banerjea, Lokamanya Tilak, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu C. R. Das, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and some other outstanding Indian political leaders, whose activities have mainly been influenced by the ideals of the Indian National Congress. The writer has done justice to Bengal by giving a short account of Bengal's contribution to the Congress movement and a detailed description of the part played by Surendranath Banerjea in the beginning of India's struggle for freedom. The author has not only made the pen-pictures of these notable celebrities enjoyable for us but has also given a careful analysis of the Indian political situation.

NALINI K. BHADRA

RABINDRANATHER GHARE BAIRE: *By Sm. Renu Mitra, M.A. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

It is an interesting analysis of Rabindranath's famous novel *Ghare Baire* (the Home and the World). The author describes and comments on the philosophy of life presented by each of the main characters. She has not been satisfied with the mere enjoyment of the story, but has tried to understand and explain the central problem underlying it—the problem of conjugal relation. This relation is not complete when it is confined within the narrow limits of the home. It attains completeness in the context of the world. She has dealt with the point at length. Her clarity of thought and elegance of language are really commendable.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

AKHANDA HINDUSTAN: *By Vishendas Deva. Trivedi and Co., Chamberlain Road, Lahore. Pp. 144. Price Rs. 2.*

Here is a powerful plea, based on a study of Indian history and of the fundamental needs of humanity as against those of any particular portion of it, for consolidating the centuries-old unity of the country. As such, it is a clarion-call to all patriotically-minded people to set their faces firmly against those movements and measures, like Pakistan and separate electorates, which aim at vivesecting the vital oneness of the nation. The two forewords to the book contributed by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukerji and Raja Narendranath respectively, are forceful as well as full of illuminating facts.

The author says that his sole purpose in writing the book, under review, has been three-fold: first, to become conscious of the blunders made in the past in our struggles and strivings for freedom; secondly, to try to remove root and branch, such tendencies in our present-day collective life which make for separateness; and thirdly, to oppose political projects like Pakistan of the Moslem League and the "Azad Punjab" of the Sikhs. He has divided the subject into five sections, namely, British policy in India; Mistakes made by the Congress; Pakistan; "Azad Punjab"; and a Solution of the problems pertaining to the political unity of the country. The twin basis of the arguments advanced in the last section is "growth of a sane rationalism and modernisation of the material aspect of life." He and there, however, one finds there has been an undue emphasis on the especial point-of-view of the Hindus; otherwise, the book breathes a spirit of dispassionate criticism. A translation of the book in English as well as in the principal languages of India will go a great way in arresting the growth of our anti-national policies and programmes.

CANARESE

G. M.

'BAPU': *By G. D. Birla, Translated by R Divakar, M.A., LL.B., P.P. Crown 8 Vo. Pp. 12. Price Re. 1.*

Mahatma Gandhi is an epochmaker and hence his influence on the contemporary life of to-day is bound to be marvellous. Many attempts have been made to sketch the life of the greatest man of the world but so far as we know, no single attempt has proved an unqualified success. Lives of great men are not easily understood and they always elude the easy grasp of ordinary mortals. The variegated colours and the diverse attitude of their mind cannot be compressed into the narrow compass of a few pages. Every time we have a look at the lives of great men new points emerge in the limelight and the freshness of their mind astounds us.

Sri Birla has tried to delve deep into the crevices of Mahatma's mind and has been largely successful in leaving the impress of his personality on this book of his. Birla Seth is no idle visionary; he is a practical businessman. So his conclusions and findings on different issues savour of the touch of practical wisdom. Birlaji is no blind follower of Mahatmaji. He has approached Gandhiji's life as a dispassionate critic and nowhere does he allow his intellect to be warped by extraneous considerations of faith, devotion, etc.

Sri Divakar, the devout disciple of Gandhiji and Gandhism, deserves all praise for having put in the hands of Kannada public this eminently readable book. Gandhiji today is not an individual but an institution and a power to reckon with. He is accepted on all hands to be one of the moulders of the modern world and a new and abiding civilization and culture. His life is bound to leave an indelible impression on the events to come and thus it is worth the while of every Kannadiga to go through this book carefully and digest the contents thereof. The Kannada rendering is admirably simple and chaste. The clarity of expression and the chiselled diction are worth emulating.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

PARABNAN PANI: *By Prof. Murli Thakur of the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co., Bombay 2, 1943. Thick card-board. Illustrated. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Many of these seventeen short stories give us a vivid picture of village society and village life, which being graphic, is real and pathetic. The language in which the incidents and descriptions are couched is very simple, and that adds to the attractiveness and popularity of the tales.

BINDU: *By Ramprasad Shukla. Printed at the Kumar Printers, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 8. Price Re. 1.*

This is a collection of 35 + 25 sonnets divided into two sections, ordinary and those relating to the present war and called destruction and development (Vinash and Vikas). The poems maintain a high level throughout, but are out of the reach of the ordinary reader in spite of the footnotes, explaining the subject-matter of each of them. The cultured few will surely admire them for the fine poetic conceits therein.

K. M.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

A Friend

This charming tribute to Sir William Rothenstein, whose death was announced on February 14, 1945, forms the subject-matter of an article by Rabindranath Tagore originally written for *Bharati* in 1912, and translated from the original Bengali by Kshitish Ray for *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

On reaching London I took shelter in a hotel. It was as if I found myself in the crowded gateway of moving traffic. What transpired inside remained a mystery, nor was acquaintance possible with the inmates. I just watched the people—coming and going. All I could see was that there was no end of hurry and bustle. What the business was about passed my comprehension. I knew not if anybody kept count of the impact of all this colossal bustle—for good or for bad.

The gong goes. Inside the dining room I find groups of men and women, in twos and threes, sitting round their small tables and noiselessly eating their food while the tall, solemn-faced waiter hastens from one table to another, serving with dexterous hands. Some finish their newspaper along with their meal, then dart a swift glance at their pocket watch, put on their hat and sally forth. The room grows empty. They get together only during lunch or dinner hour; then vanish, no one knows where.

Although I do not need to look at it, I too pull out the watch like everybody else, snap it open and then quietly put it back into my pocket. When it is neither meal-time nor time to retire, the hotel looks like a boat moored, and one is at a loss to explain one's presence therein during these hours. The hotel is a fit place for those who have their work to go to and no place to live in. A bazaar residential arrangement like this is not quite suitable for such superfluous persons as I. As I stand by the open window I find streams of people running in various directions. They seem to have so many tools in the hands of an invisible mechanic. What is being forged remains likewise invisible, on the whole. It is like a colossal factory where history is being manufactured, where millions of hammers strike at a million different spots with swift and terrific blows. I stand outside this giant engine and see the living pistons, propelled by the steam of hunger, moving up and down with an indomitable energy.

Foreigners who come here for the first time cannot escape this first impression of the huge human machine of the god of history. What heat, what clamour! How the wheels revolve! If I shut my eyes for a while and try to form an idea of all the labour and all the movement that constitute this city of London, what terrible persistence! Nobody knows to what end is this incessant drive, what latent power is in the process of being made manifest.

But one cannot keep on seeing man only as a machine. If I cannot see the man in him, why did I become all this way? It is of course much easier to see him as a cog in the wheel than as he is by himself. Unless he takes you of his own accord into the inner compartments of his mind, you cannot gain admission to the essential man. It is not so simple as buying a ticket to a theatre. You cannot gain that admission for any price—simply because it is priceless.

Luckily for me I got that one rare chance. I came by a friend. There are some who are born friends. It does not lie with all of us to be so. In order to become a true friend one has to give oneself. As in the case of other charities, this gift presupposes a fund to draw upon. Mere wish to give is not enough.

The friend I was talking of is a famous artist; his name is William Rothenstein. In India I had med him for a brief while. As a matter of fact, at the time of setting out for Europe I had felt attracted by the prospect of coming closer to him. The moment I met him I felt as if in a trice I had crossed over the gateway of the hotel. Now there was nothing to stop me.

He lived at Hampstead Heath. The place was a green mound and looked like the heaving breast of London. In the backyard of his house nestling against the slope of the hill was a strip of a garden. Facing the garden was a long verandah attached to the drawing room, half-hidden by a rose creeper and rapturous with the fragrance of many flowers. According as my fancy took me, I sat in the verandah with a book in hand which I hardly ever read. I felt happier to watch his three children play—two boys and girl. Their childish joy was infectious.

The path from the strange to the familiar is a long and arduous one. I had hardly the time to traverse the entire course. My capacity, too, was limited. Habitually shy, I recoiled from the thought of muscling my way to the desired goal. Besides, I did not hold the key wherewith to unlock the main entrance to the English language. It was a hurdle race for me. Such a process is too much of a strain and does not help one to be true to one's nature. Unless one can express oneself without let or hindrance, one cannot get to know the real and true self of another. And so after a while, tired of trying to dodge the monstrous wheels of the mechanised traffic, I would have at last traced my way back to my Bengal, nestling in the embrace of her rivers, that flow by the green paddy fields glistening in the autumn sun. When my mind was at such a pass in came my friend. He raised the screen and I saw the light burning and a seat kept ready for me. I left the dead-weight of the foreigner's strangeness outside the door, discarded the dust-laden coat of the traveller, and passed in a moment from the bustle of the crowd into the intimacy of a home.

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The Pacific War

The New Review observes :

America had hardly any V-E Day and at once switched all her might into the Pacific war. By the middle of the month, re-deployment was in full swing. Engineer units were flown to organise the handling of millions of tons of water-borne supplies; Luzon is to play the part of a Britain-like base but note that there are 1,350 miles from Luzon to Japan against 100 miles from Britain to France. Air-crews are being re-trained, for the types of planes to be used are different. Superfort instead of Fortress and Liberator, Douglas A-26 instead of Mitchell and Marauder; many more of the type B-29 and Consolidated B-32. Then again the newest versions of Thunderbolt and Mustang will be the types mainly in use. There is also the Shooting Star, the Lockheed P-80, a jet-fighter with a ceiling of 40,000 ft. and a speed of over 600 m.p.h. which is being mass-produced. Re-deployment will take time, owing mainly to shipping shortage.

Japan has also improved her types of planes. She particularly boasts of her Kamikaze (Divine Tempest): it is a buzz-bomb piloted by a man locked in the cockpit; it is launched from the underside fuselage of a plane and carries one ton of explosive in its torpedo-like noise. It has done serious damage to American warships off Okinawa; yet the G. I.'s call it baka (foolish) in Japanese and Looney Joe in American. Japan is estimated to have 8,000 planes, half being front-line combat planes; until recently she produced 1,500 planes a month, more than was needed for replacements. But Superfortresses are credited with having cut down her production by some 35 per cent. The Imperial Fleet has been reduced to five outmoded battleships, three dozen destroyers and cruisers, 100 standard submarines and many more smaller ones. The land forces remain formidable, but the outer defences of the homeland have been breached at Iwojima and Okinawa and the repeated reshuffles in Cabinet, Army and Navy betray Japan's deep anxiety.

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The Game With Human Lives

The tragedy that Bengal witnessed in 194[illegible] is unparalleled in history both in intensi[illegible] and character. What is most agonizing is th[illegible] this famine did not come as an entire[illegible] unexpected avalanche. With bold and resolu[illegible] action, it could have been prevented. *Science and Culture* observes :

A post-mortem examination has now been carr[illegible] out on the Bengal famine of 1943. The Famine Enq[illegible] Commission set up by the Central Government, [illegible] Sir John Woodhead (late of I.C.S.) as Chairman, [illegible] now released a report in which the situation preval[illegible] before and during the famine has been analyzed. It [illegible] noteworthy that most of the charges of maladmin[illegible] tration brought against the Bengal Government by th[illegible] public during the famine and which were often sto[illegible] refuted by the authorities, are very largely substantiat[illegible] in this report. Broadly speaking, the findings of th[illegible] Commission are :

I. That the incidence of the famine was no[illegible] sudden, the signs of the catastrophe were appare[illegible] several months before its actual occurrence.

II. That although shortage of food supply and fal[illegible] of Burma created conditions for its occurrence, th[illegible] incidence was mainly due to (1) the sudden increase [illegible] the price of food materials, (2) the terribly low pu[illegible] chasing power of the people, (3) the confusion in th[illegible] policy of the Government regarding control of prices and procurement of foodgrains through Governme[illegible] agents, (4) the panic in the adjoining areas after th[illegible] fall of Burma, (5) the weak and vacillating policy of th[illegible] Government to control hoarding and increase of prices, (6) the maldistribution of available supply, (7) unfortunate Government propaganda against the incidence of famine when thousands were dying daily, (8) Government's failure to make an early declaration of famine and consequently delay in the adoption of relief measures, (9) unrestricted free trade, (10) export of rice from Bengal to other areas, (11) heavy purchases by the Army, huge stocks accumulated by industrial and Government employers, (12) destruction and loss of coastal boats, (13) lukewarm and complacent attitude of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, (14) hoarding and greed for money even at the expense of human lives, and above all due to lack of enlisting public support and loss of public confidence in the capacity of the Bengal Government to take effective measures even under the most acute conditions.

The report says :

"An attempt to control prices by the prescription of statutory maxima aggravated the situation by driving stocks under-ground. The subsequent decision not to enforce the Order, while alleviating the difficulties which the Order created, advertised the inability of Government to control the markets."

"The events of 1942 had shown how necessary it was for the Bengal Government to secure control of supplies. In these circumstances, we think that the wise course would have been for Government to have recognized that it was inadvisable to wait for a decision whether the control of rice should be central, provincial or regional responsibility, and that the proper course was to establish as quickly as their own procurement machinery."

"It has been reckoned that the amount of unearned profits made on the buying and selling of rice during 1943, was 150 crores."

"We have been told that Government advised people that there was no shortage at a time when everybody knew that there was a shortage, and that this increased the prevailing lack of confidence."

"Conditions actually prevailing in Bengal at the time were far too serious for anyone to believe that

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thing of the kind. We consider that this propaganda of sufficiency was quite ill-advised. We think that it would have been wiser to have told the people the truth."

"The remarkable feature of the Bengal famine was that the rise in the price of rice was one of the principal causes of the famine. This, as far as we are aware, makes it unique in the history of famine in India. The majority of Indian famines have been caused by drought and widespread failure of crops over wide areas. Floods, hail, and cyclones have on rare occasions produced the same effect."

"But after considering all the circumstances we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay in the power of the Government of Bengal, by bold, resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took place."

"It has been for us a sad task to inquire into the course and causes of the Bengal famine. We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society, together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed there was a moral and social breakdown, as well as an administrative breakdown."

Meaning of Shakespeare in War Time

Prof. Dover Wilson writes in *The Twentieth Century* :

No man can breathe anything but the climate of opinion of his own period. And when you realise that Elizabethan England found peace and security, as it seemed to them, by a miracle, in the rule of their extraordinary Queen Elizabeth, after a generation or two of civil strife and the constant threat of foreign invasion, a threat which culminated in the defeat of the Spanish invasion fleet in 1588, a year or two before Shakespeare began writing his plays, you see at once that no other political attitude was possible for the men of that great age.

When Britain was recently threatened by invasion, we found the patriotic note of Shakespeare's history-plays stir her like a trumpet :

This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them.

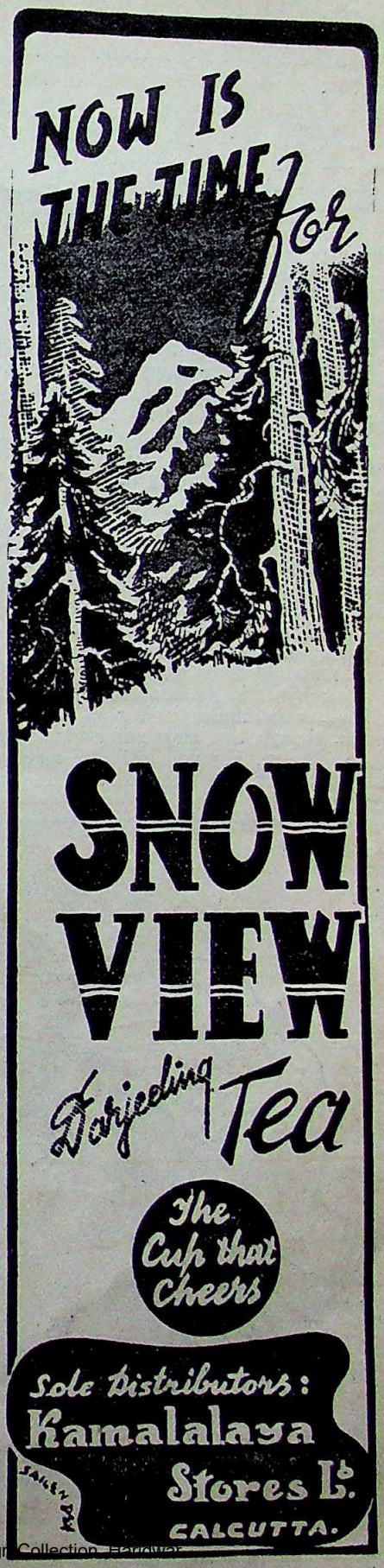
And the famous description of the island-fortress in *Richard II* :

This fortress built by nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands.

Such passages have meant much to the people of Britain in these last years, more than they had imagined they could possibly mean in the days of peaceful preoccupation.

In another history-play, written later, though dealing with an earlier region, *King Henry V*, Shakespeare shows his country as itself invading the continent of Europe, and winning the great victory of Agincourt over the French in 1415. Here is a writing about England at war, a victorious war, surely the play of all plays to be reading or seeing in wartime ?

What thrills us in *Henry V* is not the rather bombastic choruses, but the fact that the battle of Agincourt was fought and won by a handful of English against overwhelming odds, and the King's speech, in which he addresses his men as "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers."



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Indian Chronology

The habit of fact-finding is more useful than the popular art of book-writing or brilliant presentation. P. K. Gode writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Chronology is rightly looked upon as the very backbone of history, while *geography* is its eye. Accuracy in determining the time and place of a historical event or person inspires confidence but mere arguments do not prove a historical fact. All research worth the name in the historical field must connect the past with the present or, if this is not possible in a given case, it must accurately lay bare sufficient data by exploring a historical field within two definite chronological limits with a view to helping further investigation in the field by subsequent explorers. Recording data bearing on the problem under investigation and pointing out its significance is useful but writing page after page without discovering or recording any new fact does harm to the problem as it clouds the issues instead of clearing them. Mere inferences should be stated as such and even deductions from facts discovered should be cautiously made without leaving the moorings of facts.

There should be no mysticism in fact-finding or even in the presentation of facts. Evidence should be recorded without garbling and inferences therefrom should be presented in a clear-cut manner without adding too much polish or brilliance. The object of the investigator of facts should be the presentation of the facts discovered in their proper historical perspective with a view to helping brother investigators. Every research student will bear me out when I say that cautious research within reasonable limits warranted by specific data has not much to fear as it is never wide of the mark, though one may not always succeed in hitting the bull's-eye. The real test of a research article lies in its quote-worthiness in the eyes of subsequent workers in the field.

This is what may be called *realism* historical research of which chronology is greatest lever and one which, if stout strong, has infinite potentialities.

A beginner in chronology should ply his axe some knotty problems for which some reliable data be gathered from sources still untapped. In enthusiasm to determine the age of the Veda we neg sources of history such as the numerous manuscr in our libraries and the large number of inscrip and archaeological finds pertaining to the diff epochs of history, not to say the valuable docum of the modern period of Indian history, all of w need systematic investigation and exploration. A c study of this enormous material even in part, if carr out under the guidance of competent teachers, is to develop a realistic outlook which is badly need at the present stage of research in Indology.

The correlation of data from literary sources w the data from epigraphic and archaeological sources of paramount importance to the future of all resea in Indology on scientific lines. Hundreds of resea students can easily engage their minds in the study this vast material that awaits exploitation in a cautio manner. Discoveries in research generally come fr untapped sources. First-rate discoveries made by investigator on the strength of new and unk sources extend the bounds of our knowledge in a gi field of history. While studying new historical sou we must in the first instance determine their chrono and then use them for historical reconstruction. D able allusions or facts, when arranged in chronolog order, make reliable history within their limitatio The investigator of historical facts must be a chron logist and not a novelist. The process of histori reconstruction worth the name is essentially an indu process which builds up the edifice brick by brick w the cohesive cement of logic based on carefully selected facts.

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No More Windfalls in Apple Orchards

Arnold Nicholson writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

If Dr. Frank Gardner had been three centuries later, a little ahead of Sir Isaac Newton, the world might still be wondering what makes things drop to the ground.

For the discoverer of gravitation, being also an enthusiastic horticulturist, would naturally have sprayed his orchard with the fifteenth-century "Dr. Gardner's magic mixture," and the well-known apple would not have fallen. It is still open to argument whether or not this scientific "double-cross" would have been worthwhile, for Dr. Gardner's discovery is rated "one of the most important in the history of food production."

By adding a teaspoon of his "magic" to two hundred gallons of water for sprinkling an orchard—bigger, sweeter, more vitamin-crammed apples, pears, cherries, and other fruit are now produced.

In the coming months, the public will be receiving the biggest dividend yet from the "crazy experiments" which Dr. Gardner, as a member of the U. S. Bureau of Plant Industry's staff, began five years ago at the bureau's experimental farm at Beltsville, Maryland. What hundreds of farmers and fruit-growers have seen, wondered at, and adopted in these few short years was aptly expressed by a veteran orchardist: "That stuff actually nails the fruit to the tree!"

The value of being able to "nail fruit to the tree" lies in the fact that most fruit fall when the seed is mature enough for reproduction. Unfortunately, the needs of propagation and the preference of fruit-eating mankind do not always coincide. Too often when the small layer of cells in the stem, which is the fruit's "release mechanism," dries out to the point where the fruit falls, the fruit-grower—and his cash customers—would much rather have it stay put for ten days or two weeks. For it could continue fattening up in the sunshine, storing up sugar, losing its tannic acid, and acquiring a glowing jacket.

The teaspoon of stuff Dr. Gardner tossed into the spray-tank at Beltsville, back in 1929, was one of the most potent activating substances known to science—a hormone. Acting on an idea, he wanted to see what effect it would have. "It might," he told the spray men, "prevent fruit from dropping."

The men chuckled inwardly. They had already witnessed many unorthodox antics in the name of plant science, but to be told that a few drops of chemical, diluted in 200,000 parts of water, could have any effect, well!

The experimenter had the last laugh. Apples hung in the trees, when the autumn winds blew, as though they were taped to the branches. And some which had been sprayed twice were still hanging there, wizened and brown, when December snows whipped through the leafless orchard.

It would be convenient if, at this point, the record could be closed by stating: "And so, hormones have entered the plant world, to the glory of science and the betterment of mankind." But it cannot be. Hormones, the mysterious substance secreted by certain cells, which cause some men to age prematurely and others to remain young in their old age, which have a score of effects on the human body and temperament not yet fully understood by physiologists, are equally versatile in their vegetable guise.

For instance, while Dr. Gardner was "nailing apples to trees," Dr. G. W. Schneider, working at a New Mexico experimental station, discovered that a similar hormone spray, when applied to blossoms, had exactly the opposite effect—it caused a reduction in the number which turned into fruit. Again, fruit growers cheered. A blossom-reducing substance was something they had been seeking for years.

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Fisheries in India

It is time that we should ardently try to develop Fishery Science and apply it in practical fields for the uplift of our national resources. There is an urgent need of research. Dr. H. K. Mookerjee observes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Fish is one of the best ingredients of non-vegetarian diet. In a hot country like India and specially in Bengal fish is generally preferred to meat. The Fishing industry may be divided into three main categories, namely, 1. Fresh-water fishery, 2. Estuarine fishery, and 3. Marine fishery. The main problems of fresh water and estuarine fisheries are:

(a) Life-history, (b) Breeding, (c) Rearing, (d) Conservation:—(i) Stocking, (ii) Introduction, Protection and Fishery laws, (e) Ecology, (f) Technology:—(i) Preservation, (ii) Different methods of catch and appliances, (g) Marketing, (h) Fishermen—their life and education.

Each of the above items of the main problem of fresh water and estuarine fisheries involves many enquiries which are still hopelessly lacking. The knowledge derived in other countries is mostly of no use when we note that our fish is quite different from fish of western countries. For example, Indian major crops unlike the European carps do not breed in ordinary stagnant ponds. Ecological conditions, particularly temperature, the acidity or alkalinity of water, oxygen contents of water, are so different that at every step it involves fresh research.

Now let us take up the life-history of common fresh water fishes. Without the life-history nobody can go a step further in fishery. It is so very fundamental.

Dr. Rao in his report on the progress of science in India during the past twenty-five years in connection with Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress Association in May, 1938, remarked, "Considering that the study of the developmental history of fishes is of great importance in solving fishery problems, it seems surprising that so little attention has been paid to this subject in India."

I may state here that in the Fisheries Labora of the University of Calcutta during the last years, we have investigated the complete life-hist of some of the edible fishes.

The number of fresh-water fishes of Ben alone is more than 150 of which common o would be 50.

So there is still enough scope to trace the histories and carry on basic researches on the diff species of fresh-water fishes.

The condition of estuarine fishes is still worse full life-history of not a single species is yet kn The breeding methods of fresh-water fishes have rec ly been investigated by the Calcutta University the knowledge of this was in a deplorable cond but even now it may be said that still more work necessary.

The rearing of fry depends much on food. Altho each and every Fisheries Department investigated comparative value of artificial food, nobody care know the natural food of such fishes. The result tremendous amount of financial loss. In case of alone such artificial food is of no use as they costly and pollute the water. From our fish labora of the Calcutta University we have been able to much light on the peculiarity of the natural food carp. Carp always take semi-rotten plant body in adolescent and adult stages, as they have no teeth their jaws to bite plants in fresh condition, and are unable to digest the diatoms. Much depends on quantitative value of food as we all know qualitatively there is practically no difference betw the food of a child with that of an adult person. in the percentage composition of food that varies fr a child to an adult person. The same truth holds g even for fish. These valuable data have also collected very recently by the Fish Laboratory, Co University. Much work is still to be done in this direction.

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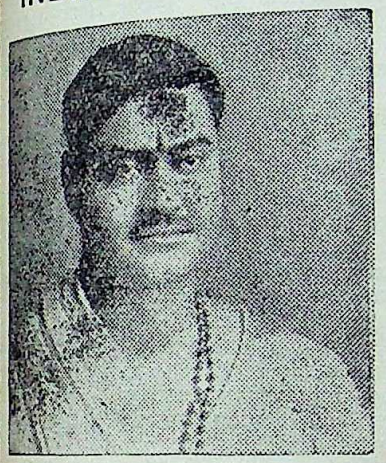
Astrologer & Astronomer of All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society of Calcutta considering situation of Britain and King Emperor with reference to present planetary position predict **present war enhances British prestige and British emerges successful.**

The above prediction was sent to the Secretary of States for India, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and the Governor of Bengal which was thankfully acknowledged by them with their letter Memo No. 361/A/XX-A-24, through the Govt. of Bengal 12-12-39, No. 3/MP dated 7-10-39 and Government of Bengal Govt. Camp No. D.O.39-T dated 6-9-39 respectively.

This prediction was made by

INDIA'S GREATEST ASTROLOGER & TANTRIK-YOGI



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Art Crafts of Ireland

In *The Catholic World*, Regina Madden points out how the present Irish Renaissance movement is manifesting itself in all the Irish activities of to-day :

It has often been said that the average Irishman is an individualist with a stronge urge toward expressing his individuality. That is undoubtedly the reason why mass production has aroused only a limited enthusiasm in the Irish and why craft work has retained its popularity down to the present day. In the art crafts the worker has an opportunity to express his personality; and while expressing his personality, he works joyously, reminding us of William Morris's statement that art is the expression of man's joy in his work. So the art crafts have always held an important place in the occupational life of Ireland.

That the skill to be found in Ireland in the artistic crafts is not a foreign inlay is satisfactorily proved by the native artistic achievements in book illumination and metal work as early as the eighth century. To foster these and other native skills the Royal Dublin Society was organized in 1731. From 1743 on we find the Society offering awards for superior work done in the making of lace, embroidery, tapestry, carpets, enamels, and in other artistic crafts. Before the end of the eighteenth century the glass of Waterford had attained such fame that we may read in the *Dublin Chronicle* of August 21, 1788, that "a very curious service of glass has been sent over from Waterford to Milford for their Majesties' use, and by their orders forwarded to Cheltenham, where it has been much admired and does great credit to the manufacture of this country." Equally famous was the silverware of Ireland, while the making of lace from gold and silver thread had also become so important an industry by 1778 that the Irish Parliament to protect it passed an act prohibiting altogether the importation of gold and silver laces.

When projects for the improvement of the welfare of certain sections were undertaken by such agencies as the Congested Districts Board in 1893 and more recently the Gaeltacht Services Division of the Department of Lands, the native Irish taste for the crafts was utilized in establishing crochet, embroidery, lace, and other industries.

Today Ireland, cut off from outside influences and thrown upon her own resources, turns more of her energies into her native crafts and finds a wholesome happiness in self-expression through work.

That the influence of the Irish Renaissance movement is touching all Irish activity is seen in the Dun Emer Guild in Dublin, where the handwoven carpets, tapestries, and embroideries made under the direction of Miss Kathleen McCormick and Miss Evelyn Gleeson, are designed with the old Gaelic motifs.

Also affected by the Renaissance movement has been the stained glass work of Ireland, which is the best done in Europe since the early part of the present century. This work is produced in the Harry Clarke studio and Miss Purser's An Tur Gloine. Up to the beginning of this century only the mass-produced stained glass windows from Munich and Birmingham were to be seen in the churches of Ireland. Today the soft lighting of the newer churches comes through jeweled-colored windows of native design and native craftsmanship.

One of the most popular centers of craftsmanship is the Cluana Studio in Dawson Street, Dublin, which is noted for its beautiful handmade jewelry, its hand-carved wooden utensils, its basket work, etc. Another association of craftsmen is the Avoca Hand-Weavers who make rugs, blankets, scarves, and tweeds. The weavers work in an old water mill, in which the carding and the spinning are done on primitive machinery. All the weaving is done by hand. The popularity of the material is in large part due to the variety of beautiful colors found in it, which is the result of constant experimenting in dyeing.

In the more remote sections of Donegal, Galway, Mayo, and Kerry are produced homespuns. Through the open half-doors of the whitewashed cottages in these areas one can see the women busy at the work of spinning the yarn and coloring it. It is common to find in these homes the picture of St. Bridget, for it is she who is the patron of spinners. The yarn, richly colored in the dyes made of lichens, moss, heather, and roots, is taken to the local weaver, who uses his own individual patterns in weaving the material, which has a distinctive beauty. In these sections hand-knitting is also done from the yarn spun in the home. Sweaters, scarves, gloves, socks, and ties of beautiful and original patterns are made for sale.

Virtually all the artists engaged in these various crafts have found their inspiration in the ancient Celtic art, taking their motifs from the Irish Romanesque and earlier styles. In so developing her art crafts along the lines of native tradition, Ireland is following the policy of cultural self-reliance advocated over fifty years ago by the man now her president, who has always remained true to the belief that while her culture lives on, a nation will endure.

India To-day

In a review article under the above caption in *The International Review of Missions*, John McKenzie, D. D. passes the following remarks about five books on India :

In these days news about India is scarce, and new books about India are few and far between. This is not

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to any shortage of ideas or to any lack of the kind activities that stimulate men to thought and ex-ession. It is due chiefly to the limitations which the has put on the means of expression, the shortage paper and of facilities for printing. But we have ve us five books dealing with present-day India. details of their subject-matter vary, as do the of view of their writers. Each of them sheds ght on a situation which everyone who is ed in India feels to be in need of illuminating. end the reader may have difficulty in fitting into ole picture the varied information and the various ts with which the different writers supply him, he will at least have discovered how great and how portant for the world are the movements which are ing place in India, and how perplexing are some the problems which face those who from necessity or choice have laid upon them the task of planning India's future.

We shall look briefly at each of these books, and, ly, at Dr. Hodge's *Salute to India,* for though small ck it is the most comprehensive, the best balanced the most illuminating of them all. It is the work a man who knows India with an intimacy which few eigners ever reach. He came to know a peasant munity in Bihar with a knowledge that is possible for one who lives for long years among the people, ring into all their interests, their work and their their joys and their sorrows, and who in love es them. He made many other friends, for while in Bihar he was collaborating in the service of the ual and material needs of India with people of y types, Indian and European, in all parts of the Then for over eleven years he had the high and privilege of serving as secretary of the onal Christian Council. In the discharge of his duties he travelled to almost every part of India, and there are few church or mission compounds in the length and breadth of the land in which he would not find his way about without a guide. More than that, he was, and continues to be, the trusted friend of great numbers of non-Christians, including many of the political leaders; and his intimate friendship with Mr. Gandhi is of thirty years' standing.

Dr. Hodge has given us, in his own words, 'a tribute to the Indian people, whom I know and respect.' It is a worthy tribute, which we ought all to hail with gratitude; for it cannot but have a healing influence at this time of deep misunderstanding and alienation.

Mr. Beverley Nichol's *Verdict on India* is a much more impressive looking book, with a much more impressive title. Actually when he essayed to mount the bench and deliver a judicial verdict on India Mr. Nichols took upon himself a task that was far beyond his powers. It may be questioned ever whether he was justified in appearing at the bar in support of the case which he advocates. This is the case for Pakistan, and in pleading it he goes all out in favour of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League, and against the Congress and Mr. Gandhi and Hinduism and almost all its works. He got up his case far too hastily, and he makes some striking errors in his attempt to present the facts. The shortness of the time which he spent in India, the narrowness of the range of the contacts which he was able to establish with Indian people and his lack of any profound knowledge of or insight into the Indian mind unfitted him for dealing wisely or usefully with the Indian problem.

Mr. Nichols writes, as always, with great charm. It may be questioned, however, whether this enhances the merit of the book. He is dealing with a situation of great delicacy, difficulty and danger, a situation on which action must be taken soon. Whatever that action may be, it will have profound and far-reaching consequences for millions of people not only in India but far beyond it. There is therefore demanded of all who have anything to propose in speech or writing a high sense of responsibility and an informed judgment. Mr. Nichols' book is being read not because it exhibits him as being possessed of these qualities, but because it handles Indian matters far more picturesquely than most other writings do; for the average book on India is intolerably dull. But the pity is that in this country he will sway the judgment of many people who know even less about India than he does, and in India he is likely to make a big contribution to the intensification of the ill-feeling which is already far too prevalent.

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Mr. Hoyland's *We who are India* deals with the subject of the Indian money-lender, against whose vampirish ways he manifests a justifiable and righteous indignation. The writer has done a valuable service in drawing the attention of people in the West to an evil which continues to bring misery to many millions of people in India, robbing them of the possibility of physical or spiritual well-being, and killing in them all hope and aspiration.

Mr. Carl Heath's *Gandhi* extends to only thirty pages, but within this space he gives us an illuminating and interesting study of one of the most remarkable men of our time. Many have tried to characterize Mr. Gandhi, and many more will do so; for he is a very enigmatical character, and his interpreters will continue to differ widely from each other. Mr. Heath's will take a high place among the studies already made and those which are yet to come.

I find it extremely difficult to write on Mr. Goshal's book, *The People of India*. It is an interesting book, well planned, and written in vigorous and expressive English. It opens with a survey of India's heritage, beginning with Mohenjo Daro and carrying us rapidly on to modern times. But this is intended only to provide a background. The bulk of the book consists of a history and appraisement of the work of the British in India. It is written from the Left Wing Congress standpoint, and it is full of anti-British bitterness. There is no aspect of British relations with India which is not given the worst possible interpretation. I believe this point of view has been accepted fairly widely in America, and I do not know whether works like Mr. Goshal's are to be regarded mainly as contributory causes to the anti-British spirit or mainly as effects of it.

My difficulty in commenting on the book and its implications is partly due to the fact that I spent the early years of my service in India in the period preceding the last war, when the Swaraj movement had started, but when one heard little, if anything, of the kind of interpretation of history with which we are here presented. Political leaders, even those who were regarded as 'extremist', were on the whole appreciative of the services which Britain had rendered to India. Most of them would have agreed with the words of Mr. Subramania Aiyar, one of the early leaders of the Congress: 'By a merciful dispensation of Providence, India, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder, of civil wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the British Power.' These men were thinking in terms of the gradual transference of government to Indian hands, and they were working for this by constitutional means. They were appreciative of past progress, but eager to quicken the pace. But it would have entered the minds of very few to assert, as is asserted in the 'Declaration of Independence' passed by the Congress in 1930, that the British Government 'has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually'. I cannot believe that the men who drafted this believed the allegation in their hearts. But they have taught multitudes of young people to believe it fanatically. I have never been able to adjust my mind to this new attitude, particularly in view of the progress which in the course of thirty years has been made towards self-government, a progress which I am convinced has been not hastened but retarded by the substitution of methods of non-co-operation and obstruction for methods of peaceful negotiation. Even the facts which Mr. Goshal presents, imperfectly and tendentiously as he sets them forth, will be interpreted by the unprejudiced reader very differently from the manner in which he interprets them. For example, an unbiassed study of the documented material relating to the Cripps Mission might prove instructive.

Three of the books at which we have been lo[illegible] —Dr. Hodge's, Mr. Heath's and Mr. Hoyland's—are [illegible] expression of a deep religious concern. Mr. Bev[illegible] Nichols claims to stand on Christian principle, and [illegible] earlier work, *The Fool hath said*, is evidence of [illegible] sincerity; but many Christians will find him on I[illegible] matters an embarrassing ally. Mr. Goshal leaves reli[illegible] out of his discussion of present-day movements. [illegible] whatever they may say about religion, they cann[illegible] evade the political problem. In these days it is [illegible] possible. There are some good Christians who s[illegible] us missionaries, Why not leave politics on one side [illegible] get on with the work of the Gospel? The escape is [illegible] as easy as that. The missionary on the field is [illegible] fronted with the political problem all the time. [illegible] churchman in this country who has any touch with [illegible] work of a missionary society is all the time having [illegible] handle questions which have very definite poli[illegible] implications. He does not exempt himself from [illegible] charge of taking part in politics by refusing to [illegible] judgment on the political issues. If he does, he [illegible] lays himself open to the other charge of being [illegible] political die-hard, who stands for the maintenance [illegible] the *status quo*. It is not because missionaries regard politics as an interesting and exciting game that [illegible] have at times taken part in political activities or [illegible] political pronouncements. It is because they realize that until the present bitter controversy, or [illegible] controversies (for they are many), are settled, there can be no health in India. There may be wide divergences of opinion as to how they should be settled, but all will agree as to the urgent need for the restoration of inter-racial and inter-communal peace and good-will.

—

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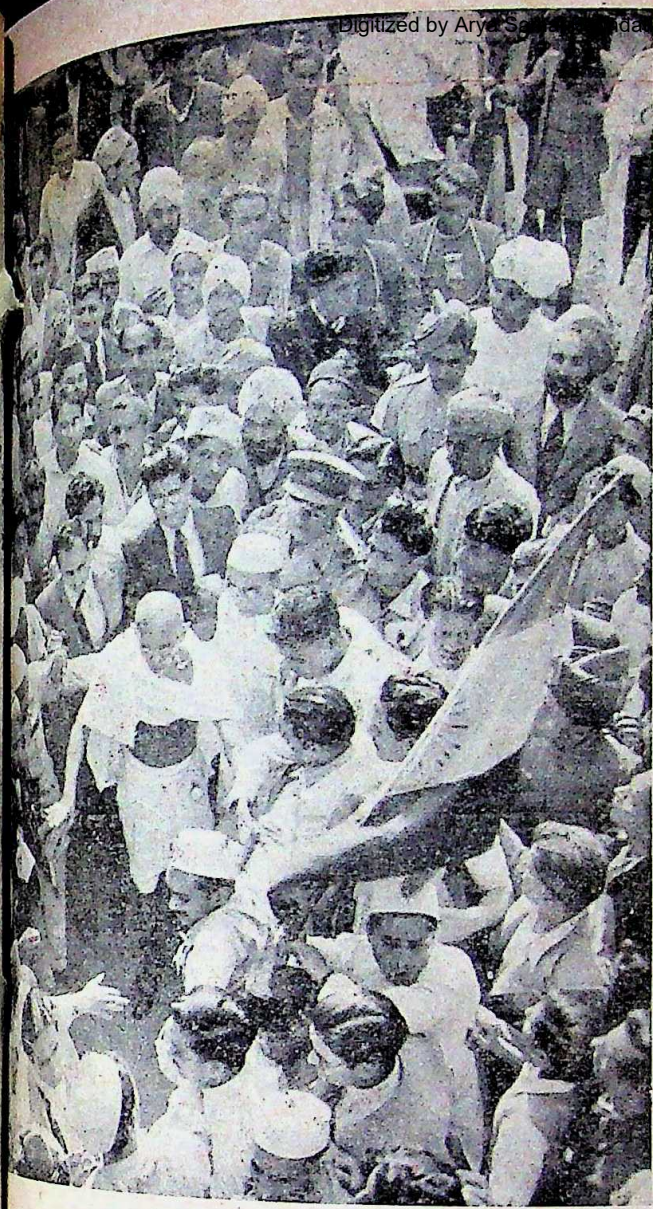
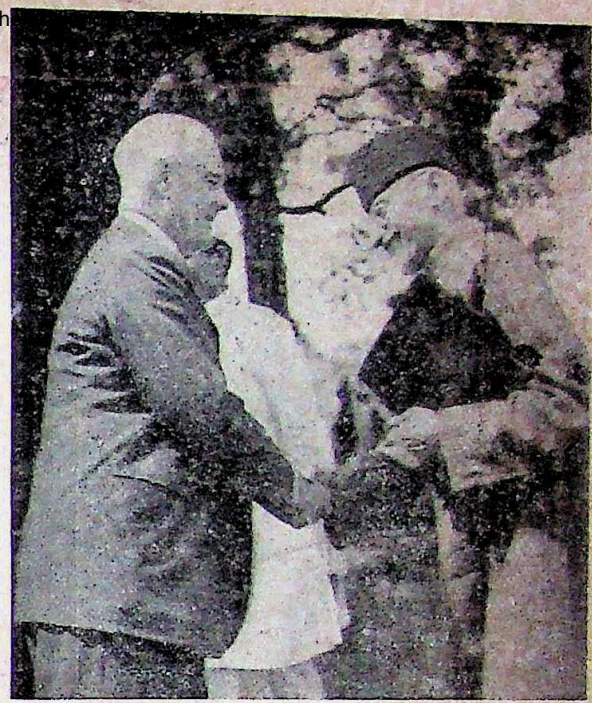
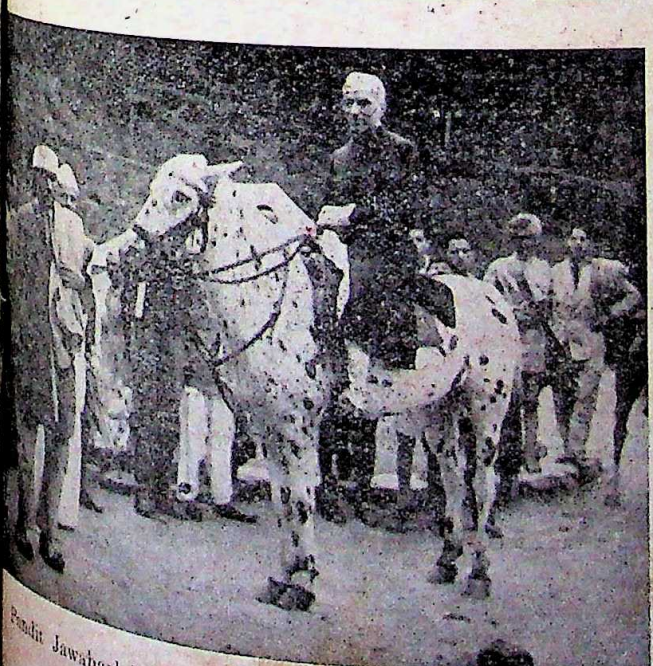




Viceroy shaking hands with Maulana Abul Kalam Az

← Mahatma Gandhi surrounded by pressmen and members of the public after his interview with H. E. the Viceroy on June 24, 1945



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru leaving Armsdell temporary residence of the Congress President

Viceroy shaking hands with Mr. M. A. Jinnah

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Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

IN EXPECTATION
By Tarapada Biswas

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NOTES

The British Elections

The results of the British Elections are out with the exception of 17 constituencies at the time of writing. The party in power prior to the elections played every trick known to the professional politician in order to keep their hold on the electorate. Starting with a drastic curtailment of time for campaigning, which meant a severe handicap for the opposition, it gradually developed into an all-out vilification of socialism by Churchill and an almost equally rabid press campaign against Labour by the press-lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere. There was a general mixing-up of issues in order to deprive Labour of the use of its main planks, and the setting-up of the usual bogeys so as to confuse and bewilder the Labour vote. With all the political machinery and the greater part of the press under its control, the Tories whipped up their campaign to a crescendo within the shortest period of time. Indeed, it was so much so that even just before the official start, prominent Labourites became somewhat confident and the Tories regained their complacence to a certain extent. But the British elector had made up his mind, and his verdict was given, with devastating clarity and weight, on the side of democracy.

Labour has cleared the main obstacle but there are many pitfalls and minor hurdles on the course before it comes into the open and the straight. Permanent officialdom, well dug in and anchored firmly by red-tape during the ten years of the previous Parliament's tenure, may try to present endless obstructionist tactics, and besides that there is the entire legacy of undemocratic engagements and agreements entered into by the Neo-totalitarians under Churchill. The sowing of mistrust and ill-will was done—broadcast by the Tory governments between the two World Wars, and the Labour and Coalition Governments of that and the World War periods, did little, if anything at all, to mitigate the evil. Indeed it must be said that the blundering and hesitancy of the Labour Government under Ramsay MacDonald lent strength to the cause of Toryism, through the exposure of weaknesses inherent in a party devoid of initiative and firmness of action in almost all matters that were non-domestic. Let us hope that Labour has learnt its lesson and that it will never again try to enter into inglorious pacts with British Fascism for the conduct of Foreign and "Imperial" affairs.

Although the Labour victory means little as yet for India we would welcome it since it has put a period to the regime of a party that has been an unalloyed curse to India of the Indians. Ever since the end of the World War I, the profiteers and bag-barons of Britain, who were mostly of the Tory persuasion, were out on a ruthless and inhuman campaign of exploitation and plunder. As they gained control over the "Mother of Parliaments", they gradually initiated a retrograde policy which meant the slow but inevitable strangulation of all subject and backward countries. Nothing was regarded as dishonourable by these gentry and their political tools, so long it meant the further accumulation of wealth, however tainted the money or however filthy the means. The result, as was inevitable, was a lowering of British prestige to a level to which it had never sunk before, despite the noble sentiments that spouted forth from the mouths of British "statesmen" and the wonderfully doctored propaganda, composed of half-truths, "white lies" and truly black lies, that was showered on to the entire civilized world.

Labour stands for democracy, we are told. Democracy as defined by Professor Charles Beard, the doyen of American historians, is composed of the following four elements. First: People, not a legalized monarch or class, are the source of all political power. Second: Through agents chosen by the voters, all laws are made. Third: At fixed periods all the chief agents of Government, at least legislative and executive agents, must either retire or, if they seek continuance in power, must submit themselves and their actions to a popular review at the polls. Fourth: In this process all voters are equal; that is, each one, without regard to moral, intellectual, or economic qualifications, has one vote and no more; and in elections, as a rule the candidate who receives the highest number of votes, whether a majority or a plurality, is placed in office.

Judged by the above criteria, democracy has been effectively eradicated from the soil of India. If Labour has any doubts, let it ask the people and not the lying mouthpieces of Imperialism.

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The Simla Conference

Exactly one month after the announcement of what has popularly been known as the Wavell Plan, its breakdown has been broadcast. The full story of the breakdown has not yet been authoritatively revealed, but the veil has been lifted sufficiently high to have a good glimpse of what happened at Simla after the statements made by Lord Wavell, the Congress President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Conference proceeded on the assumption that concession of parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims was a generous gesture to the Muslims and that somehow Congress and Hindu opinion in the country were persuaded to accept it. The result was that the Hindu majority of the country agreed to accept a minority position of one-third in the proposed Executive Council. The degree of sacrifice made by the Hindus in agreeing to accept the parity will be fully realised from the following statement made by the *Indian Social Reformer* :

> This is one of the strangest things in English and Indian history—an act which, if contemplated by any other Government, would have been denounced by British statesmen as a measure of unbridled despotism. The Indian Census Report for 1941, says as regards the Hindu and Muslim proportions in the population : "The general position could be summed up as that of 100 Indians in All-India, 66 are Hindus, 24 Muslims and 6 of tribal origin. Allowing for that proportion of tribes who may be regarded as more than half assimilated, the Hindu element is over two-thirds. Just under one-fifth of Hindus and one-eighth of the total population belong to the Scheduled Castes." Out of 66 Hindus in 100 of the population, one-fifth, that is about 14 are members of the Scheduled Castes. Deducting this figure 52 in 100 of the population are "Caste Hindus", and 24 are Muslims. And 52 Hindus are to have the same proportion of seats as the 24 Muslims ! If a schoolboy made out that 52 pumpkins are on a parity with 24 pumpkins, his teacher will pull him by the ears and make him write several hundred times the correct answer that they are as 13 to 6, to fix it in his memory. But His Majesty's Government have committed the same error not with pumpkins but with human beings, and Lord Wavell commends it as calculated to lead India to greatness and prosperity !

But even this great concession failed to satisfy the communalist Muslim. Congress leaders judged the Wavell Plan against the background of the Cripps offer and felt that it was better because it did not commit them to the adoption of Pakistan as a feature of the future constitutional development and because it gave a concrete shape to the idea of an interim government. This interim government, if successfully worked, had the possibility of being converted into a Provisional Government into whose hands the duty of framing India's future constitution would naturally have passed.

The Special Simla Correspondent of the *Leader* says in his despatch, dated July 13, *i.e.*, the day before the announcement of the breakdown, that Caste Hindu and Muslim parity proposed in the Wavell Plan was repulsive to Congress ideas but the Congress Working Committee agreed to swallow the bitter pill because it was to be a temporary device for an interim government. The Congress attitude was the main hurdle in the path of success of the Wavell Plan, but the opportunity could not be seized. The following extract from the *Leader's* Simla despatch is exceedingly important :

> When the Simla Conference met the Viceroy was in the happy position of having the support of the biggest political organization in the country. He made no secret of his pleasure at it and repeatedly acknowledged the fair and reasonable attitude of the Congress delegates. When the Viceroy asked for a list of panel from the various parties he knew that Mr. Jinnah had not relaxed his attitude during the talks with Pandit Pant and when a delegate enquired what would the Viceroy do if any party refused to submit the list, the Viceroy said that he reserved judgment to himself. He did not say that if either the Congress or the League failed to submit the panel the conference would fail. Indeed, during the conversations which took place between the Viceroy and the Congress leaders the question was put more than once whether the Congress would be willing to back the Wavell Plan if the League non-operated.
>
> The Congress leaders made it clear they would not shirk the responsibility they owe to the people of India to assume responsibility for Government.
>
> The Muslim standpoint was made quite clear by all the Non-League organisations. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Nationalist Muslims, the Momins, the Shias, the Krishak-Proja of Bengal had all publicly stated they did not accept Mr. Jinnah and his League as the sole representative of the Muslims of India and expressed their readiness to shoulder any responsibility they would be called upon to bear. Mr. Jinnah's position was discussed threadbare. It was clearly pointed out that the League did not control a single ministry in any of the Muslim majority provinces on their own strength. Mr. Jinnah was found wavering.

The Sudden Change Towards the Breakdown

Until July 7, this was the basis on which the negotiations proceeded. Suddenly a change occurred. This coincided with the end of the British election and the editorial comment in the London *Times* and the Anglo-Indian newspapers. They took up the brief on behalf of Mr. Jinnah. The *Leader* correspondent reports that at this time a rumour circulated in the Muslim League camp that Mr. Amery had sent a cable that Mr. Jinnah must not be antagonised. Statements made by Mr. Jinnah and his known and unknown adherents began to be prominently featured in Anglo-Indian newspapers. The correspondent then asks, "Did the Viceroy receive instructions from above or did he yield to pressure of certain civil servants and Governors in India that agreement with the Congress would embarrass them ? Or was it that pressure came both from above and below which Lord Wavell found difficult to resist ?"

The position was that the Viceroy had called representative men of his choice to form the Conference. It was presumed—the conference proceedings bore out that presumption—that whatever the large body of the Conference endorsed would be given considerable weight. With the exception of the four Muslim League delegates every other member of the conference favoured the formation of the interim government. Had the Viceroy felt that Mr. Jinnah's consent was indispensable all he had to do was to send for Mr. Jinnah alone and secure his reaction. There was no need for continuing the Conference.

It is quite clear from the earlier part of the Conference proceedings that the Viceroy did not want

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place the veto in Mr. Jinnah's hands. It was only towards the end that is after the rumour of that mysterious telegram that Mr. Jinnah jumped up and suddenly demanded that he must be acknowledged as the sole representative of the Muslims, that he would not cede a single seat to a non-Leaguer and that the Muslim representatives must have the right to veto any decision of the Council if they considered that such decision went against what they would define as Muslim interests. What led Mr. Jinnah to change his attitude so suddenly is still a mystery. No one questions the sincerity of the Viceroy, but everybody feels that his determination failed him at this psychological moment. There are many in the country who think that if the Viceroy had remained firm, Mr. Jinnah would have yielded to the inevitable.

The events before and after July 7, the last day of the British elections, bear recapitulation in order to explain the sudden change in the Simla talks since that fateful date. The suspicion that the whole thing was an election stunt and that Lord Wavell was duped has gained ground not only in India but in England and America as well. The first one is an editorial comment in the *New Statesman and Nation*, a progressive weekly of England which indicates a fear that all attempts at breaking the deadlock may be frustrated by the minorities clinging to British protection. The paper, in its issue, dated, May 26, *i.e.*, about three weeks before the announcement of the Wavell Plan, makes the following comment after discussing the Desai-Liaqat formula of 40 : 40 : 20 :

> It is much to ask of the Hindus that, with three quarters of the population, they should accept less than half the seats in the Central Government. Such bargains once adopted are apt to be permanent. Nor is it certain that Mr. Jinnah will abandon Pakistan even if he gets parity between the two communities. The effect of this unreal arrangement would be that the powers of the Central Government must be reduced to modest limits.
>
> What is wanted from us at this moment is at once something less and something more. First, we must make our gesture of reconciliation by flinging open the doors of our prisons. Next, we must bring our bureaucratic rule to an end in the provinces. Finally we have to discover the best way of telling Indians—perhaps by a Royal Proclamation—that we mean in any event, to end our direct rule over their country at a date no later than the end of the Japanese war. *So long as they suspect that we shall procrastinate, so long will their minorities frustrate internal agreement by clinging to our protection.* (Italics ours.—Ed. *M. R.*)

The comment has proved prophetic.

As a soldier and a gentleman unversed in the shady ways of Tory politics and statecraft, Lord Wavell has been a victim to this electioneering stunt. As an example of how the case of India has been presented to the British electorate, just three weeks after the announcement of the Wavell Plan, by even independent organisations, we append below extracts from Commander King-Hall's News Letter, No. 462, dated May 23, 1945:

> Assuming, then, that India becomes fully self-governing very shortly after the close of the Japanese war, what will be the probable course of events? Many people—both Indians and British—face the future with some misgivings. They foresee a split, with the probability of friction and the possibility of more serious trouble between two factions : on the one side, the Congress politicians, together with the big industrialists who are determined to have an important part in planning and running India in the future ; on the other side, the Moslem "Pakistanists", together with many of the men who have served in the armed forces. This last-mentioned element, numbering about two-and-a-half million, are a factor to be reckoned with. The majority come from the warlike, independence-loving races ; they don't much care for the politicians, particularly the Congress politicians whom they hold responsible for the 1942 troubles. But all of the two-and-a-half millions have seen something of the world outside their native community ; they have enjoyed better food, better living conditions and amenities generally, have come to feel they have a place in society; many will not take kindly to their former lives and conditions when the war is over.
>
> Mr. Jinnah, the Moslem leader (there are about 95 million Moslems in India) has talked a great deal about Pakistan—a separate Moslem Indian State. The idea doesn't make sense, because Moslems and Hindus are so intermixed that it would be impossible to draw a frontier between them. But Mr. Jinnah is a very shrewd politician and bargainer. What he really wants, according to my Indian friends who know him, is to get as much power as possible put into the hands of the provincial governments at the expense of the Central Government when the new federal state is set up. His reason for this is simple : the Moslems will be in a minority in the Central Government, but they will have a majority in certain provincial legislatures. Therefore, the demand for Pakistan is put forward with tongue in cheek in order to get a better bargain in the matter of provincial versus federal powers.
>
> Mr. Gandhi, so far as one can ever ascertain what is going on in his nimble brain, appears to want an undertaking that the British will clear out bag and baggage immediately and with no conditions attached to their going. That would mean, in effect, handing over the entire administration to the Congress Party, since it would have a clear majority over all other parties and groups. Now, the idea of their political fate being wholly in Congress hands is quite terrifying to the Moslems, the depressed classes (of whom there are 50 millions), the Sikhs (6 million) and other minorities.
>
> The record of the Congress Party is not good. The Party includes *some very able and public-spirited men, like Mr. Rajagopalachari*, who see the potential greatness of India and are doing their best to control the political adventurers and guide India along the path to political autonomy on the basis of consent among the different national elements. But some of the Congress leaders are out for themselves and their Party, with the interests of all-India taking a very minor place in their policies. *Many people find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Gandhi is the world's Number One hypocrite.* He was the all-powerful leader of the Party in 1942, and what did the Congress people do then? They launched a very carefully prepared campaign to cripple our small military forces in India at the very moment that the Japanese were at India's gates. Many of the Congress leaders were convinced the Japanese would sweep into India, and they presumably counted on being members of the puppet administration the Japanese planned to set up. That this campaign was cunningly organized was shown by the fact that wherever there was trouble it

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followed a common pattern: the tearing up of railway lines, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, attacks on men wearing Allied uniforms, etc. Mr. Gandhi preached "non-violence", but the campaign of hate and incitement to sabotage could not be expected to avoid much violence. Moreover, everywhere the professional criminals—the Gundha caste—were employed to do the dirtiest jobs in the rebellion. We in Britain were never told how serious the position was in 1942; the story, when it is finally told, will startle many people. [Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*]

The Breakdown

Lord Wavell has taken upon his shoulders the sole responsibility for the breakdown but that has not absolved the White Hall of its share. The comments made in India and abroad have raised widespread suspicion that the whole affair was a bluff and an election stunt. But out of evil cometh good. The Congress has played its cards so well and in so dignified a manner that the Imperialists with their henchmen have emerged against a much darker background. The usual allegation against the Congress that this is a body which always chooses to be in the wilderness whenever any political advancement is offered to India, has been completely belied. Rather the *raison de etre* of the League under Mr. Jinnah's leadership has been fully exposed. It is now crystal clear that this body has been set up, to act under the guidance of White Hall, for the sole purpose of frustrating all progressive moves in this country. Even for diehards and champions of British Government's communal policy, like Lord Hailey, it has not been possible to swallow the bitter pill Mr. Jinnah has presented this time. After the news of the breakdown reached England, Lord Hailey said, "I am one of the many in this country who have always supported the Muslim claim, but I do not feel that it has been strengthened by the attitude of the Muslim League on this occasion which seems to have been entirely lacking in the spirit of accommodation."

The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial comment writes, "We are in no position to be impatient with any party whose major parties cannot agree to a coalition, but the breakdown of the Viceroy's efforts would be so damaging that it must be asked whether the Moslem veto can be allowed to stand . . . With every sympathy for the anxieties of the Moslem League, one cannot fail to see that we shall sooner or later have to tackle that veto."

In India, both the Congress President and Pandit Nehru has said that the League is responsible for this breakdown. In England, J. B. Priestly regretted that Lord Wavell had shouldered the responsibility for the breakdown of the Simla talks. He said, "If that responsibility had been attributed to the Muslim League it would not have enhanced their reputation even in the eyes of their countrymen." Priestly need not worry. Mr. Jinnah's attitude has brought him further down in the eyes of the progressive members of his own communities. His claim for being the sole representative of Indian Muslims has been resisted with a vigour this time that had never been shown before.

No doubt Mr. Jinnah still hopes to cash in on the total ignorance about Indian affairs as displayed by Labour leaders. Cripps says:

The obvious cause of the breakdown, is not much the constitution of the interim Governm as the influence any temporary arrangement is likely to have upon more permanent decisions which have to be made for the full and free self-govern ment of India.

Behind the demand of Muslim League that the alone should represent Mussalman India is the fear of Hindu domination and the Muslims becoming perpetual political minority. It would not seem possible to get any agreement on a temporary measure of advance, as was suggested by Lord Wavell, since the Muslim League feels compelled to insist upon their acceptance as the sole representa tives of Muslim opinion in India and in the light of the fact that no agreement has yet been arrived at upon the Pakistan issue.

Clement Attlee, leader of the Labour party, in exclusive interview with the U.P. of America deplores the lack of unity among Indian parties and Indian leaders which has proved to be the stumbling block in the attainment of Indian nationalist aspirations for independence twice in the last three years in a statement to the press to-day.

"It is about time that the Indians did something toward unity among themselves," said Attlee, who was engaged in clearing up last-minute matters prior to his departure to participate in the Big Three conference at Potsdam.

"Until unity exists among the various Indian parties and leaders there is little that can be done towards Indian settlement by any British government," he declared. "The coalition government of which the Labour Party leaders were a part, offered India the Cripps proposals for eventual dominion status. These were turned down in 1942. Now within three years of the first offer being rejected the second plan was again blocked by disunity among the Indians themselves."

India would like to ask a few pointed questions regarding the logic of such statements which emanate from persons in authority. If agreement among major political parties or communities is looked upon as a condition precedent for the grant of power or recognition of independence, how did Britain extend powerful support to De Gaulle in France knowing fully well that there were several other parties there strongly opposed to De Gaulle? How could the Lublin Government of the Poles be recognised in the teeth of opposition by the London *Emigre* government set up and fostered by the British themselves? Differential application of British foreign policy in India and abroad reminds one of De Valera's recent exposition that necessity is the mother of British foreign policy. It will, therefore, naturally differ for different spheres of Imperial interest.

Mr. Jinnah and his League has been bolstered up as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. With the large number of Muslims of different sects, creeds or political affiliations, the League and the Indian Muslims have been made synonymous not only in diehard vocabulary, but in our newspaper and political discussions as well. We consider that special care should be taken while mentioning the League that it is *one* of the many Muslim organisations in this country. As soon as a Muslim is born he does not ipso facto become a member of the League. It is just like any other political or communal organisation, where

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has to apply for membership, sign the creed, pay the subscription and then become a member. Good and powerful members who may not agree with the League policy are, like other parties, expelled from the body. Even those making the most fantastic claims for this body could not say that ninety millions of Muslims of India are its members and owe sole allegiance to it. We have fully discussed in our last issue the position of the League in the various legislatures of India and the efficacy of its bye-election bogey. Since then, statements made by non-League Muslims have brought out another very significant fact that the Muslim League could never capture the majority seats in District Board or Local Board elections where joint electorates prevailed. In the Noakhali district of Bengal, with a Muslim majority of 85 per cent, the League could not win more than half the seats in a District Board election. In District Board elections in the Punjab, the League lost heavily in Sialkot and Sheikhpura while it could not secure even one seat in Campbellpore. A more revealing instance is the last Calcutta Corporation elections. Here there was no joint electorates. It is true that the League won 17 out of 22 seats but out of the 11,000 odd Muslim votes cast, the League secured a little over 6,000 while the votes cast against the League were well over 4,000. This was the nearest approach we have had to a general election in the recent past, and it is well-known that the League is much stronger in towns than in rural areas. In an interview to the *Orient Press* after his release Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan had also made such a statement.

The Responsibility for the Breakdown

The responsibility for the breakdown clearly lies with the Muslim League bolstered up with Tory arms to serve their own purpose. The statement made by the Congress President gives the real causes of the breakdown. Maulana Azad told a Press conference in July 14:

Simla, July 14.—"Two points arise out of the present position ; the first is that the attitude of the Muslim League is responsible for the failure of the conference and the second point, which emerges from the situation is that after the refusal of the Muslim League the question naturally came before the Viceroy whether a forward step should be taken or not. The Viceroy decided not to take for the present. In this connection I would like to say what I said at the conference to-day. For the communal situation in India as it is to-day the British Government cannot shirk responsibility. So long as the third party exists in India the same position will continue."

Maulana Azad said that he had made it clear to the Viceroy that the Congress was prepared to go forward and if a certain group wished to keep out it might be left out. He remarked, ',With a failing step and wavering mind we cannot cover our destination. It is good to think twice before taking a step forward. But when the step has already been taken hesitation is not virtue but weakness. If the British Government wished to give shape to things they should have realised the communal condition. They should have been prepared not to surrender the right of veto to any group and thus block the path of progress." About Viceroy's responsibility Maulana Azad said, "The existence of a third party was greatly responsible for the present position. A firm attitude on the part of the Viceroy which was logical and based on the principle of justice and fairplay alone, could bring about a settlement of the communal problem. The Viceroy's present wavering and vacillating attitude was neither correct nor helpful. Hesitation and weakness could not bring about a solution."

The exposition of the communal problem in India by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been superb. He pointed out that the so-called communal problem in India has no deep root. It happens in the circumstances of to-day that certain questions have been made to cover up and obscure all the really important political and economic issues in the country. The sooner the third party vacates India, the nearer the solution will be. He said, "The Moslem League or any other communal organisation inevitably not only represents the particular claims of a group but represents them in a medieval context.

"Politics considered in terms of religious communities is wholly inconsistent with both democracy and any modern conception of politics or economics. There lies the real rub. To give in to this medieval conception is to throw back the whole course of development in India, political and economic, and try to build a structure which does not fit in with the realities of to-day in any department of life. You can never ignore realities for long and if you try to do so, you do so at your peril.

"That is the essence of the communal problem, so far as I am concerned, and not a question of services or jobs or anything else, and India will have to decide not to-day, but to-morrow or the day-after, whether it is going to be a democratic modern country or an undemocratic medieval country. The latter choice is really ruled out because it just cannot be done by any country to-day.

"The normal choice for countries today is not between medievalism and democracy but what might be called just political democracy or something more, that is, economic democracy also, which means socialism in some form or other."

We fully agree with Panditji when he says that the average member of the League is not necessarily medieval. There are many progressive people in the Muslim League, as we have seen particularly in the U.P. and Bengal, who, once the lid of medievalism is removed, would become political radicals.

Mr. Jinnah's explanation has failed to convince anybody in the world except those whose politics makes it imperative that they must be convinced. The outstanding fact of the situation in Simla, as reported by the *Leader's* special correspondent is that a breach has occurred between the Viceroy and the Muslim League and not between the Viceroy and the Congress or between the various parties. It was the Viceroy who was trying to bring about a compromise and it was he who told Mr. Jinnah that he could not accept the League leader's claim amounting to dictatorship of the Muslim League. The Viceroy has himself acknowledged it in his talks with the Congress leaders that the Congress has played its part honestly and generously.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

Addressing the members and associates of the Servants of India Society, Poona, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru gave some interesting facts about the anti-

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Indian propaganda carried on in America by the British propaganda agents. There were many ways in which British authorities placed their version of the Indian political situation before those who could focuss public opinion on the question of Indian freedom. British propaganda agents were regularly sent to the U. S. A. to explain British policy in regard to Indian problems. The British War Information Agencies, the Consular Services and British officials in the U. S. A. in general played an important part in influencing the minds of Americans of the class referred to above.

The following statement made by Pandit Kunzru deserves attention :

> A summary of Mr. Beverley Nichols' *Verdict on India* which had an unfavourable reception in the Indian press had recently been published by an influential American magazine and Mr. Kunzru understood that a cheap edition of the book would soon be placed on the market. A well-known Indian journalist interviewed the editor of the magazine to persuade him to publish a reply to Mr. Nichols' prejudiced observations but the editor was not prepared to accede to his request. A cheap edition of Mr. Raman's *Report on India* which had been adversely commented on in the Indian press had been brought out by the management of the *Infantry Journal*, for sale to American troops outside America. Well-informed Indians in America had hardly any doubt that this was part of the anti-Indian propaganda carried on by Britain in that country. In regard to the sale of Mr. Raman's book to American troops, the American Government too has something to answer for. The *Infantry Journal* might be a private concern but if it has been approved by the American military authorities as an agency for supplying books to American troops, it was the duty of the Government to prevent it from poisoning the minds of American soldiers against India. It would surely intervene to prevent the sale of a similar book about England to American troops.
>
> Referring to the Indian Agency-General, Mr. Kunzru said that it occupied the same subordinate position which India did. The Indian Agency-General perhaps enjoyed a lower status than the diplomatic agency of even the smallest Central or South American republic and was powerless to counter or check the anti-Indian propaganda referred to above. Constitutionally it had probably to fall in the line with British policy or at least to maintain an attitude of neutrality. It is noteworthy that the author of the *Report on India* was appointed to a post in its publicity department after the publication of his book.

The Congress leaders are out. We hope they will now realise the need of oversea propaganda on Indian affairs and will seriously consider the revival of this branch of Congress activity.

Bernard Shaw on Democracy

Writing in the *Time and Tide*, George Bernard Shaw has explained his views on democracy which demand closest attention by persons who profess to-day to be the champions of democracy. Shaw says :

> By Democracy in the air—hypothesis that has no relation to facts—I am too old to be taken in. I have been engaged in politics for seventy years ; I know what is so far knowable of the lessons of history. I am a student of that branch of biology called human nature : and a world in which the voice of the people is the voice of God, and the political capacity and sagacity of everybody over the age of 21 infinite and infallible, is to me a fairy land which has never existed and is not postulated in any oracle of mine.
>
> By Democracy I mean a social order aiming at the greatest available welfare for the whole population and not for a class. I most emphatically do not mean government by an assembly, at Westminster or elsewhere, which took fifty years to make factory legislation effective in the face of the horrors described by its inspectors and collected by Karl Marx, thirty years to pass (and revoke) a Home Rule Act for Ireland, and was even consulted when the country was involved in two world wars and its sovereign forced to abdicate.
>
> In this I am what is called a Totalitarian as distinguished from say, the Trinitarian Gladstonians who aimed at preserving the hierarchy of private landlord, farmer, and agricultural labourer, with its necessary retinue of Cobdenist trader or from the party politicians whose aim is to keep their leaders in power at Westminster and are not really politicians at all, their business being simply electioneering.

Yes-men and No-men in Parliaments

Describing the working of a modern Parliament which is stamped democratic, Shaw writes :

> In Parliament these Yesmen and Nomen sit in the smoking-room or library, and when the division bell rings vote in the lobby to which they are directed by an official called a Whip because his function is that of a whipper-in at a fox hunt. They are mostly unknown to their constituents for the bulk of whom they are unmarriageable and untouchable. They all now call themselves democrats and applaud the Atlantic Charter (which is Totalitarian) and they all mistrust me because I am not a partisan but a Totalitarian Democrat who will take an instalment of democracy from any party which can be persuaded or frightened or humbugged into achieving it. In short an Old Fabian.
>
> When they talk of the Allies as "the Western Democracies," I laugh. There are no Democracies in the West ; there are only rank plutocracies, all of them now Fascist to the finger tips, having thrown over Cobden and Bright, and grasped the enormous economy and lucrativity demonstrated by the Socialists, of State-financed Capitalism, which is English for Fascism. England is in fact at present the leading Fascist power in Europe : and the Fascists who are denouncing Fascism in their speeches on war do not know what they are talking about. They never do.

Men and Supermen in Democracy

Shaw next gives his outstanding opinion on the pet democratic doctrine—government of the people, for the people and by the people in the following words :

> I believe in government of the people for the people ; but I do not believe in Lincoln's Gettysburg edition of government by the people. Division of labour is the law of Nature (*alias Province*) in this matter. The belief that "the human race is divided into two catagories—men and supermen"—is not anti-democratic ; the fact stares us in the face all through history past and present. I am myself a super playwright and a super artist-philosopher. But that is only in my own department. I cannot play the oboe as well as Leon Goossens nor the fiddle as well as Menuhin or Heifetz. In fact I cannot play them at all. The Adult Suffragist notion that every one on the political register can play them and play them as well as these three super-artists, is blank lunacy.

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But it is not madder than the notion that everyone on the registers is a super-politician, a potential Prime Minister, qualified to sit in judgment for five years on the super-rules of the nation. Give them real choice and they will fall at the feet of some self-selected Messiah like John of Leyden or Adolf Hitler, Titus Oates or Horatio Bottomley, or of some popular talker or successful general or star actor or even pianist, or—but modern names would take up too much space. Paderewski was the most reasonable choice; for it was proved that he could at least play the Emperor Concerto, whereas none of the others had been proved able to read, write, or count.

Spotting Born Legislators

Summing up Shaw says:

Obviously the choice needs guidance. Nature, *alias* the Life Force, produces not only the necessary percentage of superlegislators, but, as its extravagant habit is, an excess sufficient to give the electors a choice; and this choice gives the electors all the control of the government that is good for them. The business of the democrat is to find some test which will detect the born super-legislator and place him, or her, on a panel from which our legislators must be chosen. Without such guidance the electorate does just what it does at present, with the results that are before us.

It must not be forgotten that the human race does not consist of democrats and anti-democrats. Both of these are in favour of government as such, and differ only as to its form. But the average citizen has the most intense objection to be governed. They have never been taught civilisation which should be their first intelligent lesson in school, and be in fact their religion. Every step in it either abolishes a liberty or prescribes a duty. But it increases leisure, which is the reality of freedom.

I am all for Adult Suffrage in the ventilation of grievances, the criticism of legislators, and the suggestions of remedies and innovations. We need dozens of Cabinets, including Cabinets of thinkers. And at this proposal that Governments should include Ministers for thought and the habit of it, I pause to enable English readers to recover from the shock.—*Time and Tide.*

Democracy in the modern world has definitely tended towards plutocracy. The insatiable greed for the accumulation of wealth, both personal and national, have brought about two devastating world wars within a quarter of a century. In a modern democracy, the people suffer and die, while the rich become richer by feeding on human life and happiness. No democratic legislature in the world has been able to stop it.

In India, the taste of democracy has been much more bitter. Here we have parliaments and cabinets but no power, the civil servants have power but no responsibility. Black market goes on thriving, merchants, industrialists and servants of the State continue flourishing under the benign and protecting wings of a "democratic" government and the people suffer and die. The Governor-General and the Governors in this country are dictators surrounded by the paraphernalia of a shadow democracy manufactured in Britain. We wish Shaw studied Indian "democracy" and gave his views on it.

Road Transport Taxation in India

The *Indian Finance* writes that the tax on a motor vehicle was on an average Rs. 509 in India annually or nearly twice as much as in the United Kingdom and ten times as much as in the United States. This heavy taxation certainly inflates the cost of carriage and has a restrictive effect on commerce, agriculture and industry. In the opinion of the Post-War Technical Sub-Committee a reasonable tax on road transport, *i.e.*, to pay for its share of the cost of road construction and maintenance would be 1·65 pies per net ton-mile of load, as against a minimum of 6 pies now collected. After meeting the share of road costs, motor transport pays 18 per cent of its operating cost to the general revenues. The equivalent pre-war contribution to general revenues by railways was 5·8 per cent of its working expenses. The average rate of motor transport contribution is, therefore, more than three times that of the railways. The result of this unjust load on the motor traffic has been to keep down motor transport in favour of the Indian railways which are still the prize spots for British industrialists, merchants and stores sellers.

The following account of motor transport taxation is quoted from the *Indian Finance*:

> Motor transport taxation consists of taxes levied by both the Central Government and Provincial Governments. Import duty on petrol, motor vehicles, parts and accessories and import duty on tyres are levied by the Central Government. Prior to the war, import duty on petrol was levied at the rate of 10 annas per gallon of which 2 annas were reserved for expenditure on road development. But during the war the rate of duty has been progressively increased to 15 annas per gallon but the expenditure reserved for roads is 2 annas still. Prior to 1931 import duties on motor vehicles and parts were 20 per cent *ad valorem* on motor cars and 15 per cent *ad valorem* on trucks and buses. Progressively they were increased to 45 per cent and 30 per cent respectively with preferential rates for U.K. at 36 per cent and 21 per cent. This heavy taxation imposes an unfair burden on motor transport and delays its proper development.

This however is not all. An excise duty on Indian made tyres has been imposed as a war measure. The Provincial Governments levy a provincial tax on motor vehicles, wheel taxes in certain municipal areas and tolls and petrol sales taxes. Taxes on motor vehicles in provinces and Indian States are not uniform. The Technical Sub-Committee has recommended the creation of a Central Transport Budget. If this is done, an equalisation of the provincial taxes will be easy.

The revenue from provincial taxes on motor vehicles is credited in many provinces to Provincial Roads Fund. But, so far as public knowledge goes, this fund has not yet been fully utilised for the development of the existing roads and construction of new ones. The portion of the tax credited to this fund is also extremely meagre.

The Central Government have not yet shown any sympathy towards the motor vehicle, rather the Railway authorities have expressed on several occasions their eagerness to stifle this form of public transport. The essential necessity of maintaining an alternative means of transport to the railways as a formidable competitor, on the U.S. or the U.K. model, hardly requires any emphasis.

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Appointments in the Archaeological Survey

The Archaeological Survey of India is going to fill three permanent posts of Assistant Superintendents in Central Service, Class I. The duties of the officers will be the conservation of ancient buildings, archaeological excavation and museum administration. Pay for direct recruits has been fixed at Rs. 350 rising to Rs. 680 on confirmation after a probationary period of two years, during which they will draw Rs. 300 per month for the first year and Rs. 325 for the second. There are three more temporary posts carrying a salary scale of Rs. 350 to Rs. 1,000. The persons, if permanently retained, will be eligible for promotion to the posts of Superintendent, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology and Director-General of Archaeology in India.

The qualifications and the reservations clauses in the circular containing instructions to the intending candidates are rather intriguing. The first one states: *Qualifications*: (a) *Essential*: Academic degree, preferably with honours in ancient or medieval history, archaeology or geology, or very exceptional alternative qualification, *Desirable*: (i) Training in field archaeology, (ii) candidates should produce evidence of being able to read and write clearly. Qualification (a) may be relaxed in favour of very exceptional cases of Government servants where they have had long and approved practical experience of this special work.

The three permanent posts are reserved as follows:

One post for Muslims.
One post for other minorities.
One post for Scheduled Castes.

Out of the three temporary posts, one is reserved for Muslims.

We believe the public will take very serious objection to this attempt of introducing narrow communalism in a department exclusively dealing with specialised knowledge whose activities are bound to influence the historical material of this country. The introduction of the communal ratio of services in this department, whose primary duty is to discover and decipher basic historical data, is bound to have serious repercussions. A graduate's degree is the maximum that has been desired and relaxations even at that may be made. This might have been done with a view to make it possible for the backward minorities to send some candidates, but this will certainly reduce the efficiency of a department dealing in specialised knowledge. Communalism coupled with such meagre qualifications will deal a death-blow to the Archaeological Department which has assumed much importance since the Mahenjo-Daro Excavations.

Dr. Mortimer Wheeler was imported into this country as the Director-General of Archaeology with the object of "strengthening" Archaeology Department. The Bengal Governor's brother Mr. Casey was subsequently brought in to help him. A lot of public money has already been spent in training Indian youths in archaeology some months ago at Taxila. We should like to know how many of these boys were "Muslims, Scheduled Castes or other Minorities" and how many of them have been given a chance to be admitted into the Department after a successful termination of their training period. We may have to discuss Government of India's archaeological policy on a future occasion.

U. N. R. R. A. Mission in India

Mr. Francis Sayre, diplomatic adviser to U.N.R.R.A., is now leading a mission to India. He told the *Associated Press of India* that jute and peanut oil will occupy an important part in his discussions with the Government of India in procuring supplies against India's contribution of Rs. 8 crores. This colossal sum had been sanctioned for the relief of the European destitutes while people in this country are dying like flies of hunger and disease. This new organisation created in the name of the United Nations, of which India is a member, is concerned solely with the relief of stricken Europe and expressed its inability to help Bengal during the last famine. It has now come to India to take the money appropriated in the last budget which was thrown out by the Legislative Assembly and certified by the Viceroy.

The arrival of this mission has aroused a natural suspicion that it may not remain contented with purchase of jute and peanut oil alone, but may demand food and cloth as well. These two commodities are the "important" and not sole objectives. Already a rumour has been circulated that it is trying to get hold of cloth. Mr. Sayre's statement to the *A. P. I.* is in fact disquieting specially when one remembers that most of the White Missions that came to or went out of India since the beginning of this war, have resulted in the exploitation of this country's resources.

Mr. Sayre said:

> We hope to buy jute in India and use those bags for carrying foodstuffs to other liberated countries like Greece, Albania, Czechoslovakia and Poland and also look forward to China, as a relief port is opened there, many of the countries are badly in need of peanut oil.
>
> We are in search out from country to country for surplus commodities which one country can give to the other. The general principle is 90 per cent of the contributions to the UNRRA should be in surplus commodities of the country avoiding those of which the country has only too little.

We hope that besides this 90 per cent demand by the U.N.R.R.A., 10 per cent of the commodities in a country of which it has only too little may not be taken away. A modest 10 per cent of a European demand may mean enforcement of hunger and nudity on the people of this country.

Anti-Bengali Move of the Utkal University

Soon after its inauguration a recent move in the newly-founded Utkal University calculated to suppress Bengali culture in the province seems to have brought forth angry protests from the All-Orissa Dominion Bengali Association. The *New Orissa* reports that in an emergent meeting of this association strong protests have been made against the move made by some members made in the Senate of the Utkal University to abolish the medium of minority languages like Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Telugu, etc., in the Matriculation examination. This move to abolish the long-existing medium of Bengali as one of the mediums of examination is absolutely uncalled for because it will dislocate the system of secondary education for the last one generation wherein the Bengali students had always been given the opportunity of reading in the medium of their

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guage in some particular institutions and localities. re is no reason to make a departure from this old practice which has done no harm to the pro- e but has strengthened the cultural link between two sister provinces. There is no denying the fact modern culture in Orissa owes a great deal to and Orissa herself will stand to lose if she to pursue an anti-Bengali policy following the minded and short-sighted moves taken by some provinces.

ation of Agricultural Prices

In the course of a communication to the Govern- of India in regard to fixation of agricultural prices, Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of merce and Industry state that they subscribe to policy of assuring a minimum economic return to culturists along with an all-round improvement in nomic conditions of India. We fully agree with the mittee when they argue that the most fundamental requisite of such a policy is to maintain an sionist economy in India for which all the aspects nomic policy—fiscal, monetary, industrial, agri- l, transport and employment—should be properly ated. We believe that agricultural development of ntry must be made on a thoroughly co- ated basis with a centralised plan, the provinces left with the responsibility of working them. The ines in several parts of India in 1943, which still in some places, have conclusively proved, if any were at all needed, that no province can become ter-tight self-sufficient unit in respect of her agri- l produce. What we want to indicate clearly is the provinces will have initiative, will have full to develop their own agriculture, but this must a co-ordinated all-India plan, preferably under a l Agricultural Board with the representatives of vinces and the Centre on it. We are glad to that the Committee also argue along the same

In the opinion of the Committee stabilisation of cultural prices can only be viewed, when the war- controls are removed. The Committee point out the scheme of price fixation can, in no way, be ered a substitute for a programme for the ovement of farming through the use of fertilizers, seed, irrigation and stopping the processes of entation, sub-division, soil erosion, deforestation, The Committee observe that price stabilisation d be on an all-India basis in which every Indian and Province should accept the policy and ake to implement the same uniformly.

cultural Prices and Problem of Stocks

ating their views on the important problems of cultural prices and the unloading of stocks held by Government, the Committee writes: Agricultural should be maintained at a level which must be to the producer, *i.e.*, which covers the cost of ction and leaves a margin of income to ensure a dy standard of living to the agriculturist. The mittee advocates that, while the average cost of uction should be the basis of determination of cultural prices, producers having a higher cost of uction be given a subsidy, which should be so ned as to achieve efficient and economic production. At the same time, with a view that industries are not adversely affected thereby, the Committee suggests effective methods of safeguarding India's industrial progress and competitive capacity.

Analysing the implications of buffer stocks, they observe that, if agricultural prices are not to be allowed to fall below a minimum desired level, Government might have to enter the market to sustain agricultural prices. The Committee, however, advocates caution and, as far as possible, the avoidance of this instrumental policy.

Unloading stocks purchased by Government in order to check advance in prices of those commodities, which are mostly exported, might be injurious to the country. On the other hand, in regard to commodities, which are used by Indian industries as raw materials, disposal of Government-purchased stocks at a proper time may, with some discretion, be made in order to maintain the competitive capacity of Indian industry.

While realizing that regulation of imports and exports might become necessary, the Committee opposes the principle of State monopoly of the internal procurement and distribution or of the import and export of agricultural produce. In this connection, they point out the damaging effects of such direct participation by Government during war-time.

The uselessness and wastefulness of purchasing agricultural produce through agents or by the Government itself have both been fully exposed during the past two or three years. The best course seems to be to allow free trade with a planned production so that neither under-production nor over-production may take place. Agricultural cycles are known. Statistical methods when properly organised can give a fair estimate of the coming crop so that in case there is deficiency due to any unforeseen event, stocks from abroad may be procured. A good and modern system of irrigation can overcome natural calamities like flood or drought. We must not lose sight of the fact that famines do not occur in countries like the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. where they have good systems of planned agriculture nor in England where the State maintains a fleet to carry foodstuffs not produced at home. Famines are a regular feature in India and China where the people have neither a planned agriculture with a good irrigation system nor shipping. Catchwords like mechanisation and fertilisation of agriculture should not hamper our search for an all-round and all-embracing planned system of famine-proof agriculture.

Freedom From Want in India

Freedom from want in India can never be achieved unless the rural economy of the country is satisfactorily solved. Writing in the *Free World*, John F. Timmons says: "If nations are really to achieve freedom from want, effort must be made to facilitate an equitable exchange of commodities among nations and between individuals within nations. Human nature, as well as nature must be brought under rational control. Eighteenth century individualism, nineteenth century nationalism and twentieth century imperialism are equally out-dated. A people's war should be concluded by a people's peace. The 'have-nots'—either nations or individuals—will not for long stand idly by. In the words of Mark von Doren, 'What was once for the few must now be for the many'."

Comparing agricultural India with agricultural Holland, Timmons writes:

Unequal distribution of resources does not mean

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that large segments of the world's population are doomed to poverty or extinction. But means must be provided so that all peoples have equal access. This is now being accomplished in some nations. Holland's continental resources would not support more than 130 or 140 people per square mile, yet this little country provides 540 people per square mile with a living. This is brought about partly by utilizing wealth from colonies but largely through specialization in those industrial and agrcultural products in which Holland excels.

Before the commercial, industrial, and agricultural revolutions of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries population size and growth were controlled by the supply of food produced. But, with the growth of commerce and industry, populations in a given community—and in nations—were able to exchange products and thus support more people under better conditions.

Unfortunately, such benefits of scientific advance are not yet widespread. More than two-thirds of the world's people still derive their livelihood directly from the land. Many of them constantly face the threat of local famine.

In rural India during the past decade, one-half of the children died before reaching the age of ten years. The average life span in all India is only thirty years—roughly half of that in industrial nations.

Overpopulation cannot be determined by the number of people per square mile or by any other unit of statistics in a particular country. There are enough natural resources in the world to support all the people now alive at a fair standard. The important thing is to see that all people of whatever nation attain a decent standard of life and that wealth does not flow into the pockets of the few fortunates causing want and misery for the many. It must be remembered that it is the race for an unequal accumulation of wealth by the few, leaving the many in abject want, that threatens world peace. No system of rural economy in India will be successfully worked unless agriculture is adopted as the main occupation as it is now and the deficiency in agricultural income is made up by cottage industries supplemented by the big manufacturing industries. Big industries should supplement and not supplant the rural ones. The dividing line should mainly follow the principle—the finished product of the manufacturing industries is the raw material of the cottage products. All our economic schemes so far propagated have become one-sided inasmuch as all of them have laid undue emphasis on one or other of these three. Our rural problems will continue to baffle all solution until all these three are planned from the standpoint of a provision of full employment for all people in the country.

Growing Population and Food Problem

Writing on India's growing population and food problem in the *Leader*, Prof. R. V. Rao gives a comparative account of how our self-appointed trustees have managed their own problem at home, and how the unfortunate victims of their trust in this country have been left to perish of hunger, Prof. Rao writes about England :

The question of ensuring national safety by provision of the principal nutritive elements has been appreciated in England. The very first war effort of the British Government was to accumulate the stocks of food necessary for the people both by internal induction and imports. With less food reserves, she is able to maintain her populat in war at a satisfactory level as a result of a well-thought-out agricultural policy—in trast to India which was at first a definite plan or policy. The League of publication 'Food Control in Great Britain' details of the system that has been evolved secure to the entire population in the face of difficulties created by the war, the elements sary for a sound diet. Grass lands were under cultivation, existing land was put to cultivation, the problem of livestock was in a scientific way, and mechanization of was carried further. Moreover, minimum guaranteed, thereby eliminating market tions. The State has given subsidies, etc., in order to augment the 'grow campaign. Consequently by November, area under food crops was 45 per cent peace-time figure and there was a 50 per cent in agricultural production. The Ministry trying to maintain imports of food and equitable distribution by price control, subsidies, etc. This reflects highest credit Ministries of Food and Agriculture. This continues even today. As Mr. Churchill other day, 'Nothing is more clear than the war is over the world will fall on acute of food for several years.'

Then Prof. Rao says about India :

Food should not only give energy but worn out tissues and maintain the equilibrium is called health. The food we take must sufficient proteins for body building, mineral improving the condition of the blood and immunity against diseases and vitamins for growth, resistance to infection, etc. Food, should be sufficient and well balanced.

Even so far as cereals are concerned, the low. After all, cereals are mostly carbohydr the predominant weight of cereals in our reveals the poverty of the masses. We can see that our food position has greatly deteri In addition, there was the substitution of for food crops and inferior areas were brought cultivation due to the pressure of population during the last decade, India had a shortage irrespective of war. Nearly 7 years back Megaw conducted an enquiry and his were that 30 per cent of the people were nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished and cent very badly nourished. Bengal was, the worst sufferer. Dr. Aykroyd shows a ill-balanced and well-balanced diet per unit in oz. per day.

	A common ill-balanced diet
Cereals	20
Pulses	1
Vegetables :	
Green-leafy	2
Non-leafy	2
Fats & Oils	0·5
Milk	2
Fruits	0

The indirect indices of over-population physique, high death-rate, heavy infant the wide prevalance of poverty, diseases heavy toll of lives by famine and epidemics

The inevitable result is that the average life is short. Infantile mortality, poor physique demics, etc., prove that we have not only food but our food is of low nutritive value.

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s nutritive cereals and the low intake of animal foods, k and milk-products make our diet ill-balanced. It no wonder therefore, that out of four babies born s is doomed while in Holland 29 out of 30 can be ed, and that death, disease and starvation have me a regular feature in this country under the e of Imperial "trustees"!

n-Indian Indian Army

A recent Government communique announced that vacancies were being allotted to Indian Emergency missioned Officers for permanent commissions in Indian Army. This, it was stated, was purely a time measure as the future strength and shape of Indian army could not be ascertained at this ture. Considering that there were only 750 perma- Indian Officers in the Army on the eve of the nt war, one is constrained to feel that the Imperial ernment is once again trying to put off the tion of Indianisation of the Army.

Admission of Indians to the rank of officers in the n Army has a chequered history. In spite of the fact this Army has always numbered more than twice ch as the British troops in India, it was not till that an Indian could receive the King's Commis- As a reward for the sacrifices made by Indian s it was grudgingly announced that 10 vacancies to be reserved for Indians at the Royal Military ge, Sandhurst. Under this scheme, Indian officers only to be employed in infantry or cavalry. The of technical army, *e.g.*, artillery, signals, etc., completely shut. The selections again were not on any qualifying examination. People who claim family records of loyalty and devotion to n service were preferred. The result was that most cadets who entered Sandhurst failed to obtain ssions. Thus the face-saving admission of Indians Sandhurst continued with little risk of commissions distributed. It was only in 1928 that the selection was replaced by that of competitive examination the number of unsuccessful cadets was considerably ced.

The history of the Indianisation of our Army has ly been recapitulated in an article published in *National Call* (July 10) from which we give the wing extract :

This policy of Indianisation was further handi- pped by the policy of separating all those units to ch Indian Commissioned Officers were sent. In 23 Lord Rawlinson, the then C.-in-C. outlined the ght Unit Scheme by which it was proposed to anise five infantry battalions (out of 105 batta- ns), two Cavalry regiments (out of 21 regiments), d one pioneer unit (out of seven units). All Indian cers receiving commissions were to be posted to se units and it was anticipated that by 1946 dians will rise to be Commanding Officers of these its if all went well. Whatever may be said by the agonists of this scheme one cannot help feeling t this was a deliberate attempt to see that no ish Officer ever served under the command of an an superior officer. It is queer logic to huddle a w Indian officers together to test their efficiency. This Eight Unit Scheme further reduced the scope r increasing the pace of Indianisation as only a ited number of officers could be absorbed in the ght Units. It put a serious brake on the process d Indianisation.

In 1925 the Skeen Committee protested against this scheme but to no avail. The number of vacancies however was increased and in 1928 the doors of Woolwich and Cranwell were thrown open but the segregation of Indian officers continued. Even with this increase it was anticipated that half the total number of officers required for the Indian Army would be Indians by 1952. At that rate it would have taken another forty to fifty years for the Indian Army to be totally Indianised and thus fulfil the condition of a completely Indianised army required for India being granted self-government. In 1932, however, better counsels prevailed and on 7th May the Government of India announced that in addition to the Eight Unit Scheme they had decided to Indianise a division of all arms and a cavalry brigade. In the same year the Indian Military Academy was established at Dehra Dun and the number of vacancies was increased to 30 a year. The pace of Indianisation, however, did not accelerate as the number of commissioned officers was still negligible as compared to the total strength of the Army. The Council of State in 1936 raised the question of increasing the number of vacancies at the I.M.A., Dehra Dun, but nothing came out of the proposal. At the outbreak of war the number of Indian officers stood at 750.

Since the outbreak of the present war, the strength of the Indian officers has risen to 12,000. Even with this number the proportion of Indian officers to non-Indians remains one to six. Of this number, only two have succeeded in rising to the rank of Brigadiers. The quality of the Indian soldier, commonly known in Europe as the 'Rice Soldier', has been amply proved in the two world wars. We do not know the proportion of Victoria Crosses earned by Indian and British soldiers, but judging from the records of the recipients of this Cross, awarded for the highest gallantry, one may certainly say that given a fair chance, many of them must have made very good officers rising to the highest rung of the ladder. But that is not to be. The admission was first stopped. At long last when the gate had to be opened, although not in full, the door leading to the staircase is being zealously guarded.

Profiteering in Education

The shop-keeper mentality of the Government has come into operation in the field of education as well. The *Independent* of Nagpur reports how the Government is charging an exhorbitant price for education because far too many are asking for it. The report, in short, is given below :

When the Government Colleges reopened this session, the students were administered a shock. They were informed that Government had decided to put up the prices of education. The following are the increments in the tuition fees announced :

In Govt. Arts Colleges other than College of Science

Inter Arts and B.A. (Pass)—From Rs. 102 to Rs. 117 per session.

B.A. (Hons.) and M.A.—From Rs. 102 to Rs. 126 per session.

Inter Science, B.Sc. (Pass), B.Sc. (Hons.) and M.Sc.—From Rs. 102 to Rs. 135 per session.

In the College of Science

Inter Science and B.Sc. (Pass).—From Rs. 138 to Rs. 144 per session.

The fee that was already being charged was

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high enough for the quality of education catered. There can be no justification for raising it further. Perhaps it would have been possible to reconcile one-self to the enhanced fees, if the education had been of sterling quality, but the education we have in India would not be sold in free countries even if offered with a premium.

The story does not end here. The general impression is that Government educational institutions are the most efficient in their line. But that is a mere illusion. Very few of the highly-paid lecturers in Government colleges deserve to be where they are. They would be complete failures in any but the Education Department.

Of scholarship and competence they have little. If they exchange places with their students, perhaps it would make no difference to the examination results. Many of the lecturers are said merely to read out the course from the text-books in the class room, which could be done as well by a clerk who can read English correctly.

I have yet to come across a college professor in this province, who is primarily interested in learning and teaching, and only secondarily in pay, promotions and departmental scandals. It must, however, be said in their defence that they too are the product of the education available in this country.

Prices naturally go up when there is an increased demand for an available commodity. Justinian reveals in the report that the demand for Government College education is far in excess of supply because products of Government colleges are given preference everywhere over those of private institutions. He, therefore, uses the term "black marketing" advisedly, because, apart from the present enhancement, the fees are disproportionate to the quality of the commodity supplied.

A Mis-Statement on Bengal Peasants' Income

Swami Sambuddhananda, President of the Ramakrishna Ashram, Bombay, has made a statement of the food and cloth famine of Bengal after making an extensive tour in the province. His statement has been published in the *Bombay Chronicle,* in which three points are worthy of note. He says :

(1) The account of mortality as reported by the Woodhead Commission is amazingly poor. I visited more than a dozen towns last year and met the most responsible government officers whom I enquired of the total deaths in their districts but none could give me a correct figure. 'How could it be possible', they said, 'when the village watchmen who generally make birth and death reports had themselves died without number ?' There were, as such, none for a long time to attend to this work in hundreds of villages. After inspection of dozens of towns and hundreds of villages I can unhesitatingly say that the number of deaths in Bengal can never be less than 60 lakhs if a correct census be taken of the existing population.

(2) More than food distress is the distress of cloth. Cloth distress has come to its climax in Bengal at this hour. Thousands of men and women, I have seen, cannot go out to attend their usual work outside for want of a piece of cloth to wrap round their loins. Cases of suicide among women for want of cloth are not few.

(3) The able wings of the people of Bengal [illegible] the buying capacity of which the middle class [illegible] fully denied. They have to get on with half [illegible] sometimes with one meal a day. The lower [illegible] much better off as it gets high wages. A labourer used to earn only Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a month, now [illegible] about Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 per mensem.

The first observation accords with the estimate made by other responsible men and bodies [illegible] second one closely resembles actual state of affairs [illegible] this province. But the third statement is [illegible] exaggerated and has no relation whatsoever with [illegible] Even the *Bombay Chronicle,* situated at so distant a place from Bengal, found it necessary to express [illegible] agreement, in a leading article, with the Swami's statement on the increase in wages. It is a fact [illegible] wages have risen in some particular localities [illegible] labour shortage has been felt, specially after the famine, but still we do not know of any instance [illegible] wages have gone up ten times the pre-war level. The maximum rise that is widely known is four times [illegible] not beyond that. In organised industries, it is even [illegible] This increase is, however, only apparent, the [illegible] people earn much smaller real wages as measured [illegible] the purchasing power of their present money wages. [illegible] several occasions, representatives from the [illegible] the Bengal Legislative Assembly have pointed out [illegible] the general price-level of necessaries in the [illegible] have gone up by something like ten to sixteen [illegible] the normal level. Food prices still rule more than [illegible] times than is usual. A ploughshare which cost [illegible] now costs one rupee. Cloth, sugar, salt, kerosene [illegible] similar other indispensable commodities are [illegible] only at fantastic prices. Prices of cattle have [illegible] more than ten times. Had the Swamiji's last statement contained even a modicum of truth, all talk of [illegible] and poverty of the Bengal peasant would have [illegible] flat.

Some caution should be exercised while [illegible] this sort of sweeping statements. It is just this kind [illegible] unguarded utterances coming from well-placed [illegible] men which are seized upon by the Imperialist [illegible] for their dirty propaganda against India.

Corruption in Bengal

Some months after his assumption of office [illegible] present Governor of Bengal, in a radio broadcast [illegible] admitted the existence of corruption in the administrative machinery and appealed to the public to [illegible] forward and help in its eradication. Since then, corruption has not abated but increased manifold. [illegible] Jawaharlal only voiced public knowledge and [illegible] spread experience when he said : "No country in [illegible] world has a government so corrupt and inefficient [illegible] we have in India. Nepotism and bribery are rampant everywhere. From top to bottom, they seem to have [illegible] no qualms of conscience about it. Indians and Britishers are all mixed up in it." This statement applies with redoubled force in Bengal under Sir John Herbert's administration.

Although nothing has so far been done to [illegible] corruption, this canker seems to have been [illegible] Mr. Casey's mind. In his last broadcast speech [illegible] July 4, he again mentioned corruption and said [illegible]

Even before the Rowlands Committee [illegible] the Bengal Government issued detailed [illegible]

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to their officers as to how to cope with the various forms of corruption. These instructions have had some result although nothing like as much as I had hoped. The Bengal Government will prosecute this campaign vigorously. I am confident that all public-spirited individuals will give their approval and assistance. Unless the public conscience is aroused and without the active and disinterested assistance of the public any official action is severely handicapped.

We have recently come across a letter, published in the *Nationalist*, (July 18), which gives a very good idea of how Mr. Casey's administration reacts when actually some people come forward to render aid in this onerous and Herculean task. The letter, given below will speak for itself :

Sj. Sri Kumar Mitra, Secretary, Burdwan District Hindu Mahasabha, has addressed the undernoted open letter on July 6 to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, in connection with his recent Radio broadcast :

"In his desire to purge out corruption from among the Government Officers His Excellency the Governor of Bengal having repeatedly urged the people to co-operate in the matter, I placed before His Excellency and Mr. P. D. Martyn, I.C.S., Additional Secretary, Home (Defence) Department, on the 27th March last, some glaring instances of fraud and cheating perpetrated by a high officer of the local A.R.P. Service. Subsequently, in enquiry held by Mr. U. L. Goswamy, I.C.S., Additional District Magistrate of Burdwan, the allegations made by me were proved from the records of Burdwan A.R.P. and of the Government Ration Store, and also from the evidence of Mr. P. K. Chatterji (now Lawyer-Magistrate of Nilphamari), Mr. B. K. Choudhury, B.L., Staff Officer of Fire Party, Sj. Satya Charan Sarkar, Head Clerk of Burdwan A.R.P. Office, Sj. Dinesh Chandra Roy, A.R.P. Depot Superintendent, the clerk in charge of Government Ration Store and of the Head Clerk of E. I. Railway Booking Office at Burdwan.

Though the said enquiry was finished by the 18th April last, and as no action has been taken up to this date against the officer concerned, I, in a letter dated the 17th May, 1945, wanted to learn from Mr. Martyn the result of the enquiry, but, far from receiving any reply, as the said letter was not acknowledged even, I had to send him another letter under registered post with acknowledgment due, on the 25th June last. But, still I am quite in the dark as to whether the Government is prepared to take any action against the officer concerned.

We shall wait and see what action the Government takes in this case where at least one gentleman has come forward with charges of corruption which he is prepared to substantiate.

Men with Authority

Under the above caption, the *Statesman* writes editorially, (July 21) :

In a letter recently published by us, a correspondent from Delhi complained that passengers in a crowded bus were inconvenienced, because an Inspector Sahib, having chosen to travel by it, diverted it from its route, and moreover then had the occupants of the front seat removed, so that he and two companions could enjoy the best accommodation. Our correspondent, though aware that similar occurrences in India are common, sturdily refuses to acquiesce, observing "this sort of abuse of power should not be tolerated in any civilized State."

We concur. Officialdom all the world over is apt to acquire inflated sense of its importance. But in India this mentality has for generations been established in an extreme form. Though less flagrant in the bureaucracy's topmost ranks, it is the more dangerous there, and at times takes remarkable forms, as in the case of the present Director of Agriculture to the Government of Bengal. Reprimanded once before by the Calcutta High Court for "pettyfogging highhandedness," he has recently again been castigated there—for wrongful detention and malicious prosecution of an unobsequious circus manager. Unfortunately this affair, though unusual and far from typical of the I.C.S., is also not unique.

Very cleverly it then mentions that the service has been Indianised and says :

Hence authority gets less co-operation than it wants from the man in the street ; and Indian members of the Services, who might improve matters, not seldom (as in the Bengal case referred to) worsen them by becoming more insular than the British, more royalist than the King. In his own land at least, the Briton of the upper middle classes whence the upper rungs of the Services get their recruits, is an approachable being. Among some of Indian counterparts, of various degrees of importance, an overbearing manner when dealing with inferiors is only matched by obsequiousness to the powers that be.

The *Statesman* however admits that such incidents are not confined exclusively among the Indian members of the services and mentions the case which not long ago resulted in a British Superintendent of Police being ordered by a District Court to pay damages to a pleader whom he assaulted for daring to present a bail application. We know that this peculiar swollen-headed irresponsibility of officialdom in India is widespread. In India, as in Britain, the recruits for these services are drawn from the upper middle class very often with family traditions of good manners, forbearance and piety. But why is it that as soon as they are fixed up in the steel frame, they forget their heritage, their traditions and give a go-by to the minimum standards of good manners ? From experience and observation we are constrained to say that the atmosphere created for these new recruits is one in which they are led to believe that they are the nuts and bolts of a steel frame whose prime object is to maintain law and order in this land for the benefit of their British masters. Those who succeed in satisfying this expectation, rise on the Executive ladder, and those who fail are shunted off on the judicial side. The present Director of Agriculture's case is a palpable one which clearly proves that not only these servants are beyond all prospects of remedy, but they expect and do get promotions after cases which would have merited dismissal from public office in any country which claims to be civilised.

Want of Protective Food in Bengal

The danger of an acute deficiency of protective food in Bengal has been keenly felt and expressed for years past. The need for protective food for the children and the young is too well-known to bear repetition. The recent results of the University Examinations,—Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A.—have all recorded a very large drop from the previous

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years. The results of the Matriculation Examination in the districts have been the most serious. There have no doubt been causes like non-availability of paper for doing exercises and taking down notes, want of text-books, shortage of kerosene oil for study after dusk and undue loss of time for procuring "controlled" articles of daily necessity. But we consider shortage of protective foods as the most important reason for this decay in intellectual attainments and we believe that the result will be disastrous for Bengal. A whole generation is growing up as one of mental and physical cripples. Milk, fish and meat have all become delicate luxuries in this province beyond the reach of the poor and the average middle class.

Britain has provided sufficient milk for her children, students and expectant and nursing mothers under her rationing scheme. Bombay has done it although on a limited scale. But the Bengal Government has not applied their mind in any seriousness for the solution of this very urgent and very acute problem. Exclusion of children under twelve from the cloth rationing scheme leads one to believe that the branch of the Imperial Government on this side of the country does not think that children do need food or clothing.

Bengal's new Governor, however, continues to express his concern for the lack of protective food in his usual way. In the last broadcast speech he said about milk :

> Milk is a difficult problem. The supply is both short and expensive and the quality poor. Many children and nursing mothers get far less than they need and what they do get is more often than not adulterated. I regard this as one of our most important problems. An adequate milk supply for the poor has a close bearing on the general health standard of the people. Improvement is a slow business but an essential one.
>
> Various measures are being taken to deal with the situation. Our milk supply position is poor principally because our cattle yield very little milk. No permanent solution of the milk problem is therefore possible without an improvement in the quality of our cattle. To achieve this, provision of well-bred bulls is necessary to improve the local stock. Bengal has no farm for the production of good bulls. In consequence we are starting a large-scale Central Livestock Research and Breeding Station at Haringhata, about 35 miles north-east of Calcutta. Briefly, the scheme means that Government acquires about 5,000 acres of land near Haringhata, which is now unproductive and ridden with malaria. We propose to clear it of malaria, irrigate it and to establish on it a cattle-breeding and livestock research station, principally to produce pedigree bulls for supply throughout the Province to improve our cattle. The scheme also includes a model dairy farm and creamery where the practical business of commercial production of milk and milk products will be studied. This Haringhata scheme is an essential first step to any effective plan for permanent improvement in the milk supply of the Province. Incidentally the scheme in itself will improve Calcutta's milk supply.
>
> We have had a thorough inquiry into the Calcutta milk supply, the report of which will be made available to the public shortly. It is not very pleasant reading.

This milk report has since been published. It reveals that the total daily requirement of milk in Calcutta alone is 22,057 maunds against a daily supply of only 3,693 maunds. The quality is extremely unsatisfactory. Adulteration is nearly universal sometimes rising to 80 per cent of water. Of the 224 samples collected and analysed, 178 were found to be adulterated. About cleanliness, the reports says, the less said the better.

Following Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Casey seems to believe that milk supply can be increased by the provision of good stud bulls and the maintenance of a Research and Breeding Station. The report, however, has not faith in such a simple solution. It states that in normal times Calcutta imported annually about 40,000 cows and buffaloes from up-country; but due to railway booking restrictions and bans imposed by exporting provinces, imports have diminished seriously. The Report then says : "Unless imports can be increased or the present waste through slaughter of animals still in their prime prevented, the supply of milk is bound to further diminish in course of time, which must increase its price still further."

Mr. Casey does not mention this problem of import and slaughter either in his broadcast speech or the follow up in his Convocation Address at the Calcutta University where he has again mentioned milk. Under instructions from the Government of India, the provincial governments of Bombay, Madras, U.P., C.P., Bihar, Orissa and Sind have declared the slaughter of calves under three years of age, of bullocks between three and ten, and of cows which yield milk or are pregnant or are likely to be pregnant, as unlawful. The people of Bengal will want to know if Mr. Casey considers it necessary to introduce the same laws in this Province.

Fish, the Second Protective Food of Bengal

In the same broadcast speech, Mr. Casey said about fish, the second important protective food of Bengal : "I am well aware of the importance of fish as the principal protein food of Bengal. Every attempt is being made to rehabilitate the fishermen, who suffered so badly during the last famine, to enable them to catch fish of which there should be no dearth in the Bengal rivers and estuaries. As a first step in the development of tank fisheries in the Province, nursery and demonstration units have been sanctioned in eight districts and provision has also been made for cheap distribution of fish fry.

"The supply of fish in the urban areas cannot improve without an adequate supply of ice. Thanks to the efforts of the Ice Controller there has already been a substantial addition to the total ice supply in Calcutta. Probably 50 per cent more ice is available for the civil population this summer than last. The fish trade has not made adequate use of the increased ice supply. I am trying to find out why."

It came as a striking surprise that the fishermen did not make adequate use of ice made available to them. Public knowledge indicates that they never got it. However, the people will eagerly await gubernatorial investigation in this matter.

In his Convocation Address, the Governor again mentioned fish and said : "It astonishes me that the people of Bengal have not given more attention to the fishing industry. The Province abounds in almost unrivalled opportunities for enterprise in this regard. You have the sea, the estuaries, the rivers, the tanks. A ready market in your Province alone of over sixty

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million people—but yet singularly little has been done to take advantage of these great opportunities."

The fishermen of Bengal have been the hardest hit since the introduction of the denial policy under which all their boats had been snatched away. During the past years and the present, Government of Bengal have sanctioned an astounding sum of seven crores of rupees for the construction of boats, possibly for making up this deficiency. We do not know if seventy boats have yet been launched up till now, and we believe that this huge sum, if spent judiciously and by honest people, would have given an immense fleet for the use of fishermen and boatmen. The Governor ceremoniously launched the first boat, and we wonder if he has cared to know how many more boats have followed it. The people have a suspicion that boats of gold and silver are being manufactured there to find their way into the pockets of the lucky enterprisers.

In our July number, we had drawn attention to Dr. Hora's plan for the development of fisheries in Bengal. We expected a reference to that concrete plan in the Governor's address two weeks later but have been disappointed. The outstanding peculiarity of the present system of administration in this country is that they will not do anything themselves and will not let others do it.

Bengal Cloth Famine Viewed From Delhi

We give below *Roy's Weekly's* comment on the cloth famine of Bengal which will give some idea of how people outside this miserable province view the problem while the administration here goes on with the same callous disregard of the realities of the situation as had been evidenced in the Bengal famine of 1943. Mr. Casey has virtually declared that he did not believe that women had been committing suicide for want of cloth. Sir John Herbert did not likewise believe that the famine was on even when deaths began to be reported. The Government of Bengal maintains probably the largest special police force in India, and is therefore very well able to find out the truth of the suicide reports. These have been published with full details giving the places of occurrences and in many cases mentioning the names and families of the victims.

Under the caption "Casey's Dope", the *Roy's Weekly*, New Delhi writes (July 8) in its Marginal Comments by Tatler :

> Suicide reports from Bengal have replaced those of starvation that poured forth from that province till recently. The reason is—*Fear of Nudity*. Women have been preferring death to nudity; others keep indoors, still others go about half-naked using napkins and kerchiefs ! Dhobies are relieved of their donkey-loads. The dead are wrapped in plaintain-leaves to be interred. Riots have broken out just for pieces of cloth and police firing also restored to. This is the plight of Bengal. What then are the rulers doing? The Tin-Gods of Delhi continue asserting that they have despatched sufficient cloth to relieve Bengal, but the Imperial Satrap, Mr. Casey in his broadcast speech offered little hope of an early relief. He stated that the cloth shortage was world-wide and would continue as long as the war lasted. The sufferers would like to know the number of the naked and semi-naked in Mr. Casey's homeland Australia—as the war has affected all countries alike. According to him, plans for rationing and equitable distribution of cloth are being evolved which, when completed, would assure at least "one piece of cloth per person" before October. But this is not tackling the gruesome famine. Statisticians give the figure that at least 13 yards *per capita* should be available, at the present rate of production of cloth in our country. Where does India's production of 4600 million yards go ? The Government as well as private distribution agencies have earned a notorious record for their acts during 1943 famine. Rowlands' report must still be on Mr. Casey's table. But we have not heard of any purge in his administrative staff in the interests of honest service. There must be an immediate end to this complacent and callous rule, if Bengal which has suffered enormously during the Famine, is to survive at all.

Hindu-Muslim Fusion

Ranade chose as the subject-matter for perhaps his greatest address to the National Social Conference delivered in December 1899 at Lucknow, Guru Nanak's saying : "I am neither a Hindu nor a Mahommedan." This he said in order to encourage the desire to draw closer the bonds between Hindus and Muslims, with a view to the enlightened political system under which both must live. Living side by side for a thousand years has fostered these bonds, social and spiritual. In an issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* (June 12), the impressions of a visitor to the famous Hindu temple on the Palni Hills were published. The visitor found Hindus and Muslims worshipping together in the temple. There are numerous other shrines of the kind in India, writes the *Reformer*, where Hindus are trustees of Muslim mosques and Muslims of Hindu temples. An investigation in Bengal will show that Hindu religious and social rites and customs are still persistently prevalent among very large sections of the Muslims of this province, most of whom are converts from the Hindu fold. This process of fusion went on continually in progress, before it suffered an eclipse about 1906, when the British Government adopted the policy of Muslim enticement. The fact however is still there, and we firmly believe that this breach in Hindu-Muslim relations is a mere temporary phase. The cordiality will be restored as soon as sanity dawns on the communally minded self-seekers.

Bengal and Punjab and Mr. Rajagopalachari

At the close of the Simla Conference there was a mixed gathering at the Kalibari Pratima Mitter Hall. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is reported to have made the following remarks at that gathering :

> Mr. Rajagopalachari addressing the Bengalees said, "The Punjab and Bengal were two stumbling blocks on the way to India's freedom. Standing at two ends of the country these two provinces have been responsible for India's servitude. If Bengal and Punjab could shed communalism, India could become free next day."
>
> He added, "Time may come when all communal troubles may end and a united Bengal may emerge. If Bengal becomes united to-day, India becomes one and free the next day." He emphasised that India's freedom lay in the hands of the Punjabis and the Bengalees. He made a sincere appeal to them to compose the differences between the Hindus and

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Muslims. "What a sad caricature in the country was this communal trouble," he exclaimed. He hoped that the dispute would soon end and he would see a free India within his life-time. *He warned Bengal and the Punjab that unless their differences were settled and the Hindus and Muslims of these provinces united the other parts of the country would leave them behind and go forward.*—(Italics ours. Ed. M. R.)

We are in substantial agreement with Rajaji's statement that Bengal and Punjab were the two stumbling blocks on the way to India's freedom. But we completely fail to see the force in Rajaji's homily to the Bengalis and the Punjabis. Indeed, the concluding portions read like an extract from the speech of one of Mr. Amery's propaganda assistants. Does Rajaji sincerely believe that this communal business in Bengal or the Punjab was the creation of any Bengali or Punjabi? Or, does he not know that the communal flames would have died out long ago but for constant addition in fuel and continuous fanning by interested third parties? It is not fair to come to any conclusion on the basis of a bald press agency report, but we must say that the report as it stands depicts Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in a most lamentable mental condition.

Bengal's fight against the *Divide et Impera* principle is now of forty years duration, starting from the regime of Lord Curzon. It was Curzon's worthy lieutenant Fraser that enunciated the "favourite wife" theory about the Moslems. And in the Roll of Honour there are Moslem names as well as those of Hindus. It is now becoming increasingly fashionable amongst a section of the Congress to belittle Bengal's struggle and sacrifice for the cause, *but the truth remains there nevertheless.* And as regards the last sentence of Rajaji's remarks, all that we can say, that he would be a very unworthy son of Bengal indeed who would not rejoice, if any province of India achieved freedom, whatever be the lot of Bengal.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

The war has not undergone any significant change during the course of the month that is coming to a close. The aerial assault on Japan has been stepped up both as regards intensity and area, but there are no indications as yet regarding the final moves to engage the main forces of Nippon. In China the forces under the Generalissimo have recaptured Kweilin and have thereby strengthened their position to a very great extent in that area. If this position can be consolidated, then the U. S. A. will again be in a position to strike at Japanese trans-continental supply services through its air forces and render a far greater amount of tactical aid to the armies of Free China deploying in those areas. The Japanese in continental China seem to be strangely on the defensive everywhere. Whether that indicates a change in strategy or that the supply and refitting services have been effectively crippled through the air-assaults on the home-land of Nippon, remains to be seen.

In general, there is a black-out on all news regarding movements in the neighbourhood of the China coast. There are some occasional releases of semi-authenticated news as in the case of the Japanese preparations for street-fighting in Shanghai. But in the main we have an idea of a Japan left guessing as to where the main blow will fall, whether there would be a front-door assault on the home islands, or would there be a landing in force on the coast of China. There is no doubt that Japan is straining every nerve now to prepare for the main offensive of the Allies, and in that process she has been obliged to yield the initiative in toto to her opponents. The speculations about Russia coming in must have had some considerable effect too, as far as it can be judged from the American and Japanese press comments.

As in the case of Germany, the Allies are now attempting to disrupt the Japanese war-machine through intensive aerial bombardment of munitions centres, naval yards and great army depots. And just as the German organisation disintegrated slowly under those sledge-hammer blows because of the *Luftwaffe* failing to find an answer to the mass air-assaults of the Allies so the Nipponese war-machine now is facing being thrown out of gear through the same cause. Technically Japan was much behind America or Germany before the war. It is not known as to how much progress Japan has made during the course of the last four years. There have been some indications of considerable technical progress in the matter of aircraft, but as yet there is no indication that any material progress has been made in the matter of mass-production.

Therefore, there is every reason to believe that the Allied ultimatum to Japan was no idle threat. Before long Japan will have to face the full might of the three Allied powers one of whom, the U. S. A., has already begun the preliminaries to the final campaign. The Japanese reply to the ultimatum was in the negative, as expected, and it indicates that the spirit of suicide defence has not been broken as yet.

The Burmese campaign is still hanging fire due to the monsoons which are now in full force in Lower and Eastern Burma. The desperate attempt at breaking through by the Japanese forces trapped west of the Pegu Yomas has met with a certain amount of success though at an enormous cost. There is very little news about the Allied campaign in Borneo, but in all probability the weather conditions there too are inclement.

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GOALS OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

By Shrimati KAMALADEVI

The most powerful impulse in man is to live. But man is not content to merely live. He desires to live well. Basically all human activity is determined by this, for it is the healthy functioning of those capacities of the organism, both physical and mental that are necessary for the most complete expression of the physical and mental potentialities of the organism. Human needs are, therefore, determined by those commodities and experiences that are necessary for this functioning.

Man is unique in the animal kingdom in having needs which are more than purely animal. That is where ideals come in, for man aims at attaining a certain standard that cannot be altogether measured by animal needs, such as hunger and sex. Man has gone beyond these cravings and developed new ones. This yearning for idealism determines the sense of values. Types of family, character of society, form of government, all these are evolved with a view to securing the most complete satisfaction and fullness of life. Man has never succeeded in this. He is forever trying out new modes in this eternal quest. That is why life is never static, and where social modes grow rigid and outmoded, they usually crack up under the hammer blows of the disinherited elements of society and emerge in new moulds. Life can never reach a stage where the need for a change does not seem necessary.

Man fulfills his needs not by himself but through the group, which is the most important factor to bear in mind. So for this fulfilment, mankind needs to maintain a group living that reduces conflict to the minimum and augments harmony to the highest and largest measure. What we refer categorically to as human nature and human habits, are aspects we have developed over a long period by a process of deliberation to enable individuals to function in a group and as a group. No child comes into the world with all these tucked in as goods in a packing case. Just as a child arrives without clothing or money, so does it come without what are known as human attitudes. These are dictated by its environment. This "attitude" is the most dynamic element in the human living, for it determines the behaviour of each individual, and therefore is the directing force behind a society. It reflects the pattern of the social group in which it took birth and grew. Thus what the group instils into the individual, the individual gives back to the group. For the attitudes are tendencies which reflect the experiences and social patterns of behaviour that condition the individual. In short it is the motive for activity. Thus a society is what it makes of its each individual member. This has an important bearing on all social values, for what it regards as the value of any object or form of activity is entirely relative to the attitude of that individual. Researches in psychology are revealing more and more a startling state of affairs in the relationship between an individual and the emphasis or value attached by the individual to an object or activity. Human activity cannot therefore be measured by simple standards in societies that have grown very complex.

But in trying to understand human behaviour, we must take account of the existence of certain requirements inherent in human nature, the most obvious being the physiological needs. But psychical needs have also become almost inherent now as they form an indivisible part of the human environment, such as family life, social recognition and status, cultivation of the mental faculties, opportunities for creative work, sense of security and the like. As these characteristics appear common to all peoples of all climes, far-flung from each other, the human race in its essential mental and emotional processes appears similar, its need for the general type of activities same, only the methods of working them out in detail vary. These differences are the outcome of the varying environment, for culture is the product of an accommodation to environment. The attempt naturally involves or leads to invention, the road along which humanity has travelled over many ages.

We must, however, realise that although wants are the source of values, they are not an adequate guide. The principle humanity has been and is still working towards is that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the proper goal of all human action, the measure for evaluating human behaviour, for it recognises that man attains his most complete happiness only in promoting happiness for the whole group of which he is a part. This is no academic truism but a very real experience. Happiness rises out of a sense of fulfilment, while fulfilment in turn comes from the proper and normal functioning of the essential organism.

The basis for judging the worth of a society is its efficiency for the satisfying of those human needs that make this possible. Our positive as well as our negative wants are the starting point for measuring values. For often our wants are determined not by actually what our organism needs but rather by what the environment in which we grow up, taught us to want. Sometimes these not only do not bring happiness but on the contrary draw disaster. It is, therfeore, necessary to carefully discriminate between wants and wants, to arrive at what may be called the basic ones. This can be achieved by weighing and sifting human experiences since the dawn of history. Nor can this assertion be categorically the last word. We have yet to know much more of human nature in relation to its daily experience.

Roughly these may be characterised as those which promote survival and longevity and those which are more abiding and lasting; those which involve the participation of all members of society and can be enjoyed by as many as possible and serve to knit human beings into closer and friendlier ties. These may be classified as the fundamental human needs on which the happiness of human beings rests and a society's progress is measured according to the satisfaction of these conditions.

First come the physical needs, for without them no human being can function or survive. This does not mean the mere gratification of his physical hungers, but also the equally imperative needs for the vital functioning of all his physical powers. The amount and variety of food, rest and sleep, proper housing, protection against poison and infection, in fact all that is needed for hygienic living, together with facilities for medical treatment, recreation and physical relaxation, and wholesome expression of sex life.

Next comes creative activity which is closely allied

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with physical activity and daily living. One of man's essential needs is that his daily task be the happy expression of his creative urge, not a heavy penalty paid to earn a morsel. For just as man is not content to merely live, he is not satisfied to merely toil. He seeks to realise himself through his work. In the more highly industrialised societies, this is quite impossible due to the very nature of the work with its minutest divisions of labour, where jobs are done "by the clock" instead of for the joy of working. This problem is closely related to several others, such as general conditions of work, working hours, standardisation, etc., which need to be discussed under the entire economic head.

In equal importance comes security. This may be defined as physical, social and economic. Man is never master of his own life or destiny. He eternally finds himself the victim of exigencies. While knowledge of protection against disease and accident has grown, so have fatalities with the rise of the modern complexities of life. In fact the achievement on the credit side as the result of increased knowledge and experience is discouragingly poor, for the advent of machinery has served to add to our physical insecurity on a scale unknown before. Thus far the measures taken by society to eliminate these menaces of the machine have been rather meagre, as compared with the tremendous toll of life and suffering that is still exacted.

But great as this is, man does not half so fear this as economic insecurity. For just as modern machinery has introduced new menaces to his physical well-being, so have new sources of insecurity been introduced by the present economy. Man has become isolated from his family and community security, as in the old social pattern. Moreover, incomes depend not upon a man's iron efforts but upon conditions beyond his control. This fear of insecurity not only serves to destroy the peace of mind of millions but does actually bring poverty, physical and mental suffering, loss of efficiency and self-respect to large sections of the population. Any future society would have to be judged by the extent to which it is freed from this menace. An unequal distribution of both wealth and opportunity as well as other benefits society has to offer, has meant an unbalanced group living together with a conflict of interests between the two groups; for ownership, distinction, wealth, power —all these go together and are today the privilege of a few, not the recognised right of all. Our entire economy is ruled by competition and wealth, and economic power instead of being only the means to an end becomes the end itself. The fact is completely ignored that individual success and power is being achieved by utilising resources and instruments that in reality belong to all. Material success and the power that goes with it do not usually come as the result of some outstanding contribution to common welfare but rather by exercising ability in the accumulation of wealth, often not even in the creating of it as in the case of inherited wealth. The only genuine contributions to society are scientific research and invention, and cultural creations which are rarely recognised or compensated in terms of money and power under the present system. In its technique of functioning the success of the few is purchased at the expense of many. This is chiefly because the sources and the means of production are controlled by few while the many merely labour to produce. If this is to be corrected the competitive motive needs to be replaced by the promotion of the common welfare as the end to aim at.

Man being essentially a social being, even individual fulfilment comes mainly through group Through the community association, he has develo certain social values; he likes to have a special status, win social distinction, be loved and respe by his fellow beings, enjoy their confidence and ap ciation and participate in the group activity as equal. But due to economic and social inequalities day, a very large section of society is basically de even the most elementary opportunities for the satisfaction of these cravings. Children are reared in atmosphere charged with inferiority; their ambitions thwarted and all roads to self-develop rigidly closed. Vast majority of people today are strangled even before they have a chance of a fair

Knowledge and the systematic development cultivation of natural faculties or tendencies is fundamental need of man. It has a two-fold mean Knowledge is the tool with which to get the means the satisfaction of other wants as well as for the enj ment of those experiences which it brings. Soc should provide channels to children and adults for the pursuit of such activities. Where it does not our present-day society for instance, the result universal paucity, for where society endows a child knowledge, it as an adult adds to the wealth of soci materially and intellectually. Where society fails to, loss is as much to the individual as to the group.

One of the most important and significant mo forces in man is the creative urge and the need beautiful surroundings. In a way the two may be tak as inter-dependent. In an acquisitive system wh values are measured by material accumulation, cre work is at a disadvantage. Moreover, as the produc machinery gets more and more mechanised standardised, work gets so monotonously routine, no creative impulse has any play, in fact it is compl thwarted in course of time.

Such a setting necessarily determines the rest our daily environment. With the commercialisation production, things are prepared with an eye on pro not *use*. Hence the element of beauty is very indiffe ly treated, not as an integral part of the whole but as isolated factor that must be separately paid for exceptional prices which are far beyond the scope of barring the few very wealthy ones. Beauty is n luxury, it is one of the basic essentials of life. But a civilisation that has made fresh air even so expensi this is not to be wondered at.

In the days when man created with his own ha he put his very soul into it. Everything he made, tiniest, the most insignificant had to be beautiful. T was as indispensable as the material he used. To this has been made the function of only the ar who has thus become isolated from the people, and produces only under special patronage, for a rare p With the result, the cities we inhabit, the houses we live in, the transport that carries us, the articles our daily use, have all become monuments of shee ugliness. When the basis of our economy alters and start producing for use, then beauty will be res back to our life and we shall remember that man as much by beauty as by bread.

Our very mode of living will have to be dras altered. Unequal distribution of population will have be replaced by scientific distribution according to needs of production, so as to serve the community The present congested cities with their unnatural

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concentration of population, hotbeds of crimes and disease, would have to completely disappear. More compact cities should be planned to enable the people to live as human beings in close contact with nature, open ground with trees and flowers as a part of every dwelling, with proper facilities for community life, Under the new economy and in the new surroundings, man would have not only more leisure but the inspiration as well, to use his time profitably for creative hobbies and play, two of man's most essential needs that are completely suppressed in the present society. Work is never a complete or adequate expression of man's need for activity. Moreover, all routine does get monotonous and tedious. Many of our muscles, nerve centres, emotions that are not brought into play in our daily lives—activities that may give expression to these suppressed parts, add a fresh rest to life, introduce the element of adventure which is pursued for its own sake, because of the exhilaration and joy that such explorations bring.

It is clear that no fixed goals can be determined if we mean by these a particular form of society or economic organisation. For change, we note, is an inevitable feature of life and it has no final goal at which to terminate. The goals aimed at therefore can only mean certain qualities that inhere in social living, the inner and most lasting element which gives meaning to the outward forms that constantly shift and transform. In formulating social objectives our emphasis has therefore to be more on the underlying principles than the forms of social functioning. The goal is not a perfect type of society but rather one which will fit the needs of the particular period in which we happen to be functioning, for our needs do not continue the same for decades or generations on end. This is an essential point to bear in mind. For a type of social organisation that is accepted as best for one set of circumstances will certainly not continue to be the best for another set of circumstances. Social planning must therefore seek for the functioning of social processes that will for the time being serve human needs, and our directive must be to guide these constantly flowing streams of human affairs into those channels that promise the most fruitful satisfaction of human needs for as long a space of time as is possible.

While, as we have noted, changes cannot and should not be averted, society can helpfully benefit by them by intelligent application and effort at guiding, and thus replace aimless drift or haphazard changes or chance incidents by deliberate and purposeful planning to control these moving forces and directing them into beneficial channels.

To begin with, a clear realisation of the amity of the various social factors from a thoroughly rationalistic angle is necessary. For instance, in dealing with problems of crime and prostitution, a scientific approach has to replace the old sentimental one ; for social evils spring mainly from physical and emotional maladjustments, due to the frustration of normal human needs and not from innate wickedness as some suppose. The plan, therefore, has to be a single comprehensive one to include the various details in their relationship with one another. No social problem can be effectively dealt with individually. It must be treated as a detail in the whole.

Man we have noted mainly fulfills himself through the group. Through the ages the co-operative society has grown in size asd strength, and the tendency is still in that direction, with a growing skill in co-operative living. From small groups and tribal units we have expanded into nations of hundreds of millions who are able to maintain a high degree of unity and solidarity. The need and urge for a world society is pressing us towards building for it. This does not mean that man's intensely individualistic and egoistic impulses have become completely attuned to the group demands. But man is coming to increasingly realise that he has better chances of survival and of gaining a constantly expanding, richer and more varied life, only in proportion to the perfection and strengthening of his qualities of co-operative living. So to secure a sound basis for a society, it is necessary to achieve a balance and adjustment between the individual impulses and the group needs. Our living and working are so intertwined with the living and working of others, that in the very nature of things, no one can avoid depending for his well-being on the well-being, effort and discipline of others. For there can be no welfare for a society without its being the welfare of the large masses. Nor can an individual effort be of value to society except in so far as it is conditioned by the circumstances under which it is able to function—the circumstances being of course created by the group efforts. A high standard of collective action is therefore essential for individual welfare and fulfilment and satisfaction. This has become all the more necessary in view of the prevalence of a ruthless type of individualism and competition, the domination of the interests of the larger section by the interests of a few individuals, all of which have brought humanity to the brink of such complete disaster through wars, economic waste, growth of bitter hatred, distraction of creative life, etc.

The superiority of co-operative effort has already been established wherever it has been attempted : in production, distribution, cultivation, housing, recreation, transport and a host of other activities. They only need to be expanded from the small group functioning to the nation and from each national area to the entire world, to settle disputes and deal with all aspects of economy, social problems such as health, immoral traffic, drug trade and the like; also stimulate and organise scientific and cultural amenities for the benefits of all.

The next objective is freedom. According to uncritical and superficial understanding of life, freedom is inconsistent with a socially controlled life. While on closer thought we realise that freedom is possible only in a well-ordered, disciplined society. Freedom in its proper sense, is the fullest opportunity for development and the realisation of the gifts, talents, potentialities inherent in man, and which are the instruments through which he gathers satisfaction, or in other words, happiness. It is because man realised that he can get better satisfaction through an organised life than through anarchist struggle, that he evolved this social organism, society. But there are controls and controls. Where they strangle self-realisation by exercise of arbitrary force, they must be removed. Thus reconstruction has two aspects, clearing away the useless junk and building up the new type of social organism which will provide the channel through which each may be able to seek fulfilment, furnish equal opportunities and facilities for the growth of a full personality. A free society has also to be a democratic one, for the two are different aspects of the same. This principle has so far been emphasised only in the political field, while its application to the economic and social sections of group

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life has been opposed. Thus parties and individuals who support one, hotly fight the other although real democracy in life is only possible when the principle is observed in every phase of our life.

But this cannot be brought about by mere agitation or advocating it to the people. Those who believe in the principle must also work for it, for a free and democratic society of today demands much higher mental sharpness and capacity as well as higher standard of public spirit and service than was called for by the simpler life of yesterday. The qualities called for from the man in the street are not for the management of the details of administration, but the sharp discernment to take right decisions on broad principles and issues and select the right type of leader to further the selected policies. Nor can the public stop with mere decisions and selections. It has to serve the cause from day to day to further and maintain the fundamentals on which the society has been constructed. Then alone can democracy be made a real working proposition to give society its fullest benefits.

In conclusion, we may say that because of certain universal traits in human nature, certain needs become fundamental for the realisation of man's happiness. A society is efficient and satisfactory in proportion to the degree to which it secures satisfaction of these needs. Physical health for all members of the society; conditions of work that provide creative expression for the worker; physical and economic security; a social setting that promotes self-expression and personal security by providing equal opportunity and equal status; education to equip for adequate living and to enable intellectual pursuits; aesthetic satisfaction from congential surroundings; contact with nature; leisure for play and creative hobbies; social relationship and social control so adjusted as to enable each individual free play for his personality in a well-organised disciplined society.

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THE WAVELL OFFER

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I

I propose to make a few observations in this article on the offer which His Excellency Lord Wavell has recently made on behalf of His Majesty's Government and which was "designed to ease the present political situation (in this country) and to advance India towards her goal of full Self-Government." These observations will be primarily based on the speech broadcast by His Excellency on 14th June, 1945, the statement made by Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons on the same day, and also the statement made by the latter at the Press Conference, held on the next day at the India Office.

II

Before, however, I deal with the political aspects of the offer to which I shall, for the sake of brevity, refer hereinafter as the Wavell offer, I should like to say a few words in regard to its constitutional aspects, as I find that there is some confusion in the minds of some people regarding them. In the course of his broadcast Lord Wavell said that the proposed new Executive Council "would work, if formed, under the existing Constitution."

"The Council", His Excellency added, "will work within the frame-work of the present Constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably."

Mr. Amery also laid stress on this point[1] in his statement before the House of Commons, to which we have already referred. Now the expressions "the existing Constitution" and "the present Constitution" in the Viceregal broadcast have been misunderstood by some persons. They really mean, in the context in which they have been used, the Constitution of the Central Government of India as provided for in the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, taken along with other transitional provisions in Part XIII of the said Act, and not the Constitution thereof as provided for in Part II (*i.e.*, the Federal Part) of the Act. As is well-known, Part II of the Act has not yet been introduced. All the transitional provisions of the Act, including those in the Ninth Schedule, are to "apply", under Section 312 of the Act, "with respect to the period elapsing between the commencement of Part III" of the Act which relate to the Governors' Provinces, and the establishment of the Federation of India as contemplated by Part II of the Act. Under Section 317 of this Act, the Ninth Schedule continues in force some of the provisions of the now repealed Government of India Act, with amendments consequential on the provisions contained in the Act of 1935. Now under the transitional provisions[2] referred to above, the executive authority at the Centre is to be "exercised on behalf of His Majesty by the Governor-General in Council", "except as respects matters with respect to which the Governor-General is required . . . to act in his discretion." And here comes the relation between the Governor-General and his Executive Council in the executive sphere. Under Sub-section (1) of Section 41 in the Ninth Schedule, if any difference of opinion arises on any question brought before a meeting of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the Governor-General in Council is bound by the opinion and decision of the majority of those present and, "if they are equally divided, the Governor-General or other person presiding" has a second or casting vote.

1 There is only to be a very minor amendment of Sub-section (3) of Section 36 in the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935. This amendment will dispense with the present requirement that "three at least" of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council "must be persons who have been for at least ten years in the service of the Crown in India". But the change proposed to be made is indeed very small in these days!

2 See Section 313 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as a whole, particularly Sub-section (3) thereof.

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Ordinarily, this is the procedure in case of difference of opinion at a meeting of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Sub-section (2) of the same Section 41 lays down, however, that whenever any measure is proposed before the Governor-General in Council whereby the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India, or of any part thereof, are or may be, in the judgment of the Governor-General, essentially affected, if he is of opinion either that the measure proposed ought to be adopted and carried into execution, or that it ought to be suspended or rejected, and the majority present at a meeting of the Council dissent from that opinion, the Governor-General may, on his own authority and responsibility, adopt, suspend or reject the measure, in whole or in part. In simple English all this means that the Governor-General of India can, under the present Constitution, overrule his Executive Council and act on his own authority and responsibility in certain circumstances. Although the expression "the power of veto" is ordinarily used in connexion with the business of legislation, in recent discussions, however, in this country this overruling power of the Governor-General in relation to the Executive Council has been frequently referred to as his "veto" power. For the sake of convenience, I shall also refer hereinafter to this power of the Governor-General as the "veto" power. If and when this "veto" power is exercised by the Governor-General, the members of his Executive Council who may have differed from him, must either abide by the decision taken by him and shape their own policy and action accordingly, or resign their office. The principle of "united and indivisible responsibility" which is a feature of the British Cabinet also applies to the Indian Executive Council, in spite of the different nature of the tie which binds the members of the latter together. As Sir Henry Fowler laid it down long ago as Secretary of State for India :

"It should be understood that this principle (*i.e.*, the principle of united and indivisible responsibility), which guides the Imperial Cabinet, applies equally to administrative and to legislative action; if in either case a difference has arisen, members of the Government of India are bound, after recording their opinions, if they think fit to do so, for the information of the Secretary of State in the manner[3] prescribed by the Act either to act with the Government or to place their resignations in the hands of the Viceroy . . . the policy adopted is the policy of the Government as a whole, and as such, must be accepted and promoted by all who decide to remain members of that Government."

It is evident from this that even if, in respect of a particular matter, the decision of the Government of India is in reality the decision of a single person, namely, the Governor-General, rather than that of the whole Council, that decision must be supported and acted upon by the members of the Executive Council, or they must resign. The only checks,[4] if they can be regarded as checks at all, on the overruling power of the Governor-General are, first, that in every case of the exercise of this overruling power "any two members of the dissentient majority may require that the adoption, suspension or rejection of the measure, and the fact of their dissent, be reported to the Secretary of State" for India, and that "the report shall be accompanied by copies of any minutes which the members of the Council have recorded on the subject"; and, secondly, that in the exercise of this power, the Governor-General shall not "do anything which he could not lawfully have done with the concurrence of his (Executive) Council."

It may perhaps be interesting briefly to note here the circumstances in which the overruling power of the Governor-General first originated. Under what is known as the Regulating Act of 1773, if there arose any difference of opinion on any question brought before a meeting of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, they were to be bound "by the opinion and decision of the major part of those present" at the meeting. Only in case of an equality of votes, the Governor-General, or in his absence, "the eldest counsellor" present at the meeting, was to have a casting vote, and his opinion was to "be decisive and conclusive". As a consequence of this provision in the Act of 1773, Warren Hastings who had been appointed to be the first Governor-General (of Bengal, at that time) by the Act, was often powerless, and even helpless, before his Council, as three of his four councillors, namely, Francis, Clavering, and Monson generally acted together in opposition to him. Although his difficulties disappeared with the rather "timely" death[5] of Monson in September 1776, as he could now have his own way by means of his casting vote, yet the lesson taught by them was there. And when Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the office of Governor-General of Bengal in 1786, he made it a condition of his acceptance of the office that he "should be given the constitutional power to overrule his Council," if necessary. Accordingly an Act[6], was passed in 1786, which remedied what was considered to have been a defect of the Act of 1773, by empowering the Governor-General to overrule, in matters of grave importance, the majority of his Council and to act on his own authority and responsibility. Ever since 1786 this overruling power has been retained in the Indian Constitution in one shape or another. It is true that this overruling power has rarely been exercised by the Governor-General. The reason, however, is obvious: The very existence of the power is quite enough to ensure the virtual supremacy of the Governor-General over his Council and also the compliance of the latter with his views. General Sir George Chesney[7] hardly exaggerated, therefore, when he observed with reference to the Act of 1786 that "the practical result of the measure was to render the power of the Governor-General supreme." This is obviously the reason why a frequent recourse to the exercise of the overruling power by the Governor-General may not have been necessary in the past.

As shown before, His Excellency Lord Wavell has said:

"There can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably."

The implication of this statement is that it is contemplated by the Wavell offer that the Governor-

3 As shown below in this article.

4 See Sub-sections (3) and (4) of Section 41 in the Ninth Schedule to the Act of 1935.

5 Clavering also died in August, 1777.

6 26 George III, c. XVI.

7 See his *Indian Polity*, 1894, Longmans, p. 45.

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General will not exercise his constitutional power of control in relation to his Executive Council "unreasonably." This may be so. But with all due deference to His Excellency I feel constrained to remark that what is reasonable, or what is not so, is purely a matter of opinion, in the formation of which personal discretion plays a determining part. Conscience may come in here, but conscience itself is very largely a personal factor and, therefore, variable. When, for instance, in 1879 Lord Lytton, Governor-General of India, in opposition to the views of the majority of his Executive Council, exempted from (import) duty the coarser kinds of English cotton goods, "so that imports of all those qualities which could at that time be manufactured in India" might be left free—a measure which has ever since 1879 been condemned by every honest and impartial student of Indo-British Economic History as most unfair and inequitable to India and as adopted "solely in the interest of Manchester"[8]—, he must have convinced himself before he took "the unusual course of overruling the majority of his Council", that he was going to act *reasonably*, at least *not unreasonably*. It is evident from this example that what may appear as reasonable—or rather not unreasonable—to a Governor-General may not be really so, and may not always conduce to the true welfare of the people of India. Moreover, it must be borne in mind in this connexion that the Governor-General of India is, under the existing Constitution[9], constitutionally subordinate to the Secretary of State for India, and is responsible to him, and, through him, to His Majesty's Government, for the discharge of his duties and responsibilities. And this means much, both in law and in practice.

III

(a)

I shall now consider the political aspects of the Wavell offer. In the first place, I must observe that I do not know what the so-called Desai-Liaquat-Ali formula actually is as it has not so far been published authoritatively. It is, therefore, not possible to say how far the Wavell offer is based upon, or a departure from, or an improvement upon, the said formula. But on a very careful analysis of the Wavell offer it appears to me that, so far as the proposed interim constitutional arrangements are concerned—and the Wavell offer is concerned with *these* only—, there is hardly any difference, except in respect of one matter referred to below, between the former and what is now popularly known as the Cripps offer of 1942. We have it on the authority of Professor R. Coupland[10] who had, at the request of Sir Stafford Cripps, joined his staff in India in 1942, and "was thus enabled to observe the work of his Mission at close quarters":

"It was generally believed that the Viceroy was willing to consider an all-Indian Council, with the exception of the Commander-in-Chief, provided, of course, a settlement were reached under which all parties agreed to co-operate. It was obvious, indeed, that no settlement was possible on other terms; and Sir Stafford made it plain that the National Government he personally contemplated and expected was to be, always excepting the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, an entirely non-official Government. The dispute, then, was not on the personnel of the National Government, but on the method of its operations."

Further,[11]—

"There would be a substantial difference *de facto* between the new (Executive) Council and the old. In the first place the new Council would consist, apart from the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, entirely of Indians. Secondly, all those Indians would be party leaders, and chosen, therefore, by their parties and not by the Viceroy."

Thus, so far as the question of the Indianisation of the Executive Council is concerned, there is really no difference, subject to what presently follows, between the Wavell offer and the Cripps offer. In respect of the portfolio of External Affairs, however, which has hitherto been held by the Governor-General himself, the former is certainly a distinct improvement upon the latter. In 1942 the Cripps offer did not contemplate the transfer of the control of India's foreign relations to Indian hands till after the war was over. But the Wavell offer definitely proposes[12] that "external affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fall to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) should be placed in the charge of an Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive (Council) so far as British India is concerned, and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad". But it must be pointed out here that, contrasted with the interim constitutional arrangements under the Cripps offer of 1942 or the position obtaining at the Centre now, the change proposed by the Wavell offer is really one of degree and not of kind. Nor can it justly be described, whatever claims may have been made by some people in the enthusiasm of the moment, as embodying any really new policy. The constitutional position and powers of the Governor-General in relation to his Executive Council will, under the Wavell offer, continue to remain, as shown before, as it is today. At the same time, it must be admitted that, although the quantum of power of the proposed new Executive Council will not materially alter under the Wavell plan, the influence of the Council over the work of administration will certainly increase to some extent, specially when the Council will be composed largely of the representatives of organized political parties in this country. This, however, is subject to one proviso, namely, that the Council works as a team. But if, unfortunately, it works otherwise and its members begin to fight amongst themselves over administrative matters, the position will be even worse than what it is now. It may lead to the frequent exercise by the Governor-General of his overruling power. And this means that he will have to hold the balance of power between the contending factions.

Another point to be noticed in this connexion is that, under the Wavell offer, the Executive Council will not be responsible to the Indian Legislature in the British parliamentary sense. No vote of censure on the Council by the Legislative Assembly, not to speak of

8 See *Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission*, 1921-22, Chap. X; also P. N. Banerjea, *Fiscal Policy in India*, Macmillan, 1922, pp. 79-88.

9 See Section 314 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

10 See Coupland, *The Cripps Mission*, Oxford, p. 54.

11 See Coupland, *Indian Politics*, 1936-1942, Oxford, p. 205.

12 See Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on 14th June, 1945.

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the Council of State, will be able to drive it out of power. The Governor-General in Council will remain responsible to his Majesty's Government in England for the performance of his duties and responsibilities, as he is now.

Sir Stafford Cripps has been reported to have observed at Edinburgh on 14th June, 1945, in the course of his speech on "the new plan for India":

"With the present temporary constitutional change, if it is agreed to by Indian leaders, it is quite obvious that there will be a great shift of power from the British Parliament and Government to the new Executive Council of the Viceroy, which for the first time will be representative of the Indian peoples."

In view of what I have shown above, the use of the word "great" by Sir Stafford in reference to the possible shift of power, appears to me to have been a gross exaggeration.

(b)

I shall now pass on to the question of the composition of the proposed new Executive Council. In the course of his broadcast His Excellency Lord Wavell said:

"The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Moslems."

In a little more diplomatic language Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons on the same point:

"It is proposed that the Executive Council should be reconstituted and that the Viceroy should in future make his selection for nomination to the Crown for appointment to his Executive (Council) from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre and in the Provinces, in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Moslems and Caste Hindus."

It follows from these statements that the number of the Muslim members on the new Executive Council is to be equal to that of the "Caste Hindu" members on it. This is being referred to in recent discussions as the principle of parity of representation on the Executive Council as between the "Caste Hindus" and the Muslims. Now let us analyse the statements in terms of figures. I should confine myself to the figures of British India alone as the Wavell plan is meant for British India only. According to the census of 1941, the total population of British India is about 296 millions. Out of this total population, the numbers of the "Caste Hindus", Scheduled Castes, Muslims, Christians, and the Sikhs are, roughly speaking, 151 millions, 40 millions, 79·4 millions, 3·5 millions, and 4·2 millions respectively. Under the plan proposed, therefore, 151 millions of the so-called Caste Hindus will be made politically equivalent to 79·4 millions of Muslims. Is not this weightage in favour of one community and against another a concession, out of all proportion, to communal fanaticism and intransigence? Will it not put a premium upon such fanaticism and intransigence in future? There is no doubt that it will, as it has invariably been the case since 1906. Once this principle of parity is accepted in connexion with the constitution of the Central Executive, the demand will inevitably be made for its introduction into the central legislature, into the central services, both civil and military, and into the central judiciary, irrespective of the questions of numbers of population and the qualifications of candidates. As a consequence, the so-called Caste Hindus who constitute today the majority of the total population of British India will be reduced, politically, to a hopeless and helpless minority, and, ultimately, to utter impotence and nullity. This is the danger inherent in the principle of parity introduced on communal grounds. We have no objection to the principle of parity or, for the matter of that, to even a greater representation of Muslims than of the "Caste Hindus" in any service or on any body, if appointments are made purely on grounds of merits and fitness, and if the present vicious system of communal representation through separate electorates is replaced by the system of joint electorates on a territorial, or even on the functional, basis. Otherwise, the principle of parity of representation, under present conditions, is, to say the least, against logic, reason, equity, and the principles of democracy.

It has been argued by a British paper in support of the principle of parity that on the Senate of the United States the constituent units of the Federation are equally represented irrespective of the question of the numbers of their population. This is true, but the paper should have added that on the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the units are represented according to population. And the Senate and the House of Representatives together constitute the Federal Legislature of the United States. Moreover, there is no such thing as communal representation through separate electorates in the United States. The principle of representation on the Senate, as on the House of Representatives, in the United States is territorial and not communal or religious. Therefore, the American analogy does not, and cannot, apply to India. The difference between the two countries is of a fundamental character.

It has also been argued that the Conciliation Committee of which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was the Chairman accepted the principle of parity of representation. But it should not be forgotten that the Conciliation Committee also insisted on the indispensable condition therefor of the "substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates." Moreover, this Committee emphatically declared against "any division of India into two or more separate independent sovereign States," and in favour of the maintenance of the political unity of India. There are no such saving features in the Wavell offer. On the other hand, we find that Mr. Amery even now says that the offer of 1942 (*i.e.*, the Cripps offer with its "non-accession" provisions) "stands in its entirety *without change* or *qualification*", and that "none of the changes suggested (by the Wavell offer) will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent *constitution* or *constitutions* of India."[13] It may be said that this is the language of diplomacy. It may be so. But it is difficult to deny that such language used by a person in Mr. Amery's position will further encourage the

13 See Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on 14th June, 1945. (The italics are mine).

For Mr. Amery's inconsistencies, see my article in *The Modern Review* of April and May, 1945, entitled *Britain's Responsibility and Duty*.

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istransigence of those communalists who have been making the suicidal demand for the partition of India into two or more sovereign, independent States.

(c)

In the third place, I shall say a few words in regard to the principle followed by His Excellency Lord Wavell in issuing invitations to the Simla Conference. I do not know who is or are responsible for adopting this principle. But I must at once say that the decision to exclude the Hindu Mahasabha from the Simla Conference was a most unfortunate and regrettable blunder, both from the point of view of His Majesty's Government and from the point of view of the interests of the Hindu community as a whole. His Majesty's Government wanted the Hindu community to swallow, at the same time, two such bitter pills as the principle of parity of representation as between the so-called Caste Hindus and the Muslims in spite of the great disparity in their respective numbers, and the division of the Hindu community into two political sections, namely, the "Caste Hindus" and the "Scheduled Castes." If it really wanted to achieve this twofold object for the ending of the present political deadlock, it should have invited some leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha which alone today can speak in the name of the Hindu community, and then appealed to their traditional generosity, spirit of tolerance, political sagacity, and statesmanship. I dare say that it could then have succeeded in achieving its object. By ignoring the Hindu Mahasabha altogether, His Majesty's Government betrayed a deplorable lack of imaginative insight into the working of human nature in politics. The consequence is already wellknown to everyone who has eyes to see. The Hindu Mahasabha is a force to be reckoned with in Indian politics today, particularly in the provinces in which the communal problem is very acute. And if His Majesty's Government thought otherwise, it was certainly ill advised. Perhaps, in deference to the views and wishes of the Jinnahites, His Majesty's Government wanted to make the Congress appear before the world as a purely Caste Hindu Organisation. If this be a fact, it was also a mistake for obvious reasons. However, it must be said to the credit of the sense of realism and statesmanship of the Viceroy that he rectified this mistake, at the instance of Gandhiji, by issuing an invitation to the President of the Congress to the Simla Conference. It would have been equally wise if His Excellency had rectified the other mistake by extending an invitation to the President of the Hindu Mahasabha to attend the Simla Conference. I am making this statement not because I am a Hindu, but because I am also genuinely anxious to see the end of the existing political deadlock. If it be argued that the Hindu Mahasabha has been excluded because it is a communal organization, then our retort will be, what about the Muslim League? Who will deny, having the least regard for truth, that the Muslim League is, and has been ever since its establishment, a purely communal organization? His Majesty's Government should have considered, when preparing the list of invitees, who could deliver the goods on behalf of the Hindu community as such, and particularly that section of it which it called the Caste Hindus? Certainly not the Congress which is not a sectional organization and which repudiates—and very rightly—the insinuation by interested parties that it represents the Hindus alone. As is well-known, the membership of the Congress is open to all and it even now contains among its members persons belonging to different religious communities in India, although, as a result of the policy pursued by Britain ever since 1906, it is for the time being largely Hindu in composition. In the past the Hindu Mahasabha had received official recognition as an important political organization in this country on a number of occasions.

Moreover, there is another very weighty consideration to be taken into account in this connexion. According to the Viceregal broadcast, one of the principal tasks of the proposed new Executive Council will be to consider the means by which an agreement is to be "achieved" upon "a new permanent constitution" for India. This "task", His Excellency rightly said, "is most important." "I want to make it quite clear," he continued, "that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier." Exactly for this very reason, some representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha should have been invited by His Excellency to attend the Simla Conference; because one of the main functions of this Conference is to help His Excellency in the formation of the new Executive Council, and because on him and on all those invited to the Conference, lies, to quote His Excellency's own words, "a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future." Unfortunately, the policy pursued by the Congress in regard to communal matters ever since the Communal Decision of His Majesty's Government, dated 4th August, 1932, has not found favour with a large section of nationalist public opinion in this country, particularly among the Hindus. Further, the attitude adopted by some of our foremost leaders who directly or indirectly control and shape the policy of the Congress, towards the Muslim-League demand for the partition of India has made the Congress itself naturally suspect, rightly or wrongly, with a large section of Indian public opinion. This is the reason why the presence at the Simla Conference of some representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha which has been consistently fighting for the maintenance of the political unity and integrity of India, was considered very necessary by national public opinion in this country, specially among the Hindus. Again, according to the Viceregal broadcast, the proposed new Executive "Council would represent the main communities." Yet, the only organization, namely, the Hindu Mahasabha, which alone can speak authoritatively in the name of one of these main communities, namely, the Hindu community, has been excluded from the Simla Conference! In view of all this, the exclusion of the Hindu Mahasabha from the Simla Conference has been, we repeat, a most unfortunate blunder on the part of His Majesty's Government.

(d)

Fourthly, Mr. Amery has been reported to have observed at the Press Conference, held at the India Office on June 15th, 1945, in connexion with the Wavell offer:

"There is nothing in the proposals,[14] if accepted, that will debar members of the (Executive) Council

[14] *i.e.*, the proposals as laid by him before Parliament on June, 1945. They meant the Wavell offer.

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from dealing with the whole problem of reconstruction entirely as they please. It will be for them to decide industrial, agricultural and health policies and so on."

This statement seems to be an obvious exaggeration, if not somewhat misleading, specially so far as the post-war development of Indian industries is concerned, in view of the provisions in the Government of India Act, 1935, for the prevention of (i) administrative and legislative discrimination against British commercial interests and British trade in India, and (ii) discrimination against British imports into India.

IV

It is not the object of this article to deal with the Simla Conference now going on. Nor do I propose to discuss here the part which the different political parties invited to the Conference are playing there. I cannot help, however, remarking that there are two statements in the Viceregal broadcast which appear to be rather incompatible with each other. His Excellency has said in connexion with the proposed new Executive Council :

"Moreover, members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders."

But he has also said :

"If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together."

If the members of the new Executive Council are to be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders, we fail to see how the question of the success or failure of "the meeting" comes in at all. Nor is it very clear to us as to what is exactly meant by the expression "the meeting" here: the meeting *between*, or *with*, whom ?

In conclusion, I should like to observe, after a very careful examination of the whole question, that the Wavell offer has some serious defects, it has also some merits: if it has potentialities for evil, it has also promise for good. This is the reason why opinions in the country are so sharply divided on it. As the scheme is intended for a purely *interim* period and for ending the present deadlock in the country, it may be given a trial, subject, however, to one condition, namely, the principle of parity as embodied in it, must not be allowed to be used as a precedent for the future.

At the end of his broadcast, while appealing for co-operation and goodwill from all, His Excellency Lord Wavell stated :

"I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies will further her greatness."

We are prepared to believe in the obvious sincerity of these words. We in our turn, however, appeal to His Excellency to see that, pending the final settlement of the Indian constitutional question, the Federal Part of the Government of India Act, 1935, is introduced without any further delay, after a few such minor amendments in it as may be considered necessary for making the establishment of the Federation of India easy and practicable.[15] After all, it should not be forgotten that the introduction of this Part of the 1935 Act was *only suspended* in 1939, and that the Act itself was not a hasty piece of legislation on the part of Parliament, but was the result of years of deliberation by and among all the parties concerned. It is now time, therefore, that this suspension should be lifted. Counsels of unwisdom, unreason, impolicy, and selfishness as well as communal fanaticism and intransigence have long been allowed to hold up the progress of India towards her destined goal. They must now be totally ignored, if they do not yield to reason, and India should be definitely placed on the right road to the realization of her great destiny. Once this bold but proper step is taken, everything will be all right, and all obstacles will gradually vanish away like darkness before dawn. If His Excellency Lord Wavell can achieve this during his regime, he will not only achieve a great object, but will also win himself a great name in the pages of Indo-British History.

July 12, 1945.

15 See in this connexion the concluding part of my article entitled "Britain's Responsibility and Duty" in *The Modern Review* for April and May, 1945.

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BREEDING OF FRESH WATER FISH OF BENGAL

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Introduction

The burning problem of the day is food. Fish is the second staple food of this province. Unless we can get through fry to rear, it is not possible to cope with our requirements. In order to get sufficient number of fry we ought to know the different methods of breeding. Now breeding is of 3 kinds :—(i) Natural, (ii) Semi-natural and (iii) Artificial.

Natural breeding may take place in (i) Stagnant water, (ii) Current water. Stagnant water may be an ordinary pond or *jhil* or *beel* and current waters may be either rivers or streams.

Conditions of Spawning

Spawning requires first of all maturation or ripening of ova of the female. Ovulation requires stimulation of the anterior lobe of the pituitary body. Stimulation of the anterior lobe of the pituitary body requires a higher percentage of oxygen contents of water in which the female lives. This enhancement of oxygen contents is only possible in nature by addition or better with the replacement of rain-water. After ovulation the females seek for suitable partners and on having them sexual sport begins which ultimately results in spawning of the mature ova by the females and sprinkling of milt on them by the males.

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Breeding of Fish in Stagnant Ponds

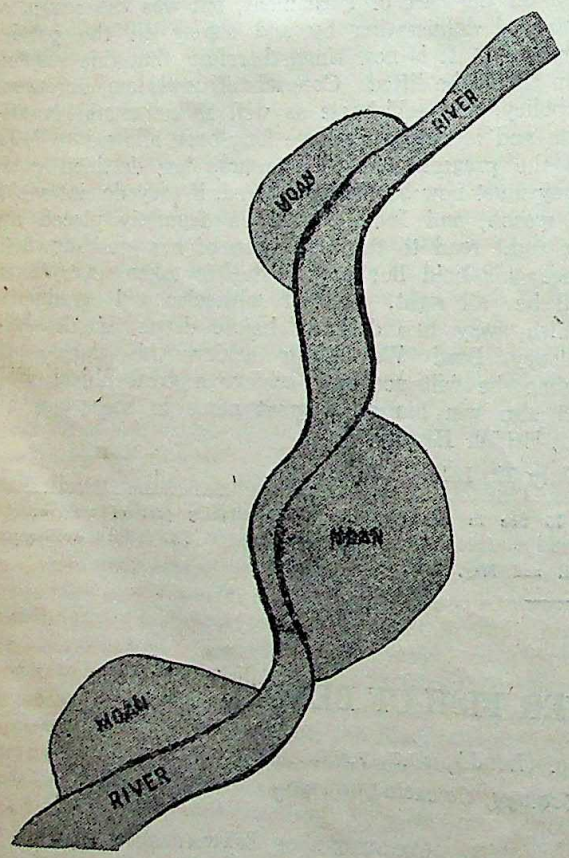
No fresh-water fish spawns without some amount of rain water mixed with the old water of a pond, that is without higher oxygen contents of water. Thus we find spawning of such fish as *Shal* (*Ophicephalus marulias*), *Shol* (*Ophicephalus striatus*), *Lata* (*Ophicephalus punctatus*), *Punti* (*Barbus puntius*) and *Maurala* (*Amblypharyngodon mola*), etc., in almost all the common ponds of Bengal during the rainy season.

Breeding of Major Carps

Indian major carps as a rule do not breed in ordinary stagnant pond. They require pure rain water for breeding purposes. Pure rain water can be had in connection with river or low lying adjacent vast areas of *beels* or *khals*.

Natural Breeding in Rivers

Really speaking, breeding does not occur in the river proper but in the fallow land or in the rice field adjoining a river which becomes submerged during heavy monsoon. The rain water collected in this submerged area joins with the water of the river to



Breeding in River

become a continuous vast sheet of water. The submerged areas become so-called pockets of the river proper which can be called the breeding ground or *moan*.* After the formation of such ground during the monsoon sexually matured fish of either sex migrate to these breeding grounds from the river proper in search of purer rain water as they have already been stimulated by the addition of the rain water, and the females and the males get more oxygenated water due to the accumulation of rain. The conditions of breeding enumerated above having been fulfilled the mate spawning is effected and the fertilised eggs sink down at the bottom. The embryos generally come out of the egg-cases within 15 to 18 hours and float in the water of the breeding ground. Eventually, therefore, most of the embryos come to the river proper and at moment they are in the river, these embryos migrate downwards with the current. So most laymen and quite a large proportion of fishermen seldom get any opportunity of perceiving any fertilised eggs of carps. Most of the fishermen collect the very early stages of fry which are ordinarily known as *Dimpona*.

Collection of Fry From River

Fishermen generally catch these early fry or *dimpona* with nets of fine mesh or as in Chittagong with special mosquito nets. In Damodar river near Amta fishermen generally catch the early fry by a series of fixed purse nets along the shallow bank of the river.

Nursery Ponds or Kua in Connection with Halda River of Chittagong

A series of sets of shallow small nursery ponds are excavated all along the river. These nursery ponds are known as *Kua* (Well). The fertilised eggs are generally kept on a net submerged in water in order to get rid of the egg-cases, when the embryos are liberated from them.

There may be an improved method where instead of a piece of net, one puts a piece of ordinary cloth underneath the net, so that on liberation of the embryos from the egg-cases these fry will be on ordinary cloth piece which can be lifted up in order to show the fry to the intending purchaser without any injury to them.

Breeding in Beels, Khals or Lakes

In all these water-ways breeding of carps takes place almost like that of the river. The only difference being that the river water has a flow or current downwards whereas beels, khals and lakes are almost like stagnant ponds.

Collection of Fry in Connection with Beels, Khals or Lakes

As the collection of fry is rather difficult due to the absence of current it is advisable to collect the fertilised eggs before hatching in the adjoining *moans* with a piece of mosquito curtain net, the borders of which are re-inforced with tapes.

Semi-natural

Though Indian carps as a rule do not breed in confined water it is known that in certain districts of Bengal like Midnapore, Bankura and Chittagong Indian carps spawn freely in certain types of tanks known as *bundh*.

Bundh

A typical *bundh* may be described as a kind of pond in the midst of a vast low-lying paddy field bounded on three sides by high embankments, the remaining or fourth side being left open since it gradually merges into slopping ground like a sponge

* The term *moan* is not used everywhere as the substitute of breeding ground. In certain cases the outlet of the breeding ground is also termed as such.

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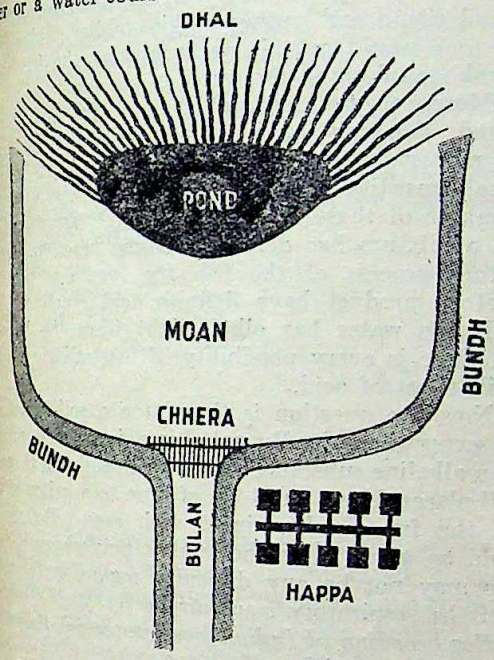
Midnapore Type of Bundh (1st and 2nd types)

In summer a great part of the *bundh* described by me dries up and is cultivated while the actual pond always contains some water and harbours mature fish. In the rainy season water from the upland area rushes in the form of streamlets which is locally known as *dhal*. On getting a heavy shower the whole area comprising a *bundh* becomes submerged and during heavy floods it may even overflow. To prevent over-flowing of the *bundh*, as well as to get rid of the old water of the pond, an outlet known as *bulan* is made on the opposite side of the upland area in the form of a channel which connects the *bundh* to a neighbouring river or a water-course.



Midnapore type of bundh (type No. 1)

With the accumulation of rain water in the pond, the brood fish are stimulated to activity and come out into the shallow parts of the *bundh*, known as *moan*, for breeding purposes. There may be a little variation of the *bundh* from the description given above. The *moan* may be situated far away from the *bulan* and close to the *dhal*. This sort of *bundh* may be called the second type of Midnapore bundh.

There is a bamboo fencing, known as *chhera*, at the mouth of the *bulan* (channel for outlet). The flow of the water through the *bulan* can be controlled by blocking it with straw and mud.

From the description of the *bundh* it is evident that major Indian carps spawn in a shallow vast sheet of recently stagnant rain water for its excessive percentage of oxygen and therefore the idea of spawning of carps in running water is baseless.

I have observed altogether 11 *bundhs* of the above type of which 9 are having *moan* and *bulan* side by side. These are (1) Bathantorha, (2) Bindu, (3) Birpathari, (4) Cassia, (5) Dekinenjya, (6) Inthkuri, (7) Sarabot, (8) Tangasole, (9) Ariamara. In the last two the *moan* is far away from *bulan*, those are Sitarampore and Talbhandi.

Midnapore Type of Bundh (3rd type)

This type of *bundh* is similar in all respects to the 1st and 2nd types, the difference being that there is no specified shallow area or breeding ground like the others. The fish spawn in the very long, broad and shallow channel of the outlet itself, the extreme end of which is temporarily closed by *chhera*. The typical *bundh* of this type is Hamarchala.

Midnapore Type of Bundh (4th type)

This type of *bundh* possesses two outlets instead of one. The reason for such arrangement is that one of them can be closed at will towards which the fish migrate. In order to convert this portion into a calm sheet of stagnant water the outlet is thus closed; the other portion is left open as the passage for the flow of excess of water. Such arrangement is probably a modification of the riverine condition.

In some *bundhs* of this type the specific ground for breeding purposes is almost absent and the fish breed either in the shallow edge of the pond itself or in the broad and shallow channel of the closed outlet.

So far as my information goes there are 5 *bundhs* of the above type. Those are—(1) Pathuria, (2) Rangamati, (3) Orgunja, (4) Metedor, and (5) Jamboni.

Midnapore Type of Bundh (5th type)

This type is known as *sukhna* (dry) *bundh* because it has no permanent pond. Consequently the collection of water is seasonal in a vast shallow cavity which is bounded by embankment and having sometimes a slope on one side. After a heavy rain, mature males and females from neighbouring ponds are transferred to this *bundh* for mating, resulting in ultimate spawning.

After collection of eggs the *bundh* is left undisturbed for sometime for drying.

Such a pond is really an ideal for spawning of major carps at all places. This idea is not the product of imagination but in reality we find them in places like Midnapore.

There are 3 *bundhs* of the above type in Midnapore (1) Kurkuti,* (2) Malibundi, (3) Vatmoudi.

Chittagong Semi-natural Bundh

The difference between Midnapore bundh and Chittagong bundh is that in the latter instead of depending wholly on a heavy shower for the accumulation of rain water in the *bundh* area they have got a control contrivance for the accumulation of rain water at their free will. This type has a collection of rain water on the upland area of considerable size with proper embankments so that during a shower they can cut open a space in the embankment towards the *bundh* side at will and the water may flow down into the *bundh* and replace the old water of the pond through *chhera*, whereas in Midnapore bundhs they get the heavy shower of rain to drop down as *dhals* on the upland area into the *bundhs*.

Temperature of the Water of the Pond and Bundh

The temperature of the water of the pond and bundh before shower was in one occasion 90° F and subsequently fell to 89° F. In the Punjab, Khan has recorded that the temperature of the breeding ground varies for 75° F to 87° F. The pH of water in one occasion was found to be 7·4 before and 7·9 after.

* Kurkuti *bundh* has recently been converted into an ordinary 1st type of *bundh*.

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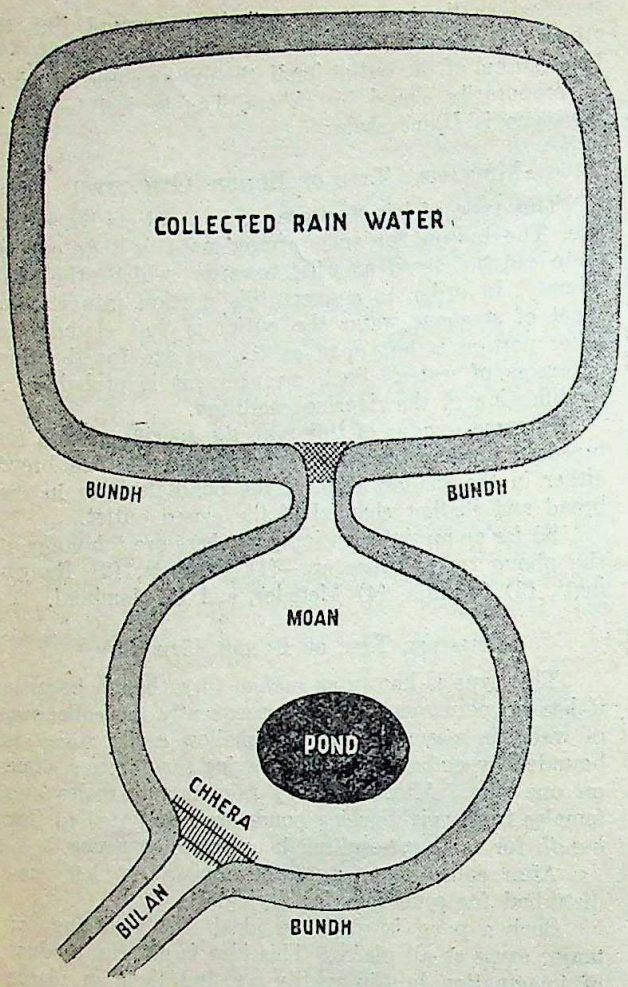

Chittagong type of bundh

Excavation of Hatching Pits in Midnapore

Before collecting eggs small pits or *hapas* are excavated in the adjoining land of the *bundh*, so as to put into them fertilised eggs, for hatching. The dimensions of the pits are 4½'×3'×1½' deep. The pits are 6 inches apart and are arranged in parallel rows, each row containing about 30 pits. Adjoining rows of pits are separated by a shallow channel for circulation of water which was taken from the *bundh* by bailing. The bailing of water is generally done by the aid of a narrow boat fitted up with a pulley. Small feeding channels connect the main channel with the hatching pits and in this way a constant supply of fresh water is ensured.

Collection of Eggs

The general appearance of the eggs are like so many pearl beads with mucous coating on the outside. While collecting, quite a large number of eggs is destroyed under foot. The size of each egg is that of a pea-seed. The actual collection is made in *moans* by a mosquito-curtain net 2½ yds. in length and 1 yd. in width; this is stretched at the four corners by two men and then dipped to the bottom of the breeding ground or *moan*. Each piece of net has tapes stitched at the borders to strengthen it. After collection, the eggs are transferred into four-gallon tin-containers for measurement of the quantity.

The collection of eggs is started from the first end of the bulan, as a large number of eggs generally escape through the *chhera* during the time of breeding or *paus*.

Fertilised eggs (about 12,000 eggs in number) are put into each pit with plenty of water from the bulan which are periodically replenished to keep the level constant. Day and night water is kept over the *hapas*.

As no measures have been adopted for aeration of the *hapas*, bacterial infection sets in almost immediately after hatching and at the end of the first week there is consequently a heavy mortality.

The inner tube of an used motor tyre or bicycle tyre serves pretty well. On inflating the inner tube with a hand pump and puting a thin rubber tubing to the cock, one would get air on immersing the free end of the rubber tubing in the water of the *hapas*.

Moreover, the feeding of the fry artificially is ignored. The only good thing that the Midnapore fishermen generally do with regard to *hapas* is to put a small quantity of laterite soil in the form of paste in the water of these *hapas*. It has been ascertained that such a mixture has definite alkaline reaction. The respiratory process of the fish fry together with their excretory product have definite acid reaction.

If the water has alkali right from the beginning then there is every possibility of neutralisation without the ill effect of acid.

Now the question is that laterite soil is not available everywhere in Bengal. Lime is a good substitute for an alkaline substance like laterite soil and is available at all places. If we put 4 oz. of lime to a gallon of water then the fry can live in it with ease. But the lime should be given after thoroughly pulverising it so that there may not be any difficulty regarding the choking up of the respiratory tract of the fry*

For breeding of Indian fresh water fish the following factors are essential :—

(1) Increase of oxygen content of water is essential. In nature this increase of oxygen content of water is possible only after heavy shower during the rainy season. The temperature of the water of the perennial pond together with the inundated area of water increases with the addition of rain water. pH of water also increases with the addition of rain water.

(2) For carps the old water of the pond should be replaced by recent rain water or transference of brood fish to be done from old water to rain water. The main trick is the increase of oxygen contents.

(3) We performed two sets of experiments, (i) by passing air in the water in which small fish of either sex live such as *Colisa lalius* and in course of a few days spawning was effected, (ii) by constantly changing or rather pouring and thereby splashing air in the water (the principle is the same as hand paddling) and such fish as *Barbus conchonius* (Kanchan punti) or *Amblypharyngodon mola* (Mourala) and even *Amphipnous testudineus* (Koi) spawn in course of several days.

(4) In nature the minor elements that are required for ready spawning of fresh water fish besides high oxygen contents are :—(a) vast sheet of shallow stagnant water as breeding ground.

(b) Brood fish of carps of at least 3 years old should be kept undisturbed in the perennial ponds

*All the Midnapore types of *bundhs* mentioned here are found in the localities of Chandrokona Road and Garbeta Railway Station.

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ARTIFICIAL

Artificial fecundation or artificial impregnation :— We know that in nature after maturation of the ova the female fish that come out during the time of sexual sport are impregnated by the male sperm within a reasonable time such as 2 or 3 minutes utmost. Consequently there is a tremendous loss of both ova and spermatozoa.

On the other hand after maturation if the ova are pressed out of the female fish and are kept in a glass or china receptacle on which the milt of a male is also pressed out and added on to them, the fertilisation can be effected on addition of water to this mixture of ova and sperms.

The originator of this artificial fecundation is Lt. Jacobi of Germany who discovered this system in 1763. The French Government have been carrying on this process ever since 1850 in their fishery situated at Hunningen in Alsace Lorraine.

In India such artificial fecundation has also become fruitful both in the Panjab and also in the Fish Laboratory, Calcutta University.

Advantages of such artificial fecundation are :—1. Immense source for supply of extra fry. 2. Supply of the fry for individual species separately and thus eliminating the danger of mixing up with the predaceous fry. 3 Higher percentage of fruitful fry. 4. The minute details of the life-history of the individual species can be studied.

Before I conclude I like to repeat what I told about 3 years back from All-India Radio, Calcutta Station.

"I have now described in some detail the breeding of fresh water fish of India based mostly on my experience both in the laboratory and field for last 5 years working on the Fishery Scheme financed by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India. Fish breeding is not merely profitable but also interesting. Today with the war at our doors it is our imperative duty to get the most out of this industry and that too as quickly as possible. We must find easy and inexpensive methods for adoption on a large scale by the people. Traditional and empirical knowledge is good but science can help much, and it is ever willing to help. There is no trade secret in science, no patent rights. Scientific knowledge painstakingly gleaned by devoted men is the property of all."

———:O:———

AN INDIAN SIBERIA

BY UMA CHARAN PATNAIK, M.A., B.L.

I

The siege of Stalingrad and the turning of the tide of World War No. II has amply demonstrated the potentialities of the vast unexplored tracts of Czarist Russia; and it has rightly been said that the sleeping giant, Siberia, roused from his age-old slumbers by the wise Five-Year Plans, came to the rescue of the U.S.S.R. at the most critical period of her history.

No apology is needed for introducing the reader to one of the Indian Siberias, the picturesque mountain country to the west of the plains of Orissa with Singbhum and the Orissan States of Seraikala and Kharswan in the north, Sambalpur, Surguja, Sarangarh and Raigarh in the west and Basthar in the south. With its mineral and forest resources, its potential water power, its virgin soil, and, above all, its comparatively thin population of one crore five and a half lakhs (including hill-tribes numbering nearly forty-seven lakhs), this 34,480 square miles of uplands ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 feet above the sea-level, is bound to play a unique part in the future history of India, if not of the world.

This area is administered either by the Provincial Governor through his Agents or Deputy Commissioners or by Indian Princes under the supervision of the Political Department. The policy of so-called protection to aborigines areas, was slightly relaxed by the constitutional reforms of 1935 which gave the initial responsibility of administration, to some extent, to the popular ministers. The Congress Ministry of Orissa appointed the Partially Excluded Areas Committee under the chairmanship of Sri A. V. Thakkar (President, Aboriginal Welfare Works and General Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh) to enquire into the condition of the hill-tribes. The report of this committee has opened the eyes of the thinking public to the miserable condition of 20,836 sq. miles called the Partially Excluded Areas and under the special administration of the Provincial Satrap. Apart from the actual outcome of this committee's labours, its main importance lies in the fact that it has aroused the interest and enlisted the sympathy of Indian leaders, for the uplands and hill-tribes in this unexplored part of the country.

The Servants of India Society started, in November, 1939, aborigines-service work in Koraput district under the able lead of one of its most energetic members Sri L. N. Sahu, M.A. About 40 schools were started, medicine freely supplied and other uplift measures undertaken. The recent book of Sj. Sahu in which he has collected his experiences of Koraput and compiled his studies about the aborigines of that district (proof copy of which he kindly lent me for perusal) is a valuable addition to the few interesting and instructive books on Indian Hill Tribes. In the Congress constructive programme the service of Harijans and Aborigines has been emphasised upon as one of the important items of constructive work for the training in non-violence to achieve Indian Independence. The recently-formed Kasturba Memorial Committee, has, as its avowed object, the uplift of women "especially among Harijans and Aborigines." What has actually been done till now in this direction, is, however, a drop in the ocean when compared with what has not yet been done.

The entire extent under review is practically hill and forest tract with unexplored resources; almost entirely untapped, reserved, as it were, for a Free India to explore and develop the possibilities. Only in the extreme north, the Tatas have utilized some of the available raw materials to build up one of the largest

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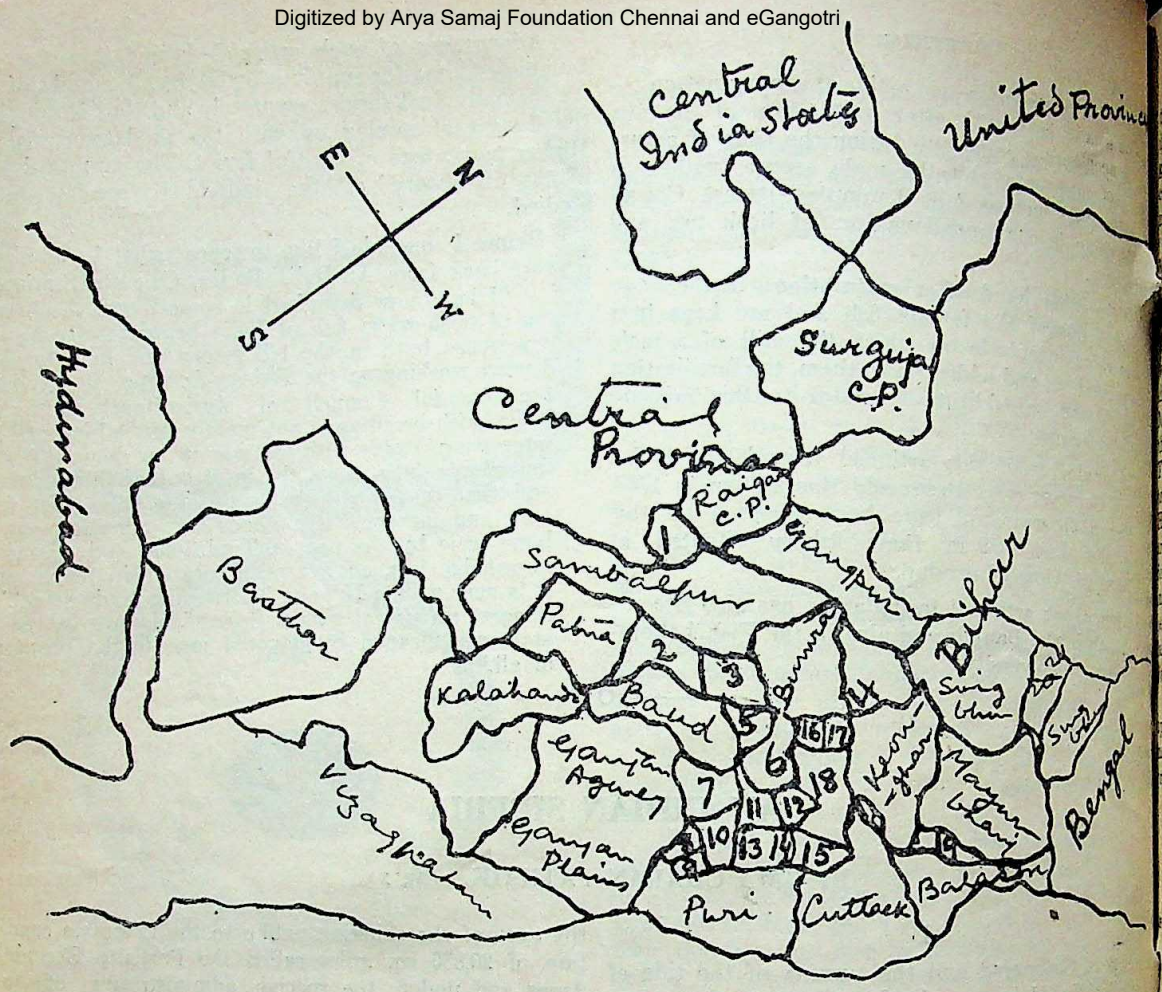

1. Sarangarh, C.P., 2. Sonepur, 3. Rairakhol, 4. Bonai, 5. Athmallik, 6. Angul, 7. Daspalla, 8. Naysgarh, 9. Ranpur, 10. Khandpara, 11. Narasingpur, 12. Hindol, 13. Baramba, 14. Tigiria, 15. Athgad, 16. Talcher, 17. Pallahra, 18. Dhenkanal, 19. Nilgiri, 20. Seraikala, 21. Kharswan

steel manufacturing centres of the world. The ore floats of the Gorumohisani are worked even by unskilled labour. Sri Ram Das in his foreword speaks of the smelting of iron from raw ore by the aboriginal Kammars and the author writes of the minerals of the district—iron, manganese, graphite, limestone, steatite (pot-stone), sappharine, etc. These are common features of the entire uplands. Coal is rare in Ganjam and Koraput but has been found in large quantities in the northern portion. Sometime back a huge block of white mica from Neddiguda was exhibited at G. Udayagiri; combined with the flourishing lac industry of these uplands, this would provide for electric insulators and other industrial works. Recently it was published in the *Samaj* that a lead mine has been discovered in Dhondapotha area of Angul. It is said that well-water in some part of the Khondmals smells of kerosine.

"The forests abound with big *Sal* trees (Shorea robusta). Besides there are *Palasa* (Butia Frondosa), *Mohua* (Basia latifolia), *Jamu* (Emblica jambolana), *Kusum* (Schleichera trijuga), *Sirisa* (Albizzia lebbek), *Amla* (Phyllanthus emblica), *Kochila* (Strychnus nuxvomica), *Catechu* (Acacia eburnio), *Nim* (Melia Indica), *Champak* (Michelia Champaka), *Palm* (Boeassus flabellifer), *Salpa* (Caryota urens), *Cane* (Calmamus tennis), *Kadamba* (Anthocephalus Kadamba), *Sisu* (Dalbergia Sissoo), etc.

The scarcity of metal in the post-war period will greatly accelerate woodworks as a cottage industry. Sabai grass and bamboos are available in large quantities; the paper mills at Titaghur are utilizing the raw materials from a very small area and there is ample scope for hand-made paper at various other places. Even at present agency mats and cheap bamboo mats and baskets are popular local industries. The main forest produce—myrobalan (cascara sagrada), lac, tamarind rind, turmeric, sonnari bark, ginger, paloo (a kind variety of arrowroot) are being exported in large quantities. Even the cheap broomsticks from these parts are having a profitable market in Bombay and other cities. The natural honey available in the agency is of a very superior quality; bee-growing may be taken up with great advantage to the people.

There are many varieties of tropical herbs and plants. The forests abound with wild animals whose hides and skins are sold in distant markets; with the cheaply available forest-produce required for the purpose, tanning and leather works in this locality would constitute important cottage industries. Animal bones, horns and tusks are also available here.

The virgin soil is very fertile and the climatic conditions and early monsoons are conducive to the growth of plant-life. Experiments have shown that the same seeds sown here yield larger fruit and better than in the adjacent plains. Cotton thrives here

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than in the coastal areas. Weaving is one of the important avocations of the local *Pans*; if cotton is grown on a large scale, two important cottage industries would be accelerated. Government has just realized the necessity of growing sugarcane in the uplands.

Above everything else there is very great scope for hydro-electric power at various places. Sir Henry Lord, the Electrical Expert to the Government of Madras, has evolved a scheme for generating 105,000 k.w. of electricity from the Duduma (one of the four waterfalls situated in the river Machkund in Koraput district) and supplying cheap power to the Province of Madras; this has been the bone of contention between the Provinces of Madras and Orissa for some time. The Bagra in R. Kolat in Koraput has been estimated to generate 75,000 k.w. of electricity. Nrisinhanath and Gandhamankar in Sambalpur and other waterfalls in this area could also very profitably be harnessed not only for running heavy (State) industries but also developing agriculture and cottage industries. There have also been proposals for harnessing the water current of the larger rivers for development of resources as well as for control of floods.

The tapping of the natural resources of these uplands will remove the grinding poverty of the masses, and, at the same time restore India to her proper place among the Free Nations of the world.

II

The Hill Tribes

The population of these uplands has been classified as follows :—

Hindus	.. ..	57,05,641
Hill Tribes	.. ..	47,29,545
Muslims	.. ..	81,533
Christians	.. ..	36,463
Others	.. ..	14,822
Total		1,05,68,004

Thus the hill tribes form a very large percentage of the total population. In particular Basthar, Koraput and Ganjam Agency form a belt of predominantly hill tribes habitat :

	Extent (sq. miles)	*Total population*	*Hill Tribes*
Basthar	13,701	6,33,888	4,78,964
Koraput	9,875	11,27,862	9,40,632
Ganjam Agency	4,373	4,63,076	3,74,039
	27,949	22,24,826	17,93,625

The hill tribes of these uplands together with their brethren in the adjacent coastal districts of Orissa number 48,90,487. They belong to different races and various communities or tribes. They have, however, certain qualities and disadvantages in common. They are strong, sturdy and brave (and cruel, too, if roused to anger). They are a queer admixture of industry and laziness, courage and docility. Theirs is a peculiar blending of the strength and ferocity of the royal tiger with their forests with the simplicity of innocent little children. Enjoying, as they do, the sun, the rain and the extreme coldness of their hills they feel at home in dense forests and steep mountains, hunting wild animals, singing and dancing in their 'Dangadi-Dens'; with their natural faithfulness, hospitality and goodness to counterbalance anger and other natural vices, they may indeed be called the Children of Nature. A few facts about their origin and present condition will suffice to give the reader an idea of the uplift work that is necessary among them.

Though they are usually called "aborigines", it is more accurate to classify them as "Hill Tribes". The various tribes inhabiting this area may tentatively (subject to differences among learned philologists and anthropologists) be said to belong to two broad divisions :—

The Munda Branch of the Austric family.—Strictly speaking this should have been called the *Sabar* or *Savara* branch because it has been referred to as such not only by Pliny, Ptolemy and others, but in the ancient Indian Puranas as well. Their history and culture are still being investigated into by research scholars who are of opinion that India was one of the best strongholds of the Austrics. Some of the important sub-branches who live in these uplands are the Savaras, Santhals, Gadabas, Kharias and Mundas.

The Intermediate Group of the Mediterraneans (Dravids).—It is supposed that when the Aryans invaded India in about the 2nd millennium B.C., the pre-existing civilization was "comparable to, and in communication with the ancient kingdom of Mesopotamia, far older and in most ways more highly developed than that of the Indo-European invaders who established themselves in India, precisely as they did in Babylon, as barbaric rulers of more cultured peoples." Of this pre-Aryan civilization, the Brahui of Baluchistan survived as the north-western language, and the Intermediate group—the Khonds, Gonds, Oraons, Koyas, Kondadoras, Kollamis preserved themselves in the mountain-fastnesses of the regions intending from Bombay to Bengal and from U. P. and Bihar to Hyderabad. It is a strange irony of fate that these two branches associated with the glorious civilization of Mohenjodaro and Harappa should now be living in a primitive state of society.

Their Colossal Ignorance.—Sj. Sahu quotes the presidential address of Prof. Ram Narain Mahanti at the 1941 Annual Conference of Teachers at Cuttack :

> "History gives the proof that from 800 B.C. to 200 B.C. the percentage of literacy in India was 75. . . . At the beginning of the 19th century when British rule began, it was 15. After two hundred years of British rule it has gone down again to 10."

But literacy figures for these hill tribes furnished by the Census Report of 1941 are still more shocking. Pages 52 to 55 of Part X is a summary of the tables prepared on the "random-sample" basis arrived at by taking every fiftieth slip in the Partially Excluded Areas of Orissa :—

Total number of slips so examined	29,345
Among them, literates	453

And, of these, literates in English only 2. In the 1931 Census Report, Part I, page 507, it is stated :

> "In Bihar and Orissa a memorandum of the Government itself submitted to the Statutory Commission states that in the matter of education, the aboriginals of that province . . . are in a worse position than they were in 1921."

If the Government neglects its elementary duty of making the people literate, are the public completely exonerated from all blame ?

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The demon of drink plays a great havoc among these hill tribes. Liquor is part of their festival menu, offering to gods, hospitality to friends and recreation after work. As the author of the Government Report of the Partially Excluded Areas of Bombay, Mr. Smyngton says :

> "Births, marriages, deaths, Panchayat meetings, the presence of guests, festivals, etc., are all taken advantage of as excuses for drunkenness."

The P. E. A. Committee of Orissa also reports :

> "Their indebtedness is mainly due to this reason; drink causes the average aborigine to waste money which might be spent on other necessaries of life. Drink makes him indolent and neglectful of his field work."

Drink not only places him in the clutches of the local exploiters but also accelerates his natural anger and is responsible for most of the offences committed by him.

Mr. Hutton in the 1931 Census Report suggests that

> The Hill tribes "cannot grow sugar and are two poor to buy it. Hence *pachwai* and *tari* are part of their diet. Particularly during the months of summer (hot weather) many take large quantities of light liquor."

There is no doubt that there should be an improvement in his economic condition, which has, to some extent adapted his system during centuries to seek glucose from mild drinks. But merely laying the blame at the door of his economic condition, is not the way of combating the large-scale drink evil among hill tribes. They have got to be cured of it.

They are not so incorrigible drunkards as they are supposed to be. Mr. Smyngton who has toured the aborigines areas of Bombay says that the aboriginal of Bombay has begun to be conscious of the evils of drink. The same is true of many people in these uplands also. The Khonds during the last decade completely gave up drink at the instance of the Kumudaballi Penu (=god) for a few months. Though an inveterate drinker, the aboriginal can, if his reason or imagination is touched, give up drink.

Most insanitary and unhygienic life led by the hillman.—The dirty huts, failure to clean one's teeth or even to wash oneself after answering the calls of nature, and filthy surroundings make him susceptible to diseases in spite of his natural powers of resistance. Malaria, small-pox, leprosy, yaws take a heavy toll of lives. During the last few decades contact with modern civilization (which has been referred to as "syphilization") has spread venereal diseases among them. We will deal with all aspects of this subject when we deal with their dangadi-houses.

Economically the hill tribes lead the most miserable existence imaginable. The figures collected by the Servants of India Society in some villages show that the average *annual* income per capita is slightly above Rs. 20 ! With no food except what he gets from the forests and his uncertain "podu" cultivation, with no clothing except a small strip of cloth to cover his loins (in the extreme interior on the top of high hills, some are said to go even stark naked), with no other protection from the inclemencies of weather than small miserable hovels, and, at the same time with exploiters and money-lenders sucking the very life blood out of him, the aboriginal stands as an object of pity, a pathetic figure with accusing fingers pointed towards the Government and the rest of the nation.

One cannot sum up this subject better than in the language of the P. E. A. Committee of the Government of Orissa, who observe :

> "If adequate protection is not given to them and beneficial schemes to help them are not put into action early, the aborigines will sink still lower and become a drag on the society. It is the sacred duty of the present generation to protect them and help them to protect themselves in every direction and to become efficient and useful citizens in the economic and social structure of the country."

As I sit here penning these few lines near a Khond village at the foot of a hill and near a dense forest to the music of the non-stop spinning-wheels of my fellow Ashramites celebrating the anniversary of the Jallianwalla Bagh, I see before me the vision of a Free India, but one in which the resources of the whole country are harnessed for the common good, and where all communities and tribes march shoulder to shoulder keeping steps and singing to the tune of the same divine music—*Vande Mataram.**

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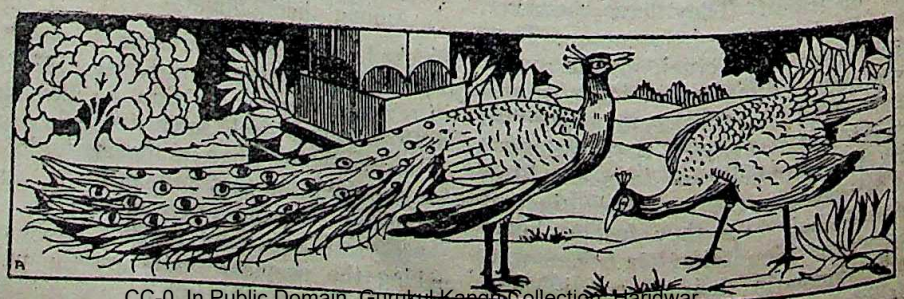
* These two articles are translations of portions of Kad[illegible] Khond) readers written during two and a half years of detention [illegible] a security prisoner and specially adapted to fit in as an appendix [illegible] of Sjt. L. N. Sahu's book on the *Aborigines of Koraput* which [illegible] the press.

It is hoped that not only the concerned Governments but [illegible] entire Indian public (including social service organizations) [illegible] give some thought to the possibilities for development and [illegible] tunities for service in each contiguous block of uplands.



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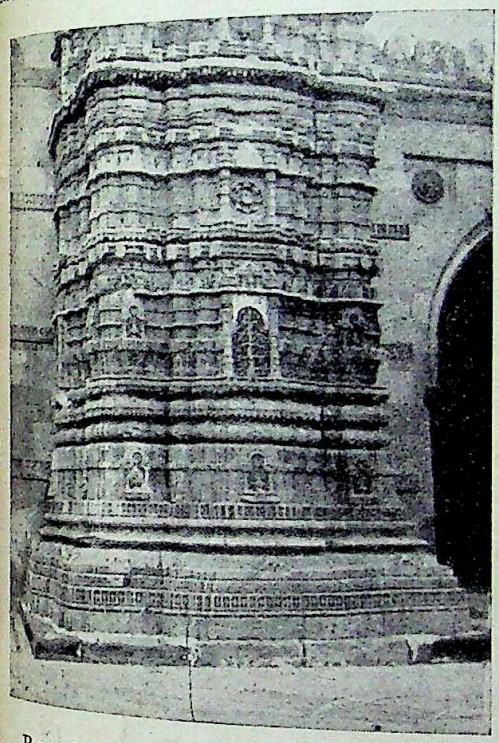
THE INDO-SARACENIC ARCHITECTURE OF AHMEDABAD

By S. I. CLERK

Ahmedabad was for many centuries one of the greatest Muslim capitals in entire India. For more than five hundred years it has maintained its position as the metropolis of Gujerat, formerly, as the seat of regal viceregal courts, to-day, as an important centre of industries and education in the Western India.

Early in 1411, Ahmad Shah, with the advice of his spiritual adviser Shaikh Ahmed Khattu of Surkhej, laid the foundation of Ahmedabad in an open area near the old town of Asawal, to the east of the river Sabarmati. The fifty-three feet high Manek Burj standing at the head of the Ellis Bridge is supposed to be the place where foundation of the city was laid.

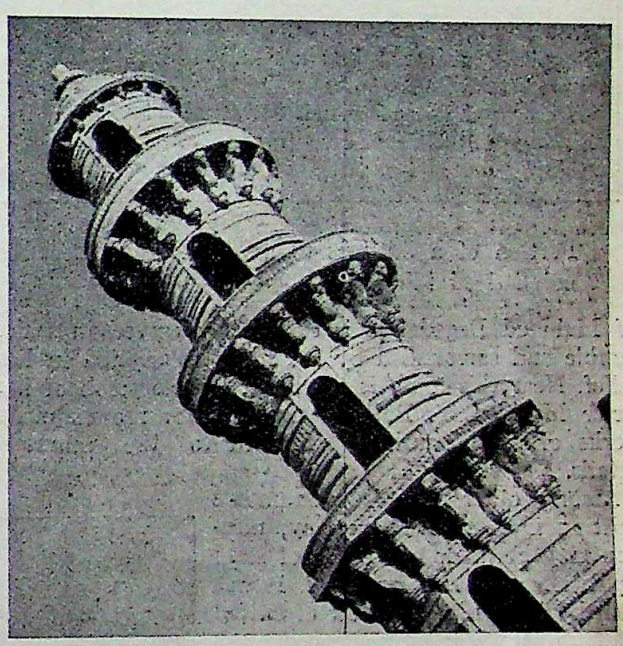


Base of a minaret of Sidi Bashir's Masjid near the railway station. The combination of the Saracenic tree and the Indian lotus motifs in the niches is interesting

The Muslim architecture in Ahmedabad has a distinct local form. It owes its elegant and pleasing character to the fact that it is essentially derived from the local forms which it replaced. It combines the elegance and the finish of the Jaina architecture with the largeness of conception which is the essential characteristic of Muslim architecture. Equally important was also the dependence of the conquerors on the conquered for the materials and the builders.

The majestic Bhadra Towers may be regarded as part of the oldest foundations of the city. They may be classed with the same type of buildings as the Tower of London and the French Bastille. These Towers are just behind the east gate of the walled royal enclosure, 42 squares in area, known as the "Bhadra", the citadel. Bhadra is square in form with several gates, and has many of the oldest monuments of which the private masjid of Ahmad Shah, the mosque of Sidi Sayyid and the Rauza of Ahammad Amin Khan may be seen even to-day. Bhadra was for centuries the royal headquarters.

According to Firishta, Sultan Mahmud Begada built the city-walls in 1487. They are one of the very important relics of the city. They describe a circumference of nearly six miles and used to contain according to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (written by Ali Mahammad Khan in 1750) 12 gates, 189 towers or bastions and over six thousand battlements. These walls were built of burnt brick and mortar. Unfortunately, to-day these walls are in ruins, and after about a decade or two they may be totally destroyed to make room for the ever-expanding city.



The top portion of the minaret of Sidi Bashir's Masjid. This minaret can be shaken from the top, and hence it is known as Zoolto Todo

Probably, the oldest Muhammadan monument in Ahmedabad is Ahmed Shah's Mosque or Chhota Jumma Masjid facing the present Gujerat Club. It was built in 1414. Inside the mosque in the north-west corner, raised on twenty-five pillars is the Muluk Khana or the Royal Gallery closed on the east and the south by beautiful screen work. Next, there is Jami Masjid built by Ahmed Shah in 1424, begun in 1412. It is the most extensive and beautiful of the religious buildings of the city. It is 382 feet by 258 feet, the mosque itself being 210 feet by 95 feet. It stands at an end of a very big courtyard which has a reservoir in the centre and is surrounded on three sides by a covered corridor. It has fifteen domes with about two hundred and sixty graceful pillars. Fine sandstone is used in the building itself, and the pavement is of coarse white marble. In one corner inside the Masjid is Muluk Khana or Royal Gallery.

On the east side of the Jami Masjid is the mausoleum of Ahmed Shah. It is a big domed building

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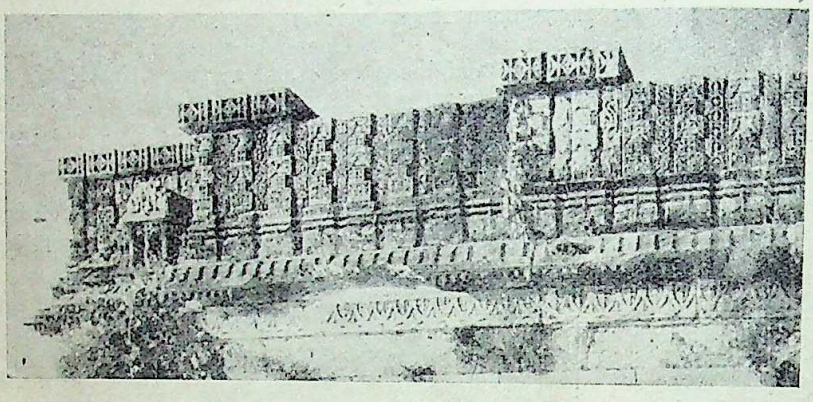
containing a central hall with four square rooms at the corners and four deep pillared verandahs between them. In the centre of the main hall is the tomb of the great Sultan and on either side are those of his son Muhammad II and his grandson Qutb-ud-din Ahmad Shah II, all of beautifully carved white marble. Opposite this mausoleum, on the other side of the Manek Chowk Street, is Ranika Hazira which contains the tombs of the queens where rest the remains of Ahmed Shah's queens on a stone pavement raised ten feet above the ground. The principal tomb is of Bibi Mughali, wife of Sultan Muhmmad Shah II and mother of Mahmud Begada. It is elaborately carved in white marble and surrounded by a Persian inscription in low relief. Near this tomb is the black marble tomb of her sister Murki Bibi. Both of these tombs are exquisite works of art beautifully finished to the minutest details.



Portion of a buttress to an exquisitely carved supply slice to the Kankaria Lake

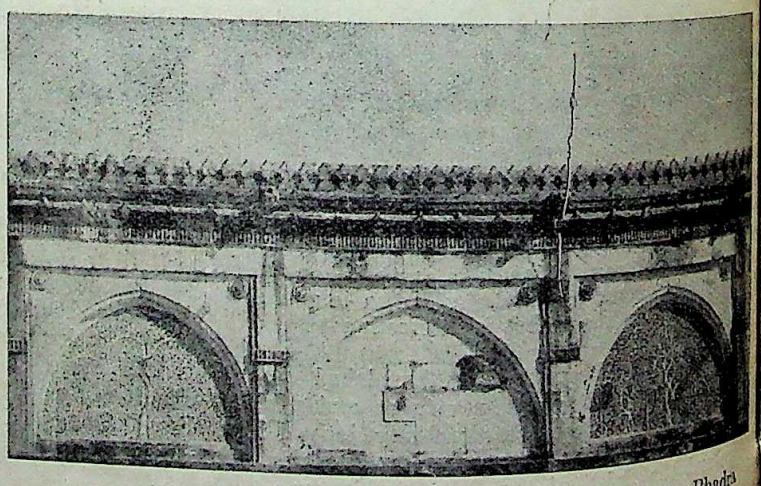
Among other Islamic monuments existing in Ahmedabad to-day, mention may be made of Masjid of Rani Sipari near the Astodya Gate. It was built by Rani Sipari, widow of Sultan Mahmud Begada. The mosque is entirely trabeate in construction and is a beautiful architectural work. Its exquisitely carved minarets are pure ornaments without any internal stairs or galleries. This mosque is only 48 feet by 19 feet; however, its very smallness has made it an exjuisite specimen of the delicate traceries and jewel-like carving of Gujerat which does not appeal much in bigger and more virile structures. Moreover, it is without arches and every portion of it is such as only a Hindu queen could order and only Hindu artists could execute. In front of the mosque is Rauza containing the remains of the Rani. It too is a beautiful representative of the local architectural style.

The Hauz-i-Qutb, or Kankaria Tank situated less than a mile to the south-east of the Raypur Gate was built by Sultan Qutb-ud-din and completed in 1451. The tank is a regular polygon of 34 sides with a circumference of nearly a mile and a quarter. On all its sides are tiers of cutstone steps with six long approaches to the water flanked by square cupolas each raised on 12 pillars. In the centre of the lake is an island connected by a viaduct which was once supp on forty-eight arches. On this island is a g formerly called the Bagh-i-Nagina containing al pleasure-house known as Ghattamandal. To-day, lake is a popular place for evening stroll, espe because of the boating facilities there.

The supply-slice to the east of the Kankaria is beautifully carved. At each of its ends is a buttr the six feet thick screen between the buttresses carefully carved and pierced by three large cir openings, each 6 feet in diameter with ornam margins.

It is in the suburb of Asa north-east of Ahmedabad, that find almost a unique specimen Indo-Saracenic architecture, which mainly utilitarian and not relig It is Bai Harir's Wav or step-wel the proximity of the well of M Bhavani. A Wav is a huge struc of a peculiar design. "It consists a deep well, circular or octagon which is approached by a broad fl of steps descending from the up most platform till the water-level reached. On the landings between flights are pillared galleries, wh tiers are multiplied as the dep increases, and are highly ornamen They serve as supports to counter the inward thrust of the long walls and as cool resting-places in the heat summer."

Surkhej is about five miles from Ahmedabad. was the favourite resort of Mahmud Begada repose and meditation; since the Indo-Saracenic tecture of Ahmedabad is said to have reached its go



Exquisite window tracery in the Sidi Sayyid Masjid in Bhadra

age during his reign, the buildings at Surkhej may taken to represent perhaps the best of that style architecture. It was in 1446 that Sultan Muhamm Shah began to erect in Surkhej a tomb in honour Ahmad Ganj Bakhsh, friend of his father Ahmad Sh founder of Ahmedabad. This tomb is on a raised p form which is approached on one side by an exqui little pavilion raised on sixteen pillars. The g mosque near this tomb has an area about half that the Jami Masjid in Ahmedabad proper. It has arched facade and its roof is of uniform height with

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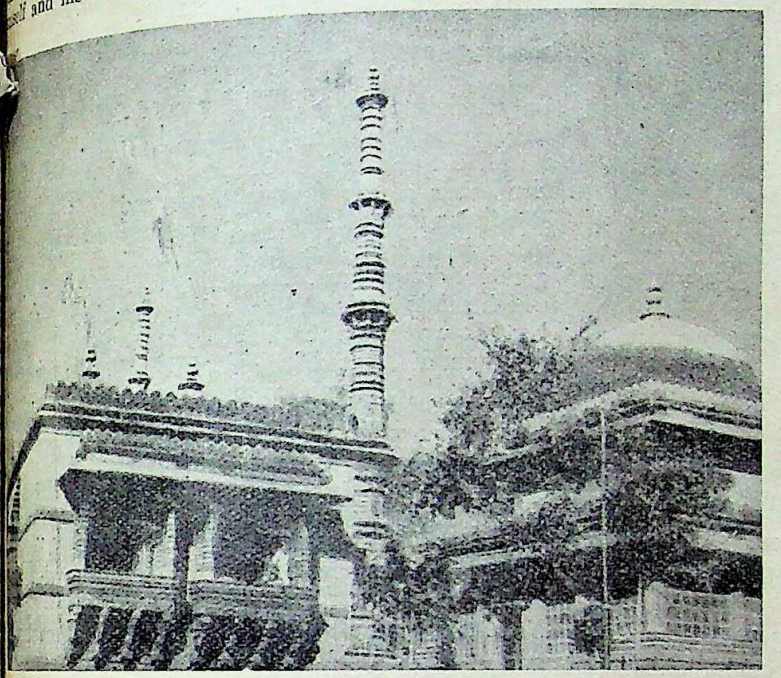
arets. The beautiful lake in Surkhej which Ahmud Begada excavated is about seventeen and a y acres. On its south-east corner and opposite the b of the Saint, Mahmud built a mausoleum for self and his son. On its west stands a smaller tomb



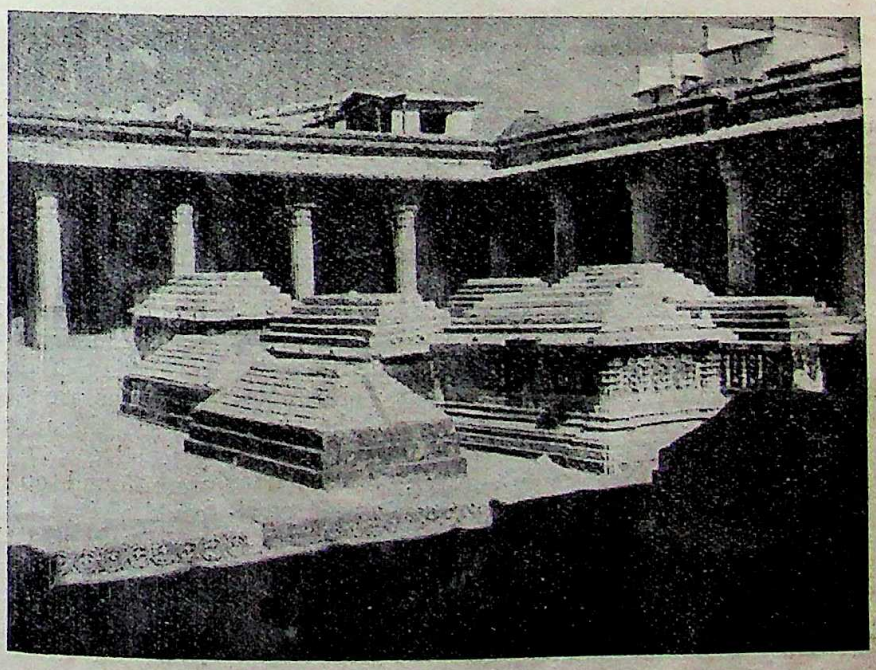
The Masjid of Rani Sipari near the Astodya Gate. Its beautifully carved minarets are purely ornamental and have no internal stairs or galleries

his queen Rajabai. All these uments in Surkhej are of the d simple outline with tall square ; the shafts square with pro- ing bracket-capital on the tops. e older group of monuments has ved in almost perfect condition. rtunately, however, Mahmud da's palace and harem, cons- ed by a later generation are in and desolation. The Sabarmati r once flowed past these Surkhej ings, but to-day it runs a mile the south-east of them.

The architectural beauty of the medabad mosques is based on e main features : the method by h light is introduced in the ing; the graceful minarets; and delicate tracery. "The mosques ally consist of three domes ng on squares of twelve pillars . The central dome is higher the other two, the additional ht being obtained by introduc- two pillars in front twice as high those of the side domes, and by rows of dwarf columns standing the roof of the side squares. e of these columns is generally built a low balus- h richly ornamented by carving, or a beautiful en of perforated stone-work. A clerestory is thus ed, through which a subdued reflected light is introduced into the central apartment of the mosque, while at the same time perfect ventilation is secured."

The architecture of Ahmedabad was the first of the Indo-Saracenic styles which made a methodical use of the minaret as an important part of the mosque. The Ahmedabad minaret is a part of the mosque and not merely a tower built on its roof. Usually, it stands out buttress-like from the ground to the roof of the mosque, relieving its flat front wall. This lower part of the minaret is of pure Hindu architecture ; mostly, these bases are prependicular parts of the basements of Hindu or Jaina temples elongated. The form and the details are all similar except that on the sides of all Hindu temples are niches containing images ; this the Muslims filled with delicate tracery. Above the roof of the mosque the minaret rises—a round, slightly tapering tower, relieved by galleries displaying richness in the carved brackets which support them and in the delicate cut balustrades which protect them. The tower ends in a conical top which is relieved by various disks.

The delicate tracery found in profusion in arches, windows, and screens between the pillars, is the third special feature of the Ahmedabad architecture. It is also



The tombs of the Queens (Rani ka Hazira) in the Manek Chowk

used to fill the niches in the minarets as a substitute of the images used in the Hindu temples. Perhaps the best example of tracery is in the windows of the desecrated mosque of Sidi Sayyid in Bhadra. It vividly conveys an idea of the elaborateness and grace

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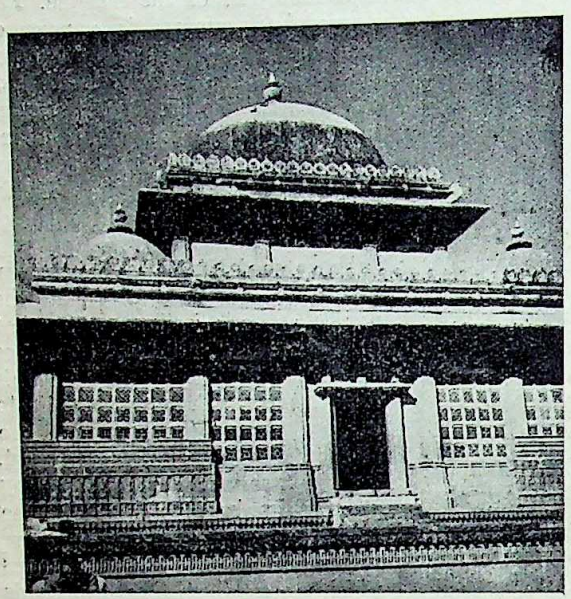
of tracery. Great skill is indeed shown in the even manner in which the pattern of three ordinary trees and four palms is spread over the whole surface in one of these windows.



The Rauza of Rani Sipari. It is trabeate in construction and is surrounded by trellised walls

During its evolution, the Indo-Saracenic archi- of Ahmedabad assumed two distinct forms: a bination of Jaina and Saracenic elements; almost Jaina, made up of constructive forms designed for the arch-hating Hindus. "By the time, the Masjid was built (1424), there was a beautiful bination of the foreign and the local elements, minarets and the arched windows being well comb with the flat Hindu aisles." From about 1446 to only Hindu style is concentrated upon and it is this period that the buildings at Surkhej were Later, till the end of Mahmud Begada's rule, we a number of mosques in the mixed style commin Hindu and Muslim details. In these later mosques other buildings, the architects of Ahmedabad att greater dimensions, but only at the expense of which made their earlier style so exquisite and ing. It was after the building of Rani Sipari Mos the gem of Ahmedabad—in 1514, that the creative of Ahmedabad architecture came almost to a clos

CHRONOLOGY

Ahmad I .. 1411-42	Daud.....1458
Muhammad II. 1442-1451	Mahmud Begada 1458
Qutb-d-din Ahmad II .. 1451-8	Muzaffar II .. 1526

Acknowledgment and reference to (1) *History* *Indian and Eastern Architecture* by Fergusson; *History of Gujarat* by M. S. Commissariat, M.A., L (All quotations in this article are from this book).

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A HOLIDAY IN AMERICA

BY SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

HOLIDAYS are not always pleasant (unless they are accompanied by good sports and friends) and I am not sure that the *news* that I am writing under the title "A Holiday in America" will make it better for the reader than anything more serious or less practical. At the risk of merely telling a story, certainly without a plot, and probably without any point, I shall relate my experience, an experience of an unexpected journey.

I was in California occupying a small room in the Hindusthan Nalanda Club. On every side were the rolling lawns and green trees in a glory of summer greenery. A soft breeze stirred through the wide-spreading elms on one side and ruffled the leaves of sturdy oaks and sugar-maples on another. No such trees adorn a city anywhere in other parts of the world. Each avenue was planted with one variety only. The oaks that lined one street were superb. The great horse-chestnuts that bloomed on another, offered an evergrowing enjoyment of a vista of leaves and flowers. The beauty of shrubs, the ever-greens, the great magnolias of the North, the symmetrical lawn trees that were profusely used to adorn the circles and the small squares, filled me with a sense of peaceful satisfaction. I had seen also on my way to New York the impressive buildings, eleven-storied high, surrounded by gardens with broad stretches of greensward and trees. The lofty arches down the banks of the rivers Missouri and Mississippi rose above, exquisitely decorated with Gumuk, rosettes, palm leaves and foliated designs of wonderful delicacy. In Washington a colossal group of m figures stood on either side, one represe Persico's Columbus and an Indian girl, and the a pioneer in desperate conflict with a savage. B me there were the beautiful bronze doors of Ra Rogers, representing a series of scenes in the li Christopher Columbus, from his first voyage in of the New World to his sad death at Valladol 1506. American avenues are so broad that there no feeling of their being crowded. Up the side-stre saw trees, trees, and trees, and where trees and sv crossed there were so many beautiful little spots green. Deer, bears, panthers, squirrels, and wild tu were found on hunting trips. No intelligent tra could visit America and look upon its beautiful s and its handsome public buildings, without a realization of the value of its citizenship. I had m myself acquainted with one or two towns and where fierce battles were fought during the days American Revolution—fierce because the grounds which they were fought are so tumbled. But all th by the way. My point so far as holidays are con is that at the end of the process I found myself expectedly possessed of a balance of several day was free,—and that is a very pleasant thing to be if one's freedom were to last for less than a fo I was somewhat at a loss to make up my mind how to use this freedom because I lacked experie such things as leisure, but I remembered how some

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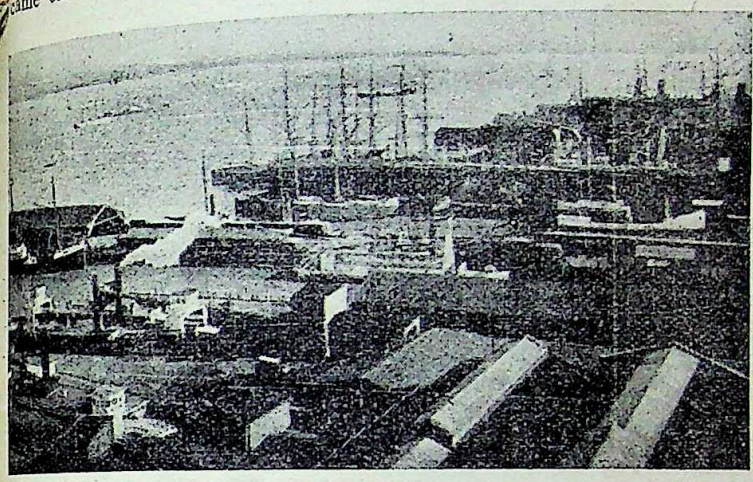
ago in German East Africa I had tried a certain experiment and had brought it off to my complete satisfaction. We all know how dangerous it is to attempt at a repetition of any pleasure, especially a chance pleasure, but I did attempt a repetition this time. Indeed, I almost exactly copied after an interval what I had done years before and to my astonishment came off.



Water Front from Ferry Tower, San Francisco, California

I had come down from Yokohama to a very busy port of San Francisco. The great emigrant liners on their way to South America from Asia and Africa call at the place continually, and the coasting trade in and out of the harbour is considerable. I could not, as one can at some ports (especially in the Pacific), take any direction I chose, but I knew I had something of a choice. So what I did was this. Instead of going to an agent or a shipping line, I got up one early summer morning before anybody was about, except those who had to watch the quays, and determined to find out what boats were starting, and whither, at the earliest moment, and to let chance guide me on my voyage. I made friends with a man extremely poor and intelligent whom I invited to breakfast in a stall that was open at that hour. He was what we call in India a "casual"; he had been unloading cargoes for some days past. He had tramped there, I think, from Cincinnati or from Brandon in Canada. He not only knew every boat in the harbour, where it had come from and where it was bound to, but also, what is not unimportant in America, whether it would really start and when, and what it honestly meant to do apart from its profession.

He gave me a list of all manner of places to which I might go. There was a big Japanese ship for instance in the outer bay very badly trimmed and heavily down by the head and she was going back to Singapore, and was going to touch at Yokohama, Kobe, Shanghai and Hongkong, before she made for Singapore. There was a smaller British Trans-Pacific which on the day after the morrow would aim at Florida in the Gulf of Mexico. There was a boat just in from the Mexican coast. She was taking in cargo and would go round the corner of Lower California and would get into Vancouver before the end of the month. He reviewed all these boats for me, and many others, giving me also the character of their captains so far as he knew it and the sort of life one would lead abroad. He also told me of what he had heard of boats that were likely to come in that day or the next.

I say again, he was a most intelligent man and I wish there were more like him. But, he said, I had better simply step abroad a larger, dirty coasting steamer, all made of iron, and without any fittings for passengers or beauty of any kind, which was lying moored close by us. He said she would wake up at about seven o'clock, and that as her intention was to sail along the coast southward, I should see plenty of things if I travelled in that way.

I thanked him for this advice and did exactly as he had told me. America being (I am glad to say) America, nobody stopped or challenged me or asked me any question as I walked up the gangway in company with a few men who were going to start work at the unloading. I spoke to a man who was dressed very much like a rather slovenly clerk out of work in a suit of dittos, with a muffler in place of a collar, for I judged by his air that he was in authority. I asked him if I might come on board a little later, after I had got provisions and stay on board; and he said he saw no reason why I should not. Freedom is of the essence of a holiday, and I had begun well.

A Portland Residence Street

I went ashore therefore, and bought some provisions just enough to last for a couple of days. I also purchased a copy of Cowen's *Industrial History of America* (it was a volume which dealt with the liberation

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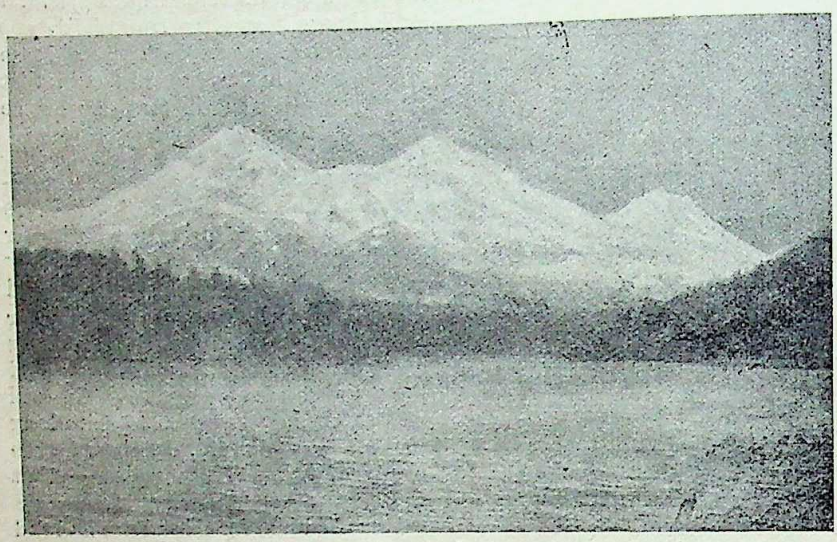
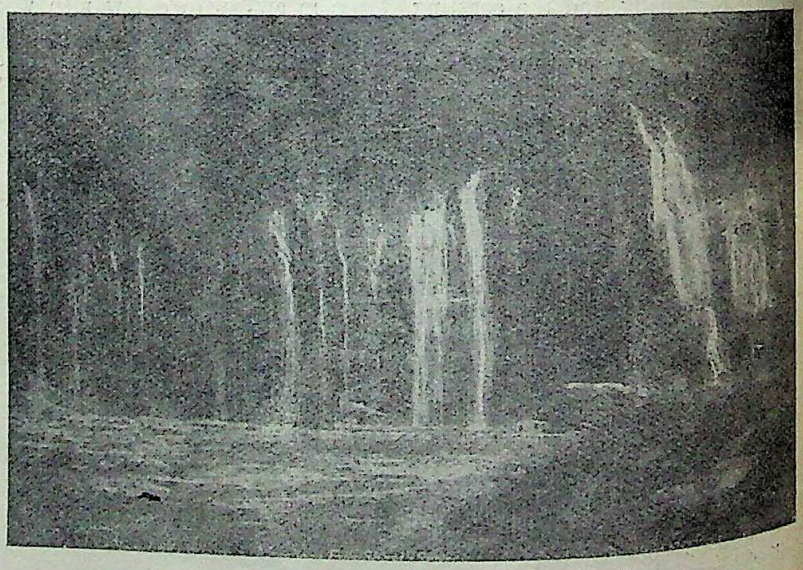
of America and the industrial evolution of that country). I had of course no luggage of any kind. I got upon the iron decks and sat down where I thought I should be least in the way, and watched the world. I noted for hours and hours the unloading of that coastal steamer, and I saw a ring of gardens shut in between mountains and the ocean and in their midst high plateaus, desert-like and bare. This boat had started



The Three Sisters, Oregon. Altitude 10,060 ft.

many days ago from Seattle. She had gone down the Pacific to the great Panama Canal touching on the way various harbours. She had gone through the Yucatan Channel to Jamaica and Cuba. She had been in to the long fiords of Eureka and now she was here; and from her hold there came coal, barrels of oil, tea, coffee, fruits and wheat, and, what interested me much, great bales of Indian hemp, mostly from Bengal, and partly consigned from Madras.

It is astonishing what a mass of Indian work you come across in America even in remote villages. For instance, the fancy leather goods, embroidered silk goods, durees and carpets, and even toys with Indian name upon them, can be seen in the shops, which are sold to wealthy Americans in increased number and rates.



Mossbrae Falls, Shasta Springs, California

I remember once (while I was in the Oregon University) getting shaved in an American village just on the Canadian border and as I cast my eyes upwards I saw on the ceiling a large advertisement of a Kashmiri shawl in English recommending all its virtues. The reason I have remembered that advertisement after so many years is that there was no road to this village of any kind save a rough motor track zig-zagging precipitously over the mountains, and that all news of the outer world came at the best three days later. Well, then, I watched all this unloading and it went on hour after hour. It went on through the broiling heat of an American summer noon, and there seemed no end of it. I asked one man who was a sort of a giant, very good-natured, with negro-blood, when he thought it would be over, and he answered by throwing up his hands towards heaven!

It began to grow dark; a mist crept over the ocean, hiding the big buildings and large streets, or, making them vague and small through the gloom. It was completely dark before the business of that unloading was over, and all the while no one had questioned me or interfered with me in any way, but I had been allowed to sit thus on deck, possessing my soul, and eating my provisions.

At last when it was quite dark, they finished their business quite unexpectedly, and with astonishing celerity. They put the covers on the hatches. They then started,—and their way of starting amused me because it was so simple. All they did was to cast off the ropes which bound them to the shore, to get two men in a boat to pull the nose round a little (and what was well worth seeing, these men were paid casually by the throwing of a coin to them over the side) and then to start the engines slowly and push her out like that. Since they were not of the South, there was no shouting or tramping or anything of what actors call "business". My steamer went off on her voyage as a man goes out of his house putting on his hat and taking his stick. And so she headed past the Golden Gate and into the mist that covered distances on the ocean, hooting through the darkness.

Then I said to myself, "I do not know what I shall have to pay for all this! I do not know just where I am going except that I am going southward and that I am going to see a new land." And all night long we

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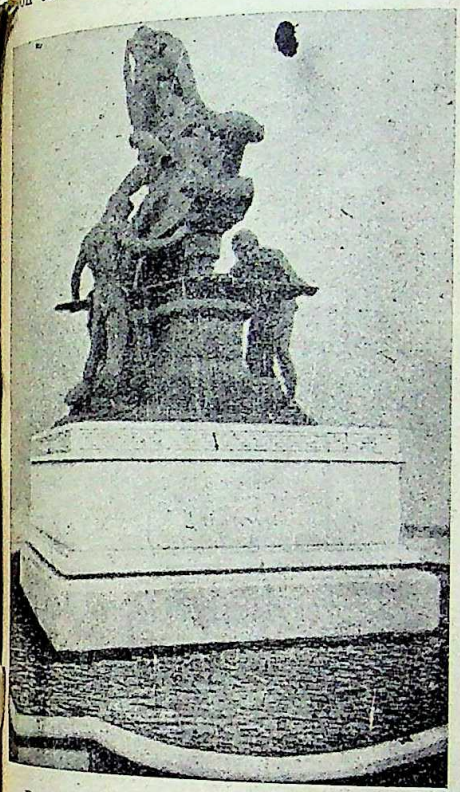
paddled along at seven to eight knots through the mist, hooting cheerfully and receiving counter hoots from time to time from other ships; and once or twice we stopped dead when those hoots were too near. I slept a little in the warm night in spite of the dampness of the mist, taking my ease on deck; for you see America is America, and the spirit of America inhabits not only its land but also its seas and the ships that sail on those seas.



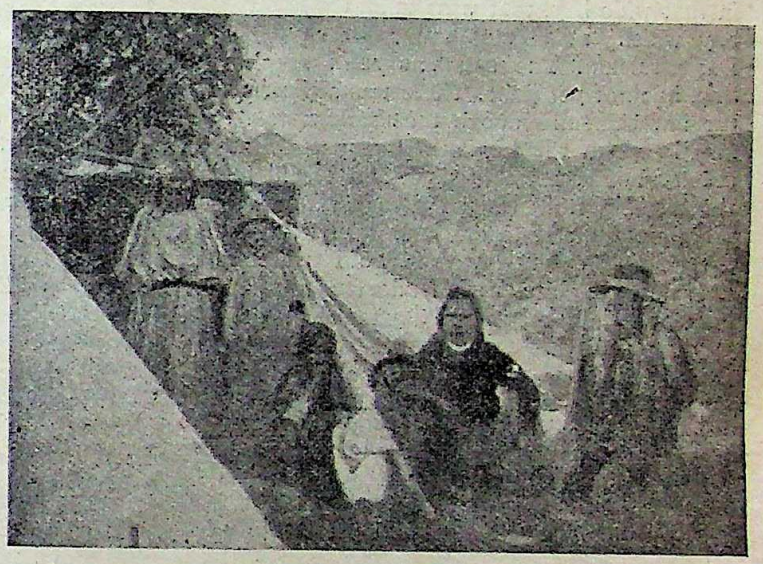
Donahue Monument, San Francisco

A little before dark a wind had blown the mist away, the stars came out, it grew light above the waters before us (the ocean was dead calm and clear) and with the full broadening of the day, I saw what magnificent scenery my adventure was presenting to me, for there upon the left and to the south were high and lonely mountains rising right up out of the sea and against the sky. And it was also with the breaking of the day that a man came and spoke to me as though he had known me all my life, and asked me whether I would have some tea which is to the American what is coffee to the French and chocolate to the English. I said I would like to have and also asked him what I should have to pay for my voyage, for I was getting a little anxious about this. But he was exceedingly courteous and said, "We need not speak of that now", and that is a better way of living to work than taking tickets and having them punched, checked, controlled, lost, found again and finally taken away from one, all to no purpose.

All day long those great mountains stood up out of the ocean and we paddled along (by which I do not mean that we had paddles, for we only had a lazy crew) some few miles from the shore, and I still watched the hills and read my history-book, and then watched the hills and read my book again, and the hills and the story of American Independence got mixed together so that when I think of the one I remember the other now.

The battle between mountains and the sea has been well described by Tennyson. As for the mountains, the highest of them were still white with snow against the intense blue of the south, but their foot-hills, coming down rounded upon the ocean were green and a little clouded. There was a contrast between the jagged rocks, the sharp white, of the summits and the softer approach to the shore. And as I looked at them from day to day, I remembered the 'hilsa' streams which I know (not that I have fished or can or would fish them) and the warm sandy shores of Goalando, where one can doff his hat and play merry tunes as the breeze combs your hair and blows the cobwebs out of your eyes.

Deep down the river was Evans Pass and across the valley was Mount Harvard forded, and on one of



A Red Indian Family

their rare plains shut in with Snake River was La Paz. And it was upon these small valleys semicircular like a hollow shell that a band of restless men first settled after the Revolution. When Champlain came down from Canada to the lake which now bears his name, he looked at the beautiful mountains to the west and said, "Voila les verts monts! Behold the green mountains!" During the Revolution Ethan Allen, Seth Warner and others were active against the British. It was Ethan Allen at the head of a band calling themselves "Green mountain boys" who captured first Ticondrroga, on May 10, 1775 and secured military supplies much needed by the colonists. It was in the rare harbours and river-mouths that the transports anchored and many Germans landed in Philadelphia and went to Western Pennsylvania. Many of them moved even southward into Virginia and the Carolinas. The mountainous coasts down to the gulf of Honduras stood like a wall to keep back the travellers. Much of the Mexican territory has remained a desert to the present day. The people are just learning however that much of the soil needs only water to make it fertile. Accordingly the Government is building dams in the mountains so that the people may preserve the water of the melting snow for use as it is needed instead of allowing it to run to waste.

My second time was much the same,

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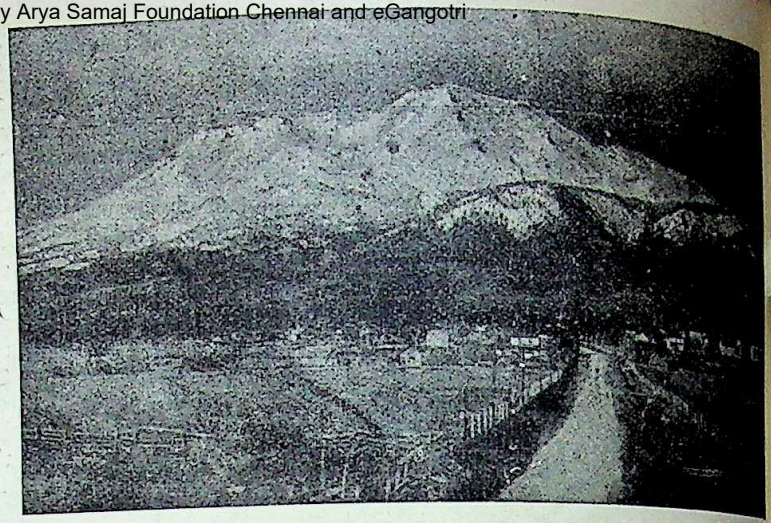
save that the mountains were a little higher, but before evening the boat was headed lazily towards the land; we rounded a point, and I was in that great harbour, where cotton could not be grown but factories manufacturing goods to sell in the south increased in number and size. And a little way further west stood like a lion's head the Great Panama which may in some remote times play a great military part. I was in California again and my two weeks' journey was over, and that was the end of the holiday.



Mt. Shasta. Altitude 14,444 ft.

The tramp steamer cast anchor in that wide bay, that wide inland bay which made me think of Dar-es-salaam. The sun was setting, but not yet gone. There was a pleasant light upon the low sand-hills above the shallow water. Then the man to whom I had spoken of payment came to me and asked whether I would land, and I said to him that I thought I would, though perhaps I should have been wiser and happier to continue during the next week for yet another coasting voyage. So I paid him and went over the side by a rope ladder and down into a little boat and when they had put me ashore upon the great city of San Francisco it was the end of my happy journey.

Now, was not that a holiday? I could draw from it, if I had space, all the morals for all holidays! I had found everything new. It had cost me much less than a travel by the Pacific Coast Railway. It had been fuller than enjoyment from books. The two long days had been days as long and full as the days of childhood.

But when people tell me that such things are difficult or rare, and only for a few, I disagree. All that you need is to abandon yourself and take your chance.

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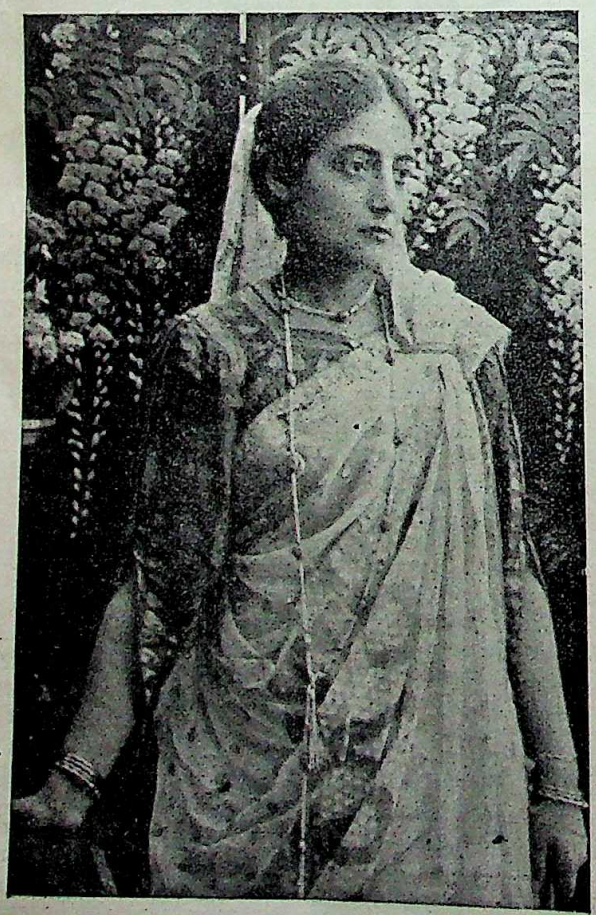

Srimati Indira Devi Chaudhurani

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Srimati Indira Devi Chaudhurani (Mrs. Pramatha Choudhuri) was awarded, at the convocation of the Calcutta University held recently, the Bhubanmohini Dasi Gold Medal, bestowed, since 1935, once in three years on a lady who is deemed by the Syndicate as most eminent for original contributions to Letters or Science written in the Bengali language.

The medal was previously awarded to Sja. Mokshakumari Bose (1935), Sja. Nirupama Devi (1938), and Sja. Anurupa Devi (1941).

Srimati Indira Devi graduated from the Calcutta University in 1892 and obtained the Padmavati Gold Medal, standing first among the lady candidates. She is the author of *Narir Katha*, a collection of essays on a variety of subjects; her other essays are yet to be collected in book-form.

She has also published, in periodicals, translations of essays and short stories from French.

A living repository of the notations of Rabindranath's songs, she published her notations of Tagore's *Mayar Khela* a few years ago, and is now editing a collection of notations of Tagore's *Phalguni* and *Mrigaya*. She is at present "Pro-netri" of the Sangit Bhavan, Santiniketan.

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Delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco : (left to right) Wellington Koo, Georges Bidault, Edward Stettinius, M. Molotov and Clement Attlee

Saudi Arabian delegates at San Francisco : Faisal Ibn Abdul Aziz and other members of the delegation

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The Victoria Tower of the House of Lords was added to the Houses of Parliament in 1860 and is in the Gothic style in which the whole building was designed

The Chamber of the House of Lords. The Woolsack is in the centre and behind it are the thrones occupied by the King and Queen at the opening of each new session of Parliament

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THE HOUSE OF LORDS

By GEORGE CHRIST,
Parliamentary Correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph"

The British House of Lords can claim to be the oldest legislative chamber in the world, and the most numerous in membership of all second chambers. It stands by itself, too, in combining both legislative and judicial authority—and that in a country that insists on a clear separation of the judicial and the political. It is parasitical as well that, yoked to a House of Commons elected on a basis of universal adult suffrage with no sex discrimination, the House of Lords should be based solely on the hereditary principle and should exclude women from membership. Peeresses who hold titles in their own right have unsuccessfully sought to establish a claim to a seat in the Upper House, and are today as far as ever from gaining their point.

In a country inclined to logic in its principles of government, or in one with a rigid written constitution, a system containing so many anomalies could hardly have survived. Yet after an existence of over eight centuries the House of Lords remains an essential and important part of the British constitution. It is true that its powers have frequently been modified since Norman times when it met as the King's Great Council, and its composition remains fundamentally the same, in that it comprises bishops, known as the Lords Spiritual, and peers, known as the Lords Temporal.

Before the Reformation the ecclesiastical representation had a majority, but today it is in a small minority of 26 in an assembly of nearly 800. The creation of new peerages has increased the membership of the House by about 200 in the course of the present century.

The modern practice of raising to the peerage distinguished men in all walks of life, in the professions, the arts and sciences, the Armed Forces, politics, industry, commerce and the trade union world, has introduced into the House of Lords some of the characteristics of the Senates in other countries. The titles of about a number of the Lords today have been created since 1900, but old families like the Howards, the Cecils and the Cavendishes, with peerages centuries old, still play as active a part as ever in its life.

The House of Commons has shown jealousy of the House of Lords ever since the two chambers became separate entities six centuries ago. Conflicts between them have been frequent, and came to a head in 1909 when the House of Lords rejected Mr. Lloyd George's Budget. The House of Commons maintained that a self-elected body should have no voice in the raising and spending of public money. A bitter fight ended in one of the landmarks of British constitutional development—the 1911 Parliament Act.

This modified the powers of the House of Lords, reducing it to a delaying chamber by removing its right to amend or reject any bill concerned with public finance, and establishing that any bill passed by the House of Commons in three sessions must become law within two years, if necessary without the approval of the Lords.

As old as the legislative functions of the House of Lords are its judicial functions. These were first exercised in the Middle Ages when justice was administered by the King in his Great Council. With the growth of a more complex system of law courts the House of Lords has evolved into the supreme court of appeal, before which both civil and criminal appeals can be brought. Theoretically all 800 peers may attend judicial sittings of the House, and join in delivering judgment.

In practice it is a hundred years since any but a peer with the necessary legal status has done so. The Lords would have lost its judicial functions before now if it had not made practical arrangements to form a court commanding the highest respect. There has been a departure from the normal hereditary principle to allow the appeal judges to be made peers for life only. With the Lord Chancellor presiding they, and they alone, constitute the House of Lords when it sits as a court of appeal.

The Lord Chancellor himself embodies the dual nature of the House of Lords. He is a judge of the High Court. Yet he is a party politician, normally with a seat in the Cabinet, and its chief legal adviser. In practice no conflict ever arises between his judicial and political loyalties. To add to the peculiarities of the office the Lord Chancellor is also the Speaker of the House of Lords, presiding at its meetings from the red-covered Woolsack—emblem of Britain's original staple trade.

Unlike the Speaker of the House of Commons he does not have to eschew party politics. He has, and usually exercises, the right to speak in debates, and he has the same right as all other peers to vote. His duties as Speaker are not onerous, since the Lords keep all questions of order in their own collective hands. On the rare occasions when it is necessary to restrain a peer in debate it is done by considering a motion that "he be no longer heard."

The House of Lords still exists as an original court of trial. By ancient statute it alone can try a Peer of the Realm for treason or felony. There have been two trials of peers by the House in the past 40 years. Spectacular affairs they were, too. Every peer is entitled and encouraged to attend. Full robes must be worn. At the end of the trial each member must rise in turn, starting with the most junior, and give his verdict.

Impeachment is the other judicial function of the House of Lords. It is resorted to for offences against the State not covered by ordinary laws. It is now-a-days an event of the greatest rarity which has not risen for nearly 150 years. It is the House of Commons that acts first by passing a bill finding the charge. The Commons then take the charge to the House of Lords acting as prosecutor. The Lords try it as a combination of judge and jury.

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HINDU MARRIAGE REFORMS

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)

The Hindu Marriage Reforms, proposed by the Rau Committee, fall under three main heads: (1) Monogamy, (2) Divorce, and (3) Inter-caste and Sagotra Marriage. As natural, the orthodox section of the Hindu community is opposing the proposed Reforms tooth and nail on the plea that they are absolutely opposed to the scriptures. Here two pertinent questions may be asked: First, what exactly is the meaning of "Sastra"? Secondly, how far can the "Sastras" claim to regulate civic laws and legislations even after thousands of years and even under changed conditions? As regards the first question, there can be no difference of opinion that the Vedas are the real scriptures of Hindus; while Smritis, Puranas, etc., can be so regarded only so far as they clarify, expound and supplement the Vedas. The Smritikaras themselves admit that the Vedas are the main source of "Dharma" or laws, etc., regarding marriage, adoption, inheritance and numerous such topics. Further, they go so far as to admit even that when there is any opposition between Sruti (scripture) and Smriti, the former is to be followed, not the latter. Hence, it is clear that only those Smritis that conform to the letter, and what is more, to the spirit of the Vedas, can be taken as authoritatives as scripture; and not those that are opposed to Vedic teaching and tradition. It is true that in the Vedas we do not find any systematic exposition of the Dharmas, and they are silent or not very explicit on some important questions. But still, here too, those Smritis alone that tally with the general spirit and culture of the Vedic tradition can be called real Dharma-Sastras, and accepted as scriptural authority. As regards the second question, it involves the deep problem of the real relation between the spiritual and the secular and between the old and the new, and how far can and ought the former influence and mould the latter. This is not the place to discuss this difficult question. But it is an admitted fact that an unwarrantable mixture of the spiritual with the secular and the failure to keep the latter on a sound, practical, scientific and common-sense level, as well as an altogether blind faith in antiquity irrespective of the urgent needs of changing times that have been the causes of many evils in our society.

Now, if by scriptures we mean only the Vedas and those that conform to the Vedas, then the objection that the proposed Reforms are absolutely opposed to the scripture at once falls to the ground. First, let us take Monogamy. It is true that monogamy has never been enforced by law in India even during the Vedic Ages. For example, a hymn in the Rig Veda (X. 145) contains a charm to win away the husband from a co-wife. In another hymn (X. 159) Sachi claims to have vanquished and killed all co-wives to rule supreme over Indra. According to Maitrayani Samhita (I. 5. 8), Manu had ten wives; and according to Aitareya Brahmana (VII. 13.), King Harischandra had as many as a hundred wives. Sometimes, several princesses and their slave-girls were given in marriage to the same priest. (Rig-Veda viii. 19. 36, etc.). But, in the Samhitas, some passages indicating polyandry also are found. In the Rig-Veda (I. 167. 4. 5.), we find a reference to Rodasi, the "sadharani" or the common wives of Maruts. Suryya, the common wife of the Asvins, is also mentioned sometimes in the Rig-Veda. In Atharva-Veda, too, (V. 17. 8. 9), there is a reference a woman having ten former husbands. Whatever the case, there is ample evidence to show that neither polygamy nor polyandry, but monogamy alone was Vedic ideal. We may cite two kinds of direct evidence for this. First, the Vedic Mantras clearly prove it. We have numerous passages in the Atharva Veda where constancy of conjugal affections is earnestly sought by both men and women. (II. 30. 2. 5., etc.). The word "Dampati" frequently used in the Rig-Veda (V. 3. etc.), and the poetic metaphor of a pair of love-birds (chakravaka) mentioned in the Atharva Veda (IX. 2. 64) strongly suggest the ideal of monogamy. And from these, the famous Vedic marriage mantras prove beyond doubt that monogamy was the ideal and rule of the day. For example, the bridegroom says to the bride. "Abide here together, may you never be separated, live together all your life . . . May Aryaman unite us together until old age. . . ., Be a queen to thy father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law. May the universal gods unite both our hearts." (Rig-Veda X 85.). Secondly, the status of the first wife as compared with that of other wives clearly shows that monogamy alone was the spiritual ideal while polygamy was allowed only as a second best provision for physical considerations. The first wife alone was the *patni*, literally meaning "participant in religious sacrifices; while the other wives were mere *bhogini*, literally meaning "participators in carnal delights." Thus, in the Vedic rituals, the first wife alone participates with her husband in the rites undertaken for supreme bliss, *viz.*, religious merit or salvation; other wives are allowed to participate only in those rites that are meant for mere earthly bliss. But even in these latter cases, it is the first wife who performs all the important rites. It is she who kindles the fire, pounds and husks the rice, occupies the best seat, eats the sacrificial cake and so on. It is she alone who participates with her husband in kindling the fire (Agnyadhana) and constantly keeping them alive (Agnihotra). Examples may be indefinitely multiplied to show the spiritual value of monogamy from the very high spiritual status of the first wife. That monogamy was the ideal may be indirectly proved also by the fact that Vedic marriages were mostly of the Gandharva type (love-marriages). It is no wonder that of the eight kinds of marriage known in ancient India, *viz.*, Brahma (the bride is offered by her father to the bridegroom), Daiva (she is given away by her father to a priest), Arsa (the bride's father accepts a pair of kine from the bridegroom), Prajapatya (the bridegroom proposes marriage), Gandharva (love marriage), Asura (the bride's father accepts money from the groom), Paisacha (the bride is abducted when her relatives are sleeping), and Raksasa (she is abducted by killing her relatives)—the Gandharva was the ideal of the day. For as is well-known, daughters in those days, were given equal education and freedom with sons and allowed to mix with boys in houses of preceptors, sacrifices, tournament, debates, etc. And love-marriage was the order of the day, then there can be no doubt that the general tendency was towards monogamy.

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Even some of the Smritis try to hold up this noble ideal of Monogamy in two ways. First, many of them declare that only the first wife is a "Dharma-Patni", others are merely "rati-vardhini" (for carnal delight), and that religious merit can be obtained only through the former, while mere earthly benefits through the latter. (Daksa, IV. 15.) Secondly, they allowed polygamy under certain stringent conditions. For example, Manu (IX. 80) holds that a man may at once re-marry only when his former wife is a drunkard, of bad conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous, wasteful, or quarrelsome. But if she hates him, he should wait one year, if she be barren eight years, if she be one whose children die ten years, and if she bears only daughters eleven years before re-marrying. (IX. 81.). Manu further recommends that if a sick wife be kind and virtuous, husband can marry only with her consent (IX. 82.). Yajnavalkyasmbha similarly holds that a man may re-marry only when the first wife is barren and lacking in dharma (II. 5. 11.); but if he abandons his wife without crime and reason, he must expiate for it by putting on the skin of an ass and by begging from door to door for six months (I. 10. 28.). Narada also recommends that man should be fined if he abandons a wife who has been and who is obedient, chaste, sweet-tongued and active. Kautilya also holds that if a man violates the rules of waiting (*viz.*, eight years in case of a barren wife etc.), he should not only be fined, but also be made to pay compensation to the wife. But in the modern Hindu society, a man may marry as many wives as he likes, even without any sufficient cause; while a woman is not allowed to divorce her husband even on the strongest possible grounds; and even widow marriage is not tolerated by society. That the so-called Vedic Hindu society has so long fostered this utterly one-sided and unjust institution of polygamy is a clear proof how the real Vedic tradition is being ignored by us. Strange that even some educated men have thought it fit to raise their voice of protest against this very just provision of the Rau Committee!

Inter-caste marriage, too, was allowed in the Vedas. This was but natural, considering the fact that Vedic marriages were in many cases love-marriages, and love, as is well-known, laughs at external, artificial barriers of caste and creed. The cases of Brahmanas marrying Kshatriyas are the sage Chyavana who married King Saryata's daughter Sukanya (Satapatha Br. IV. 1. 5. 7.); the sage Syavasva who married king Rathaviti's daughter (Brihaddevata). According to Aitareya Brahmana (2. 19. 1.), Kavasa Ailusa was born of a Brahmin father and a Sudra mother. Satapatha Brahmana (XIII. 2.) and Taittiriya Brahmana (III. 7. 3) speak of kings marrying Vaisya girls. The Panchavimsa Brahmana (XIV. 11. 17) mention the sage Gobhamas as the son of the slave girl Usij (cf. Brihaddevata). The Yajur-Veda Samhitas mention "Yogu" or Aryya women married to Sudras.

In the Smritis, too, two kinds of inter-caste marriage are spoken of, *viz.*, anuloma (a man of higher caste marrying a woman of lower caste) and pratiloma (a woman of lower caste marrying a woman of higher caste). Anuloma dvijati marriages, or marriages of Brahmans with Kshatriya and Vaisya women and of Kshatriyas with Vaisya girls, were allowed; and according to Gautama (4. 16) and Baudhayana (1. 17. 3), sons of such marriages have equal status. The marriage of a man of a higher class to a Sudra woman, too, was allowed, but to a lesser extent, and opinion was divided on this. According to Manu (3. 46), on marrying a higher class, a Kshatriya girl should take hold of an arrow, a Vaisya girl of a goad, a Sudra girl of the hem of the bridegroom's garment. If a Brahman marries women of all the four castes, the son by the Brahman wife is entitled to four shares, the son by the Kshatriya wife to three shares, the son by Vaisya wife to two shares and the son by a Sudra wife only to one share. (Manu. IX. 152). Pratiloma marriages were generally condemned. But in the modern Hindu society inter-caste marriage is not allowed in any form.

As regards Divorce, the Vedas are silent about it. Perhaps polygamy, coupled with polyandry, was thought quite sufficient. But the Smritis, in general, regard marriage as indissoluble. The husband, of course, may abandon a wife and marry again; but a wife, on her side, is never, under any circumstance, released from wifehood; and can never, as such, remarry. But even here at least two Smritis, *viz.*, Narada (XII. 97) and Parasara (IV. 26), hold that a woman may re-marry under the following five conditions, *viz.*, when the husband is lost, dead, impotent, when he has become an ascetic or been outcasted. Narada holds (XII. 98-101) that before remarrying, a childless Brahmin woman should wait for her absent husband for four years, and eight years if she has issue; a Kshatriya woman should wait three or six years, and a Vaisya woman two or four years accordingly as they are childless or without issue respectively. But, no such definite period is prescribed for a Sudra woman. In the Vasistha Smriti, twelve kinds of sons are mentioned (Chap. 17) of which the following six are entitled to property and are regarded as props and saviours :—son by a lawfully wedded wife, son of Niyoga (*i.e.*, the wife is enjoined by the husband to procreate through another man), son of a putrika (*i.e.*, of a brotherless daughter, regarded as the son of her father. The son of such a daughter becomes the son of his maternal-grandfather), son of a punarbhu (*i.e.*, one who re-marries when her husband is dead, or is impotent, insane and expelled from caste), son of an unwedded mother (such a son is the son of his maternal grandfather), and son born in secret. From this it is clear that divorce was allowed, and the sons of such re-marriages had legal status. According to Kautilya (Arthasastra III), if a woman hates her husband and loves another man, she should return his gifts to him and allow him to go to another woman; and if a man hates his wife, he should allow her to take shelter in the house of her lawful guardian, etc. But neither a man nor a woman can dissolve marriage without mutual consent; but in some forms of marriage, divorce is allowable, when there is mutual enmity. The second condition of divorce is apprehension of danger from the other party; and here the man should return to his wife the gifts she received on the occasion of her marriage, and the wife forfeits her claim to property.

We have shown above, as briefly as possible, that Monogamy, Inter-Caste marriage, Divorce, etc., are not opposed to the scriptures, and not even to many Smritis. The fact is that there is a good deal of diversity among the Smritis on almost all important points. Most of them practically deprive women of almost all their birth-rights; though a few may be found that very justly delegate many of those rights to them. But it is these latter few that really conform to the Vedas, for, as is well-known, the Vedic code was one of

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equality of the sexes. Strange that modern Hindu society, though claiming to be based on the Vedas, has, for the most part accepted the former class of Smritis, we do not know according to what criterion. And, accordingly, a great hue and cry has been raised that "scriptures are in danger"! Now, whether the further sanction of scriptures is absolutely necessary even when a measure is thought desirable from every point of view, according to all the codes of justice and according to the urgent needs of changing times—is really a doubtful question. But whatever be the case, a reformer, seeking public sanction, must, in our country, first show the scriptural authority for those proposed reforms. Otherwise, he has very little chance of being listened to, for, even many educated men hesitate to support a measure, otherwise quite alright, if it be not sanctioned by the scriptures as well. Fortunately, however, our own scriptures, properly understood, are solidly in favour of an equal status of women with men; and hence the cry of "scriptures in danger" is really an absolutely false one. We have here only tried to show generally that the proposed Marriage Reforms are not at all heretical innovations—that they are supremely desirable, imperfect though they are, on grounds of justice and independent reasoning no is a fact that can never be consistently denied.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that our Smritikaras have laid the greatest emphasis on re The famous Smarta Brihaspati has declared in equivocal language that "duties are not to be d mined on the basis of the scriptures alone. If there a (blind) acceptance of a law without due reason, would entail a failure of justice"[1] Our own Jim vahana also has voiced the opinion in his Vyava Matrika, that "what is just and reasonable can n be made unjust and unreasonable even by a thou texts."[2] Hence, really Reason alone should have final say in every matter, whether there be a fe sanction of authority, or not.

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१. केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः।
युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते॥

Brihaspati-Smriti, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXXXV, (1. 114).

२. उपपन्नमनुपन्नं कर्तुं शक्यं न हि वचनसहस्रैः॥

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LINGUA FRANCA FOR INDIA

By MD. SHAHIDULLAH, M.A., D.Litt.,
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RECENTLY the Hindustani Prachar Sabha at Wardhaganj has decided that Hindustani should be the *lingua franca* for India with Nagri and Urdu scripts. Mahatma Gandhi has given his blessings to this. To me, however, it occurs that those who advocate for one *lingua franca* for India are obsessed with the idea that in one state there can be only one official language or *lingua franca*. As a matter of fact, there are several states or countries with more than one official language. Canada has English and French. Belgium has French and Flemish. Switzerland has three—French, German and Italian. U.S.S.R. recognises all the different languages under the Union.

We cannot shut our eyes to one fact that although we may ask Englishmen to quit India, we cannot and should not give up the English language. This is necessary for the acquisition of modern knowledge in science and for world politics. In fact it is the common medium of thought and communication in almost all All-India conferences like the All-India Oriental conference, Science conference, Historical conference, etc.

Now coming to practice from theory the curriculum of studies must include under the new scheme a plurality of languages. A Bengali student must learn (besides his mother tongue Bengali and the international language English) Hindustani with two scripts. A Hindu boy may naturally take up Sanskrit and a Muslim boy Arabic or Persian as his classical language. So in all a Bengali boy must learn four languages and four scripts. So much valuable time is bound to be lost in learning languages and scripts. An educationist cannot but deplore such wastage in education.

So I am of opinion that if we should have one *lingua franca* for India, we must retain English. But if it hurt any body's patriotic sense, it may be called Indian just as the Americans call their language American though essentially it is not at all different from English.

If there is a strong (unscientific) prejudice against this view, my alternative proposal is to have three or four official languages for India in three zones as in Switzerland. In the Eastern zone, the homelands of Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Bihari (*i.e.*, the old province of Bengal or Subah Bengal) Bengali should be the official language. In the middle zone, the homelands of Hindi, Urdu, Panjabi, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Nepali, Hindi and Urdu should be the official languages. In the Deccan, the homelands of Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, Malayalam, Kudagu and Tulu, I shall leave the selection of the official language or languages to the speakers themselves. I should like it should not dictate that one or two of the other languages of Northern India may be adopted as the official language. As Bengali has no chance, I should like to see Hindi and Urdu as the official language in the Deccan. This will culturally link up the Deccan with Northern India. Considering the fact that India is a vast sub-continent equal to Europe minus Russia, the proposal for 3 or 4 official languages is very small indeed.

On literary grounds I have objections against Hindustani as proposed by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha as also against the Bazar Hindi, the pet idea of my friend Dr. S. K. Chatterji of the Calcutta University. Hindustani will be a somewhat artificial language by the side of the living and ever-growing Hindi and Urdu. This artificial language like Esperanto may be our intercommunal or inter-provincial language

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But it cannot foster literature, which is the natural outcome of the inner urge of the author. Moreover, for scientific nomenclature you cannot have Hindustani, for you shall have to borrow words from foreign languages or Arabic or Sanskrit, as the village folk have no ready-made word for scientific terms. It will be almost impossible to coin scientific and technical words in Hindustani without borrowing. Take for example, the *centre* is in Sanskrit *Kendra* which has been adopted by Hindi and *Markaz* in Arabic, which has been adopted by Urdu. You cannot have a word for such terms which is neither Arabic nor Persian nor Sanskrit. It is better to adopt both living Hindi and Urdu in place of a single theoretical Hindustani. For one knowing Hindi it is a very easy matter to master Urdu in a few months and *vice versa*. There is no harm in having two official languages in the same province as in Canada.

As for Urdu it has a distinct advantage over Hindi. Being written in a modified Arabic script and having a number of Arabic and Persian words incorporated in it, it can serve the purpose of an international language like Esperanto from Morocco to China. I admit the script is somewhat unscientific, but it can be easily reformed. I insist on its early reform for popularising Urdu. Of course, Devanagari is a scientific script; but it is not widely known outside the midland of India. But I should like that this Devanagri script may be adopted for the different Sanskritic languages barring Urdu, Pashtu and Sindhi and for the Dravidian languages barring Tamil and Malayalam. So that before attempting the adoption of any *lingua franca* for India, we may have only three scripts all over the country—Devanagri, Persico-Arabic and Tamil in place of ten scripts that are current in India *viz.* Bengali (Assamese), Oriya, Devanagari, Gurumukhi, Sarada (Kashmiri), Gujarati, Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese and Persico-Arabic (for Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Pashtu). The adoption of the Roman script for all the Indian languages will be very useful for telegraphic communication and for international purposes outside India as well. But I am afraid it will take time to remove prejudice against it. Moreover, it has its disadvantages as requiring many dotted consonants and barred vowels.

I have reason to believe that Hindustani with Urdu and Nagri scripts has been decided upon for communal considerations. If it is so, then the best solution will be to have Sanskrit and Arabic as two national languages for India. Every Hindu will bow down his head to Sanskrit as every Muslim to Arabic, which two are their sacred languages. Arabic is a living language of the Near East and shows signs of revival. Sanskrit though a dead language can be easily acquired by one whose mother tongue is a Sanskritic vernacular like Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, etc. In many European universities both Greek and Latin are taught as classical languages. So it will not be very difficult to learn both Sanskrit and Arabic. Moreover, by knowing the languages of culture of Hindus and Musalmans, there will be better understanding between the two communities, which is essentially necessary for the advancement of the country, materially and morally.

After all these alternative proposals, I again emphasize the claim of English as the *lingua franca* for India with a new name Indian and with some spelling reform, if you should like.

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AN IMPERFECT REPORT

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

The Famine Enquiry Commission Report on Bengal, otherwise a rather impartial document, fails, however, in certain essential points. It may be that the Commissioners wanted to avoid all references to persons and personalities and to attach praise or blame to institutions only, and through them to the actors in the most tragic drama of the twentieth century. But this is hardly sufficient to satisfy the exigencies of the situation. Through the published proceedings of the legislatures, statements of officials and press notes the public have formed their own judgment about responsibility of individuals but they would certainly have welcomed corroboration of their views from the Commissioners who had had the opportunity of meeting some of these persons and cross-examining them on relevant points.

There are other serious omissions of material facts which have robbed much force from the Report. These should have found prominent place in the document to give a complete picture of the famine, at least of the more salient points.

As the Report forms part of the history of the famine, omission of the name of His Excellency Sir John Herbert and the part he played in the drama is regretted. His Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, protested against his Excellency's "personal interference in total disregard of ministerial responsibilities....and issuing of a mandate to the Joint Secretary....in the matter of rice removal policy." With regard to the Boat Removal Policy, the Governor had "all along been acting under the advice and guidance of some permanet officials without taking the Ministers into confidence." Mr. Fazlul Huq also recorded his strong disapproval, on Jan. 9, 1943, of the whole policy the Governor and some of his officers had been pursuing since April 1941, regarding the matter of foodstuffs and supplies. He had the boldness to charge the Governor "with partizanship and violation of his Instrument of Instructions." There was no answer from the other side. The "Report" contains, against this accusation, the following passage, "We are satisfied from the material which has been placed before us that important issues of food policy and administration were referred to the Cabinet and decisions taken in the normal way." But the grave charge of issuing mandates without the knowledge of the Chief and/or other Ministers remains unanswered and these relate to the Denial policies regarding *Boat* and *Rice*.

About Lord Linlithgow, the *zubberdust* Viceroy and Governor-General of India during the most fateful days of Indian history, the less said the better. He was at the helm of the administration of India. He

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was for some time also in charge of the Food Department of the Government of India. The people have not been able to know anything about the activities and achievements of the most important functionary in the whole government except that a most barren policy had been pursued during the seven years of His Excellency's stay in India, that there had been one of the worst repressions in the civilized world and one of the worst famines in recorded history. When people had been dying in millions, His Excellency was busy touring the territories of the Princes by way of farewell visits, and at a great personal risk waiting on *machans* for arranged *shikar* of wild beasts that had been ravaging the forest and killing some of its denizens. The weak must be protected against the strong because otherwise black stain would attach to the fair name (and skin) of the Executive Head of British India. When the famine was at its peak, His Excellency "was busy packing his trunks." "A friend of the bovine species, he perhaps would have been more interested, had it been a case of cattle epidemic in Bengal," was the surmise of Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Assembly on Nov. 15, 1943. He suggested another reason for the noble Lord's turning his face against Bengal and Mr. Neogy, in anguish, asked, "Was it because a sense of constitutional chastity prevented him from visiting Bengal in those days?"

Then, what should we say about Mr. Amery, the most notable Secretary of State for India and of the Government he represents in the India Office? The only comparison that holds good in the present case is that of the Roman Emperor Nero who fiddled joyously while the capital city was fiercely burning, dealing death and devastation to the innumerable inhabitants of the city. Mr. Amery's attitude was all along marked by uncommon light-heartedness and as having no sense of reality of the situation. In the Parliament he deliberately minimised the gravity of the situation and endeavoured to persuade people to believe and to proclaim the worst famine to be a 'mere scarcity.' He and he alone by his act and utterances prevented the kind-hearted people of other lands to come forward with help, monetary and otherwise.

Something must be said about the British Parliament and the news service, *Reuter*, which professes to be despatching international news most impartially. On September 23, 1943, *Reuter* reported that in the House of Commons "intense interest was shown by Members who flocked into the House to hear Government's view and the steps being taken to overcome the crisis." On Oct. 12, according to *Reuter*, the Secretary of State "aroused the keenest interest in the House." On Nov. 4, 1943:

> "After reading for many days past the harrowing account of distress caused by the Bengal famine, Members of Parliament assembled to-day to debate the situation....The attendance, both on the floor of the House and in the galleries was mainly composed of people with special interest in India. Mrs. Amery, wife of the Secretary of State, was in the Speaker's gallery."

People will be interested to note that the attendance in the House taking sometimes 'intense' sometimes 'keenest' interest in India's food situation never exceeded 53 and was at times 35, in a House of over 600 and odd members.

Of course, the Governments of Bengal and India have been castigated for their many sins of omission and commission, but it would have been better if the Hon'ble the Civil Supplies Minister of Bengal and his able colleagues were individually given their meed of praise and blame. The 'food shortage' propaganda has received the severest condemnation from the Commissioners but other pieces of lying propaganda of similar nature should have received the same degree of their attention. But this does not matter much, because the people of Bengal who have survived the famine would remember with indignation the exploits of the team of happy ministers brought into existence through the subterfuge of a Governor who is no less or rather more responsible for turning, in the language of the Commissioners, scarcity into a famine of immeasureable magnitude.

Of all the individual causes that contributed in a very large measure to the ravages of famine, 'profiteering' has been given its rightful place. The Report says":

> "It has been reckoned that the amount of unusual profits made on the buying and selling of rice during 1943, was 150 crores."

And that

> "Every death in the famine was balanced by roughly a thousand rupees of excess profits."

No more stronger, yet restrained, language could have been used on this sordid affair. But what strikes us most is the omission of all references to the immense and heartless profiteering by the Central and other provincial governments, particularly Bengal, where death was dancing in all its fury, and Sind. The Government of Bengal made huge profits over foodgrains imported from other provinces. The *Commerce, The Civil and Military Gazette*, the then Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Sir Collins Garbett, I.C.S. (the then Regional Food Commissioner of Northern India) openly accused the Civil Supplies Department of looking more to the profits than to the interests of the people who were starving for their inability to purchase foodstuffs on account of their high prices. It is on record that

> "From May to August, 1943, the profit to the Government of Bengal amounted to Rs. 33.34 lakhs derived solely from sales of wheat to mills."

In addition to wheat sales the Bengal Government earned a "gross revenue of Rs. 6.32 lakhs from re-sales of wheat products" to the starving people of Bengal. These are all known facts and the public has the suspicion that these transactions disclose only a tithe of the whole affair. On the transaction of rice nothing is known. Mr. B. R. Sen, the then Director General of Food, disclosed on Feb. 21, 1944, in the Council of State, that the Bengal Government made a profit of Rs. 5/7/- per maund of wheat, from Sept. 20, 1943 to Jan. 1, 1944 and all this wheat was supplied by the Central Government at Rs. 7/5/- per maund. The instances can be multiplied but want of space prevents further enumeration.*

The Government of India is a worse offender in this respect. They made a profit of several crores on

* For further details the reader is referred to pp. 33-34 of *Famines in Bengal*, 1770-1943, by Kali Charan Ghose.

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rupees. Sardar Baldev Singh stated on Oct. 24, 1943, that

"Even the Government of India made a profit of one rupee per maund on wheat purchased on its behalf in the Punjab and sold to deficit provinces."

This was hotly contested by Sir Jeremy Raisman in the Central Assembly on Nov. 17, 1943. But the cat suddenly leapt out of the bag when on the next day Sir Srivastava regaled the House with the statement that "although the final bills of the agents had not been received yet" it appeared that the transaction would leave the Central Government with a substantial profit."

"On December 19, 1943, the Sind Government wanted to abolish the development fund based on profit derived from grain sales because 'it is criticised by the whole world'."

It passes one's comprehension why the Commission which directed examination of account books of a certain purchasing agent of the Government of Bengal failed to make even the slightest references to the greed and injudicious policy of the several governments in India.

There is only a meagre reference to the huge waste of foodstuffs at government stores; it is one which the Commission could not ignore to mention because of the publicity it received and the quantity involved. This refers to the large quantity of grain that was stored in the open in the Royal Botanical Gardens. The Report says that

"While we have evidence that only a small percentage of these stocks deteriorated, their storage under such conditions was undesirable for various reasons, including the effect on public opinion."

It is contended that the loss of foodgrains at the Botanical Gardens was very large inasmuch as there were thousands of eye-witnesses who may vouchsafe for the quantity and in which respect they are corroborated by the press in the following manner. On Sept. 4, 1944, several newspapers of Calcutta published photographs of fully loaded lorries with such captions as :

"Thousands of bags of half-decomposed foodstuffs have been removed by about 200 motor lorries and thrown into marshy lands in the Howrah-Belgachia dumping ground, five miles from Howrah Station.....the foodstuffs were being removed from the Botanical Gardens."

There were other photographs showing 'hillocks' and very thick layers of decomposed foodgrains deposited in and also strewn over the dumping ground proclaiming unequivocally of the very huge quantity that was lost. During this period reports appeared almost daily in the press of huge stocks of foodgrains having been rendered unfit for human consumption, *in Government godowns*. The quantity involved must have been several lakhs of tons. A fairly comprehensive list was published in *The Modern Review* in its issue of February 1945 under the caption, "Strange But True" (pp. 75-77) containing a list of all cases of waste that had been published in the papers up to Dec. 20, 1944. Subsequent to this date, there have been reports of cases involving a few thousand tons of grains and published from time to time in the newspapers.

There was also a considerable waste of grains in the military circles. On Nov. 16, 1943, Mr. Frederick James of the European Group in the Central Assembly said that he knew of a case in which a distinguished scientist was approached by the authorities of a prisoners of war camp to tell them how to make compost out of surplus bread; and that was when the people were starving. For all these reasons it is deplorable that the Commissioners did fail to take notice of such an important fact under the purview of their valuable report.

The Report speaks of the facilities created by the military for transport of foodgrains during the concluding months of 1943 and it should have given its unequivocal verdict on the failure of the earlier authorities for breaking the bottleneck and making it possible for foodstuffs to pour smoothly into the various parts of Bengal.

On Nov. 18, 1943, Pandit H. N. Kunzru stated in the Council of State that

"If the truth had been told earlier, the situation would not have deteriorated to the extent it did. Whoever had controlled the news about Bengal, had done a very serious injustice to the Province....."

While the fact was, as is stated in the Hon'ble Mr. Kunzru's statement, a small publicity in the press was characterised by a very high government official as a *"tendency in certain quarters to overdramatise the situation."* The Commissioners would have done well to make a reference to such facts which more than anything else aggravated the situation and caused thousands of avoidable death.

About 'large-scale' purchases, which have been one of the potent causes for raising the prices and thus denying millions of persons of humble means to procure their food, the verdict of the Commission is rather halting. The Central Government according to Mr. Neogy, was "itself responsible for encouraging employers of labour in this murderous enterprise of theirs. . . . Here was the Government supported by the capitalists whose needs must be satisfied at all costs, if necessary, at the sacrifice of humble lives." In support of his contention said he :

"This attitude was very forcibly expressed by a British executive officer in one of the Eastern Bengal districts when he pointed out that the life of a pack mule belonging to the military transport department was more valuable, and deserved to be preserved with greater care, than the life of people who were not helping in the war effort. That truly represented the attitude of a section of the permanent officials in this country, and that also led to the tragedy that we are witnessing to-day." (Central Assembly Proceedings, dated the 15th November, 1943).

There are other omissions of a minor nature in the Report and need not be gone into in greater detail. One word is necessary. Before Lord Wavell, no officer high or low, ever disclosed (or betrayed) any sympathy for the sufferers as if they were mere automatons without human feelings and as wooden and lifeless as a modern administrative institution is.

We would have welcomed such remarks from the learned Commissioners in the Bengal report. May we expect that the points referred to above will receive their proper attention and they will be pleased to let the public know their views on the several issues raised in the course of this article.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

RANJIT SINGH : *By N. K. Sinha, Ph.D. Second edition. Demy 8 vo. Pp. x + 212, one portrait. A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 7.*

Professor N. K. Sinha's monograph on Ranjit Singh, first published twelve years ago, has been greatly improved and expanded in this new edition, much of which has been rewritten in the light of the author's further study and reflections. He has "scrupulously avoided, as far as practicable, all personal details about Ranjit, except in the opening chapter (*viz.*, Early Years and Early Conquests). . . . It has been mainly my aim to elucidate in the light of new evidence the relations of Ranjit Singh with the Afghans on the one hand, and his Indian and British neighbours on the other. A graphic account of Ranjit's civil administration has also been attempted." Thus, there is more of political instruction than personal gossip about the Lion of the Panjab in this book, and this fact enhances its value,—less than half of its pages being taken up by mere narrative. The British Indian records and the personal reports of travellers and diplomatic agents have been fully utilised, and the author's conclusions stand on a firm foundation.

The paper is thick, the printing clear and well-spaced, and the volume has an attractive get-up; but the price of Rs. 7 for such a small thing seems to be prohibitive. Dr. Sinha has used only the short *Letters* of Victor Jacquemont (p. 205). He would have found much more useful and highly interesting material in this French savant's original *Journal de Voyage*, in 5 vols., which is preserved in the Macmin collection of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and a liberal selection from which has been reprinted under the editorship of M. Alfred Martineau, as *Etat Politique et Social de l'Inde du Nord en 1830* (Paris, 1933) followed by another volume on South India. In the North India volume a hundred pages (364-460) are devoted to Jacquemont's travels in Ranjit's dominions (including Kashmir); these abound in acute observations and criticism, besides giving full and illuminating details of his famous interview with the Maharajah. The proofs seem to have been hurriedly read, and a correction slip would be a helpful addition.

J. S.

OFF THE MAIN TRACK : *By Dr. Surendranath Sen. Published by Mitra & Ghosh, Calcutta. 1944. Pp. 116 + x.*

This is a collection of papers contributed by Dr. Surendranath Sen between 1941 and 1943 to various Journals, sessions of the Historical Records Commission and so forth. Based mostly, as the author candidly admits in his short Preface, upon "unimportant records" and presenting examples of "excursions into the bye-lanes and alleys of history" they may still be remembered as throwing unexpected light on the social and economic conditions of the country." This claim is borne out by the contents of some of the papers notably those entitled : *Lord Cornwallis and the Slave Trade in Bengal*, and *The Confesssion of a Dacoit*. But in other cases, the interest is almost exclusively biographical. There is room for considerable difference of opinion on the author's arguments and conclusions in his first paper called *Survival of Some Asokan Forms in 17th century Bengali*. Dr. Sen takes it to be a well-known fact that "modern Bengali has a close affinity with Western Prakrit", and he claims to have found a fresh "link in the chain of evidence" in a word-form found alike in the western and north-western versions of Asoka's rock-edicts and in a 17th-century Bengali work. It would have been well if the author had given further proofs of his challenging statement.

The author would have been well advised in prefacing his papers with short historical notes to enable the average reader to put himself in touch with the subject-matter. The book has a good Index, but the list of errata is too large for a modest work of 116 pages. We hope it will be possible for the author to utilise the advantage of his high position to enrich the historical literature of this country with contributions of first-rate importance on the life of the people in the early period of British rule.

U. N. Ghoshal

ROMAIN ROLLAND (The Story of a Conscience) : *By Alex Aronson. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay.*

Prof. Aronson has rendered a real service to the cause of international understanding by undertaking to write his study on the celebrated French Pacifist and Nobel Laureate, Romain Rolland. Within the short compass of 200 pages Prof. Aronson has given a searching analysis of the various trends of thought underlying the works of Rolland from his college days, of early adolescence to practically his last days of freedom when he was in close collaboration with the makers of modern Russia, and therefore was sent to the Concentration Camp by the Nazis. The tragedy of Rolland's life was the tragedy of intellectual Europe; and this has been narrated with a rare sympathy and judgement by Prof. Aronson. But Rolland belonged as much to the East as to the West and his three masterly studies of Mahatma Gandhi, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda will ever inspire thoughtful readers of India with a feeling of profound gratitude. Rolland's relations with our national Poet, Rabindranath, with whom he collaborated ever since the publication of the "Declaration of Independence of the Mind" (March 1919), opened a new chapter in the cultural *rapprochement* between the East and the West. In the Library of Santiniketan Prof. Aronson found valuable materials which permitted him to work out this admirable study on Rolland. Hardly the announcement of the death of the Great European. The author is to be congratulated

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this brilliant study and I recommend it to all students of Comparative Literature. The book gives a condensed survey of the voluminous works of Rolland which will be very useful to general readers. From the bibliographical point of view I noticed only two gaps: (1) the last play that Rolland wrote in his series of Revolutionary Dramas" which bore the title, *Le Jeu of Life and Death*, of which the author kindly sent me a copy from Paris and (2) a small unfinished scenerio which he possibly wrote for some film corporation and which bore the title, *Revolt of the Machine.*

K. NAG

CHINA AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF WAR : *Published by the Chinese Ministry of Information, Chungking, China. 1944. Pages 157.*

A year has passed since this report was published, and fighting China has just celebrated the eighth anniversary of her war with Japan. During these twelve years the Chinese soldiers have added fresh laurels to their already fine record of heroism and sacrifice, the civilian population have had to further tighten their belts and the Japanese, while yielding ground to the American forces almost in every theatre of Pacific warfare, have shown no willingness to relax their grip on China. Nevertheless, this story of China's grim and unequal struggle against a ruthless enemy lacks neither reality nor human interest for any reader who is concerned with human freedom and human dignity. No documentary book such as this could tell more than a portion of the full story of war-time China, but this brief version of China's trials and tribulations matched only by the indomitable spirit of its people covers quite wide ground and contributes to a better understanding of the life in unoccupied China to-day. There are fascinating, though somewhat poignant, pictures of government employees living with their wives and children in straw-thatched cottages around the buildings in which they work, of dramatists and novelists using literature as a weapon to fight the Japanese, of students in refugee universities, of the curious and indestructible city of Chungking and of the aviators who maintain the main line of communication between blockaded China and the friendly world outside. China's spirit after eight years of war appears to be fittingly epitomized by that Chungking rickshaw-puller whose name is *Yu Kang-Wei* which means "I Fight Fate."

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

ONENESS WITH GOD : *By Minocher K. Spencer. Published by the Spiritual Healing Centre, Raja Street, Coimbatore, South India. Pp. 394. Price (Clothbound) Rs. 3-8.*

Mr. Spencer is not a new author. The volume under review is his third book. It is foreworded by Rishi Ram Ram, the Spirit-Guide of the Centre, from which the book has been published and whose object is to cultivate co-operation between incarnate, and discarnate spirits". Rishi Ram Ram of the Spirit World rightly observes in the foreword that "the One becomes many under the creative impulse and the man of wisdom sees steadily the One amidst the Many." The learned author explains from a comparative study the different religions and stresses the value of realising the aspirant's oneness with God which alone can pave the way for everlasting peace and blessedness and extinguish for good the fire of suffering. He rightly concurs with copious quotations from various sacred books that all prophets are fully unanimous about this conclusion. He quotes Admiral Byrd who while engaged in search of South Pole about seventy days in an Advance Base in polar-region absolutely alone in the wilderness of frozen ice experienced and said "The Universe is not dead. There is an all-pervading Intelligence behind it. Though I am cut off from all human beings, I am not alone." This is the theme of this book and the basic teaching of all faiths. That Realisation is the unity of life or in other words oneness with God is the goal of human life, is very clearly pointed out in this book. The seven chapters of which this book is composed are all very well thought out and written in an elegant style and convincing way. The chapter on reincarnation is especially interesting and proves beyond doubt, with apt quotations from various scriptures, the immortality of the soul and the doctrine of transmigration. The book is a worthy addition to the increasing literature on the subject and deserves a perusal by those who wants to understand the common ground of all faiths.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

AN INTRODUCTION TO BANKING PRINCIPLES, PRACTICE AND LAW : *By Bimal C. Ghose, B.Sc., (Econ.), B.Com. (Lond.). Oxford University Press. Pages 361. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book has been divided into four parts. In Part I, General Principles of Banking have been discussed in twelve chapters. Part II contains four chapters on Foreign monetary systems of the United Kingdom, United States of America, France and Germany. In Part III Indian Banking and Money market have been dealt with in six chapters. Part IV of seven chapters has been devoted to Banking Practice and Law. The book is meant for the B. Com. students of the Indian Universities and for candidates preparing for the Examinations of the Indian Institute of Bankers. So far as the general treatment of the subject is concerned, the book has been made much attractive for under-graduates with up-to-date figures and statistics as far as available in these abnormal days. Part III will be specially useful to students in their study of the Indian Money Market. The portion dealing with the Practice and Law of Banking is rather short and as such cannot be entirely depended upon by the candidates appearing at the Examinations of the Indian Institute of Bankers, although this will satisfy the requirements of commerce students of the University. We have no doubt that the commerce students of the University will find Mr. Ghose's book a useful guide in a subject which is interesting and difficult at the same time.

AUSTRALIA—A NEW NATION : *By C. E. Sayers. Hindusthan Publications, 50, Zahe Place, Calcutta. Pages 61. Price Re. 1-8.*

From a convict settlement to a prosperous and self-governing Commonwealth, Australia is a wonderland. In this small book everything worth knowing, *viz.*, physiography, population, economic development, gold, wool, dairy products, livestock, fruits, manufactures, Government—State or Federal, political parties and last but not the least, Australia's part in the present war and its post-war problems, has been arranged and discussed in a business-like manner. The book is well illustrated and up-to-date figures and statistics have been given.

All classes of readers, students and traders alike, will find this book useful and interesting.

ADVERTISING TO ALL : *By R. Dhara. Published by Industry Publishers Ltd., Calcutta. Pages 214. Price Rs. 4.*

There are not many books to tell small businessmen how to advertise their merchandise and as a result much money is wasted in fruitless advertisement. The author of this book, an experienced journalist, discusses the subject threadbare and concludes rightly that false propaganda for trash goods does more evil than good

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to the advertiser. Advertisement must be to help the buyers and not to mislead them, far less to induce them to mis-spend their money. Really useful articles should be advertised in a scientific manner to educate the prospective consumers. Ultimately honesty in business will pay. The public who are the buying members for a particular article, cannot be cheated for long. So honesty is the best policy here as well as elsewhere in human society.

This book is specially written for helping small Indian businessmen who will find it useful.

A. B. DUTTA

THE PEACOCK LUTE : *Anthology of Poems in English by Indian Writers (Kiranavali No. 1). Edited by V. N. Bhushan. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Pp. 155. Price Rs. 6; Foreign sh. 7/6.*

The Peacock Lute, an anthology of pomes written in English by Indian writers is a novel but needful venture in the field of Indian publication and it will be received with a delightful surprise. Indo-English poetry, has, in some quarters, been looked upon with scepticism and prejudice and remains in a neglected and straggling condition. The difficulty of collecting it, emphasised by Latika Basu in her work, is great.

But Indo-English poetry can not afford to remain neglected. Though not more than a century old, it has already grown in volume, significance and value, and holds out a high possibility. It represents, as Tagore has said, our spontaneous cultural response to English influence. It represents, as Latika Basu has said, England's cultural conquest over India. The present volume will make us conscious of these facts. It includes poems of men like Kashiproshad Ghosh, M. M. Dutta, Sri Aurobinda, Swami Vivekananda, Manomohan Ghosh, Toru Dutta, Tagore, Mrs. Naidu, Chettur brothers, Bharati Saravai and a host of other reputed poets. The book, however, does not aim at comprehensiveness and excludes many other daring adventurers into the bower of English Muse.

The editor of this volume, Prof. Bhushan, himself a poet of a high order, deserves to be congratulated upon this excellent work. The selection of poems is generally representative but the editor might include a few more of the poems, specially, nature poems, of Manomohan Ghosh, who, according to George Sampson, is a remarkable poet of ours. Specially valuable are the introductory essays attached to the book which are scholarly as well as delightful. In these essays the editor analyses the growth of Indo-English poetry from its imitative stage in Kashiproshad Ghosh to its present creative stage. It contains a bibliography which makes it conspicuously useful for study and research. The book is a successful venture and it ought to be regarded as a new cultural acquisition.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

MUDRA-RAKSHASA OR THE SIGNET RING : *Translated into English from the original Sanskrit by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit. New Book Company, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. 1944. Demy 8 vo., pp. xvii + 278.*

Here we have an English translation of the celebrated Sanskrit drama describing the complete overthrow of the Nandas resulting from the machinations of Chanakya. It is not the work of a professional scholar but of a man of sharp intelligence and broad outlook of life with scholarly instincts whose translation of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana already made him famous among Sanskritists at large. The translation is followed by exegetical notes and a number of appendices containing dissertations on topics like Indian drama, Pataliputra, age of the Guptas as reflected in the drama under review, the Nandas, Mauryas and Chanakya, and Iranian, Greek and Chi contacts with India. Thus the reader will not only the drama but will profit by the sufficient materi thought and enlightenment embodied in the Attention may be drawn to the translation interpretation of a few words and expressions may not appear to be strictly accurate or qui agreement with tradition. *Vrishala,* the term by Chandragupta was addressed by Chanakya, is sug to be a term of 'great affection and esteem' 'young bull' (p. xiv). But from III. 15 and the line preceding it the term would appear to least an indication of Chanakya's superiority over Chandragupta, a Sudra-*Kutumbini* (p. 3) is slated as 'mistress of the household' instead of 'wife'. *Chanakya-hataka* is translated (p. 252), as as dead Chanakya' instead of 'villain' or 'wre There is some discrepancy in the numbering of for annotation on p. 143. The translation of Jey *vrita Sarira* (p. 143), as 'his body hidden beh curtain' seems to be rather too free.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAV

BENGALI

DIGANTA : *Nishi Kanta. The Culture Publ 63, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

To readers of Bengali poetry, Nishi Kanta is well-known. In an age that is mad after material rather the grosser side of it, he strikes a note of spiritual emotion. He does not ignore the sm tears of our daily life but imbues them with the of a higher reality. His poems come easily out depths of his soul and flow with a lofty serene m

D. N. Moo

BHAKTA MANOMOHAN : *Udbodhan laya, Baghbazar, Calcutta. 1351 B.S. Price Re.*

The book under review is the life-story of mohan Mitra, (1851-1903), a devout follower of Ramakrishna and a close associate of Ram Datta, the well-known founder of Yogodyan. He by the latter and made joint endeavours to spread gospel of the saint of Dakshineswar and their met with success. The gradual waning of the of Brahmo Samaj, the overflowing tenderness Ramakrishna, the absorption of the entire being loving contemplation of Godhead—such a story throw a flood of light on the life in Bengal when was a renascence and its consequent clash of ide is also a valuable document which may be quo show that the current of spiritual life runs unde in young Bengal, that it has not dried up but fe the soil even though we cannot see it always a A loving heart, a determined mind, a tendency spiritual way of living fostered by hereditary Manomohan's biography will at once attract reader will add to the stock of Ramakrishna literature is still gaining in popularity in Bengal, and millions to a better view of life.

P. R. S

HINDI

DHARTI KE GEET : *Edited by Ramesh Published by Jan Prakashan Griha, Bombay 4. Price twelve annas.*

This short collection of simple and inst songs in various dialects of Hindi aims at the pro tion of anti-fascism in rural India. Some are realistic and have a freshness and appeal of their

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AZADI KA ALHA : *By Ramgulam Singh. Published by Jan Prakashan Griha, Bombay 4. Pp. 19. Price four annas.*

These songs of freedom by a seasoned Kisan-worker have a vigorous message and appeal. Though in old and traditional style, the poet has striven to foster a broadbased international outlook towards world-freedom.

MARUDHARA : *By Bharat Vyas. Published by Prachya Kala Niketan, Bikaner. Pp. 71. Price Re. 1-4.*

Marudhara or Marwar is commonly known as a barren land or desert. But being born there, the poet feels greater attachment to it. He has, therefore, invested it not only with the historical significance that is its due, but also with colourful imagery, which has turned it into a veritable paradise. The poet derives a good deal of inspiration from its golden past and sings for a bright future.

M. S. SENGAR

BHAKTA NARSINH MEHTA : *By "Mangal". Gita Press, Gorakhpur, U. P. Pp. 179. Price six annas.*

This is the first full-length biography in Hindi of the famous fifteenth century saint of Gujarat, Kathiawar, Narsinh Mehta. Though at places there is more of legend and less of history,—due apparently to lack of authentic records,—yet the book does not entail too much of a strain on the reader's credulity. But its most attractive feature is its spirit of devotion, which cannot but evoke a similar response from the reader. The original songs,—which are in Gujarati and a selection of which is given at the end,—have been translated for the benefit of the latter.

SHAKUNTALA : *By Durgadatta Tripathi. Govind Ashrama, Ghatia Darvaza, Chandausi. Pp. 65. Price four annas.*

This is a metrical story of Shakuntala whom Kalidas has immortalized in Sanskrit. It is in eight cantos and makes an easy reading. It could be used with advantage for reciting the tale to the masses, who are not acquainted with the original.

G. M.

KANNADA

UKKINA MANUSHYA : *By M. Haridas. Published by Minchina Balli Chavadi, Dharwar. Price Rs. 2.*

The book under review is a short life-sketch of Stalin—the maker of Modern Russia. The name of Stalin conjures up a host of images in the minds of the youth of the world. The Soviet experiment and its achievement in the field of economic reorientation have a peculiarly fascinating charm—particularly so at a time when the whole world is ardently pining for an enduring peaceful social order.

Naturally, therefore, one feels curious about how Stalin could weld a mighty union of Socialist Soviet Republics out of the weltering mess of disintegrated Russian Imperialist States. Today Russia under the dynamic leadership of Stalin—the Man of Steel—stands at the apex of the pyramid of the "Big Three" powers. The magnificent work that the mighty military machine of Russia has achieved in smothering the Fascist and Nazi menace has won the approbation of even its bitterest enemy—Churchill.

Mr. Haridas gives us the relevant details of Stalin's life. He has not failed to give us the background of the Russian revolutions and the lurid picture of Czar's tyranny. Incidentally he has referred to how Lenin's "Iskra", the spark, ignited the slumbering embers of Russian peasants' self-respect and inspired and inflamed them to revolt, and how the newspaper was a magnet to attract even the unlettered mass. The diverse vicissitudes through which Russia had to pass from constitutional liberalism to relentless radicalism are vividly portrayed and thus grip the reader to the end.

The writer has tried to put his finger on the secret of Russian success and has been largely successful. The style of the book is very lucid and the diction pleasing and picturesque.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

CUTCHNI LOK VARTA: *By Dungarshi Dharamsy Shampat. Published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 348. Price Rs. 2.*

Cutch in old days was the land of heroes and their romantic deeds were embodied in a book called "Cutchna Kaladharo" written by Mr. Dulerai Karani, noticed in these columns before. The present work is an abridgment or summary of matters set out there by that veteran statistician and encyclopaedic writer of Gujarati, Mr. Dungarshi Dharamsy Sampat. The abridgment has not suffered in any way so far as the merits of the original are concerned. It is as comprehensive as the original, and we congratulate the society on selecting the book and its summariser and publishing it in these days of paper scarcity, at its present price.

PYRAMIDNI CHHAYA-MAN : *By Chandrashankar P. Shukla. Published by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, Bombay. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 2.*

Ancient Egypt, the Egypt of four thousand years before Christ, till it was conquered by Alexander in B.C. 332, presents a solid front of civilization of the highest type in all branches of culture and life. Gathering his facts from about eighteen volumes bearing on the history, civilisation, myth and legend of ancient Egypt, Mr. Shukla has managed to produce a book, which is teeming with information in this interesting subject. We find in it a model hand-book in the lines of which histories of ancient countries like China and Tibet should be written. The Editor of this series—Vishwa Sahitya Mala—Mr. K. M. Munshi, we have, no doubt, is alive to this necessity.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Thoreau at Walden

4TH JULY 1845

A century ago Thoreau, the pioneer of Civil Disobedience in the U.S.A., celebrated Independence Day by commencing to live his hermit life at Walden. Mr. Hugh Harris writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Twenty miles from Boston in the State of Massachusetts, U.S.A., is the picturesque and historic village of Concord. It is celebrated as the place where hostilities started in the American War of Independence. In literature it is even more famous as the home of Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau and other writers of the Transcendentalist movement. The influence of their ideas radiated from this New England centre throughout the world, but they in their turn had been inspired by currents of thought that reached them from Europe and Asia. The year 1845 marks a focal point in this interaction of spiritual forces. Then it was that Thoreau began his experiment at Walden.

Henry David Thoreau was born at Concord in 1817, the son of a local pencil-maker. A formative influence in the shaping of his character was his close friendship with Emerson, in whose house he lived from 1841 to 1843. Emerson had abandoned the profession of a clergyman, and was seeking for a wider philosophy of life than that afforded by his Puritan environment. The teachings of India and the Orient greatly contributed to Emerson's spiritual development. Examples of his indebtedness are his essay on "The Over-Soul" and his poem "Brahma".

In March 1845, on the shore of a small lake in the Walden woods, over a mile away from Concord, Thoreau began to erect a hut. He quickly built and furnished it unaided at a cost of twenty-eight dollars. On July 4, 1845—to celebrate Independence Day after his own fashion—he went into occupation, and there he lived alone for two years and two months.

His object was to find spiritual refreshment by direct contact with Nature, away from the industrialism and machinery of Western civilisation.

Throughout his life Thoreau kept personal Journals of extraordinary interest. During his sojourn at Walden he edited his records of a voyage that he and his brother had taken six years previously in a boat of their own making. These were afterwards published under the title of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. The Journals that he wrote while at Walden went to make his even more famous book, *Walden; or Life in the Woods*.

Thoreau contemplated Nature with a wise passiveness that owed much to the Indian teachers whose works he studied in his retreat. He writes in *Walden* :

"I grew in those seasons like corn in the night, and they were far better than work of the hands would have been. They were not time subtracted from my life, but so much over and above my usual allowance. I realised what the Orientals mean by contemplation and the forsaking of works."

Both *Walden* and *A Week* are full of references and quotations from, the sacred books of India. *A Week* a third part of the chapter entitled "Monday" is devoted to a sympathetic exposition of Hindu thought. In particular he praises the *Bhagavad-Gita* (a translation by Charles Wilkins).

Thoreau relates that he also greatly enjoyed the *Dharma Sastra* (Laws of Manu) in the translation of William Jones.

The entertaining fables of the *Hitopadesa*, translated by Charles Wilkins, also much appealed to Thoreau because of their "playful wisdom."

Such were among the books which Thoreau read at Walden, and which in his writings there he recommended to his contemporaries.

Oriental literature was at that time little known in Europe and America, and Thoreau made the following suggestion :

"It would be worthy of the age to print together the collected Scriptures and Sacred Writings of the several nations, the Chinese, the Hindus, the Persians, the Hebrews, and others, as the Scripture of mankind . . . Such a juxtaposition and comparison might help to liberalize the faith of man. This is a work which Time will surely edit, reserved to crown the labours of the printing press. This would be the Bible, or Book of Books, which let the missionaries carry to the uttermost parts of the earth."

That very year, a young unknown student in Paris—Max Muller—conceived the ambition of publishing a text and translation of the *Rig-Veda*. Subsequently he also edited "The Sacred Books of the East", translated by various scholars, in fifty volumes, and published by the Oxford University Press.

One summer afternoon in 1845, while walking from his hermitage to the village cobbler's to fetch a shoe he was arrested and put into jail, because he refused to pay his poll tax. His refusal was intended as a protest against the country's maintenance of the institution of Negro slavery. He spent but one night in jail the tax, much to his disgust, being paid by one of his aunts.

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Thoreau's account of this episode was afterwards elaborated in his famous essay *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*. This essay came, in 1907, into the hands of Mahatma Gandhi. It greatly influenced his adoption in South Africa, and subsequent transference to India, of the policy of *Satyagraha*.

The Peace That Comes

Without assuming the role of a prophet we can examine the forces at present working and have a guess at the composition of the Peace Conference and say which way the wind blows. M. Balasubramaniam writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

It is probable that the U.S.A. will occupy the central place in the dais at the Peace Conference. England comes second. Russia comes next. The Dominions—Canada, Australia and South Africa follow. Poland and France will be there. China will be represented and as appendages India and other countries will doubtless be invited.

What will be the policy of these nations? If history is any guide, their policy at the Peace Conference will not be completely different from what it has been so far. Though called a democratic country the United States is not as democratic, as the word implies, or as Americans ask us to imagine. For at home there is the colour problem. Not long before his death the late Wendell Willkie urged the Americans, in vain, to make the Negroes, the partners in war and suffering, partners in peace and prosperity. So long as America has not got this equality she lives in a glass-house and cannot throw stones at others—particularly at Britain for her policy in India. That explains why President Roosevelt could not interfere in Indian affairs. When Ambassador Philips exposed inconvenient truths about India, Roosevelt could do no more than recall the Ambassador.

True, America has no designs of political domination. But can it be said that she has no desire for economic exploitation?

The desire to make Germany an agricultural country—the reference is to Morgenthau plan—and cripple her industries, though said to be as a measure for securing world security, is also intended to remove one commercial competitor from the field for years to come. American entry in this war is to root out Japan which is a powerful competitor in the world market. Germany and Japan removed, America wants to retain the first place in world commerce. This is obvious to any one who has glanced through the proceedings of the several conferences—Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods, Rye, Chicago—that took place recently. With this background America enters the Peace Conference. How far she will fight for a fair peace for political equality for all nations—victor and vanquished, for those which lost their freedom now or *before*—, how far she will help the economic regeneration of exploited countries, can be better imagined than described.

The next important country at the Peace Conference will be England.

England's aim in this war is well-known and oft-repeated. Clearly and unambiguously Mr. Churchill has said, 'We mean to hold our own, I have not become the King's first Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.' Logically he gave a limited application to the Atlantic Charter. Britain's policy in India is but translation of Mr. Churchill's dictum into practice. Fenner Brockway might say that Africa is a

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pigmy compared to the giant Nehru. But Britain's policy in India is clear, not to allow Indian parties to come together, to imprison Indian leaders who wanted the application of the Atlantic Charter to India and who wanted the 'four freedoms' so loudly spoken of.

Britain's economic policy in India and elsewhere is enough testimony to her future intentions to continue the exploitation of India and other countries. The hurdles put in the way of Indian industrialisation are too many and too well-known. When Indians wanted to start major industries as building of ships, manufactures of locomotives, automobiles and aeroplanes, the Government of India did not even guarantee to purchase Indian-made cars. The Government help was so great that the aircraft factory intended to manufature aeroplanes has remained a repair factory. Orders for ships for India were placed in Australia, a country much less equipped to manufacture them. And still Mr. Amery swears that Britain is not in the way of Indian industrialisation. To crown all this, the London paper *Indian Affairs* claims half-partnership in Indian Industries in the post-war period for the expert help that Britain may give to India. Britain's role in India will be that of the old man in the story of Sindbad the Sailor.

The third peace-maker is Russia.

Russia is said to be the greatest democratic country —at least so the communists say. But any disinterested observer will find that Russian policy is proving the maxim that power corrupts, and absolute power, absolutely. We read of the treatment given to the Poles. Britain, by the way, entered the war to defend the integrity of Poland against Germany. While the same war is on, and when Russia questions the same rights, Britain is a silent spectator. And the celebrated *Times* says that 'Britain cannot afford to meddle in Central Europe against Russia.' Such is the political record of Russia. Russia's desire to get oil concessions is proof of her economic intentions, and the harmless desire to benefit herself at the expense of others.

Gen. Smuts will represent S. Africa, it has already been announced.

His love of fairplay is famous. The British settled in S. Africa as they did in several other countries. The people they have to come in contact are the natives and the Indians who have made S. Africa, their own land. The first the British want to exterminate and the second they want to drive out. The British policy towards the natives is well-brought out in a saying common among the natives :

"When the white man came he had the bible and we had the land. Now we have the *bible* and *he* has the land."

The lot of Indians settled in S. Africa, is a twice-told story, in a word it is miserable. The S. African Government wanted to worsen it. When a harmless Indian Central Government gave out an empty threat of retaliatory action against S. Africans, a S. African paper says, with evident modesty, that the S. African Government will go on with their anti-Indian policy till an Indian army arrives in S. Africa. The typical leader of such a country will be an important member of the Peace Conference. What will be the nature of the peace ?

Australian representatives will play a prominent part in the peace deliberations for will not Australia have contributed to the victory of the allies ?

Canada's voice will be no less distinct and no more in favour of the oppressed.

Poland and France cannot be expected to talk against the interests of the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Should China be critical of British or American policy, China will be dubbed ungrateful.

India's contribution to the war effort has been [illegible] mitted on all hands. She will have 'representatives selected by the Government of India, 'through the proper channel' and will be under the inspiration and guidance of the Secretary of State.

Such will be Peace Conference. Such will be the antecedents of the peace-makers. The reader may judge for himself the outcome of such a conference. But it appears that the Biblical sentence about peace-makers has to be modified to suit modern times.

Retrospect

The New Review observes :

A review of Nazi strategy may throw additional light on the Pacific War. It is undeniable that the Nazis had not at all prepared the war with the thoroughness with which they were credited. They miscalculated the fundamental situation. According to military writers, like the German Hans Delbruck, and the English J. F. Fuller, strategy has two forms annihilation or exhaustion; in the first, battle is the only aim and weapon of war; in the second, battle is only one of the means which may lead to the political goal. Strategy of annihilation which brings about the political result in view within the shortest time and with the least expenditure supposes a war potential superior to the enemy's throughout the struggle. Short of it, war leads to destruction ; it led Napoleon to St. Helena, and the Kaiser to Doorn, it has now annihilated Nazidom. In 1939, the Nazi High Command and the German industrialists were aware that their potential enemies had resources which, if given the respite, would tilt the military balance in a decisive manner. Russia was sidetracked by treaty, and America was hesitating ; the problem was to overrun the

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neutralize Europe before America could be ready. As England was the most powerful and most strongly entrenched enemy, her reduction was the key-problem of Nazi strategy. It is remarkable that it was neglected.

The Nazis prepared their land warfare not accurately.

Their plans for the conquest of Poland, the Low Countries, and France worked out smoothly. But they were so obsessed with their land superiority that they failed to notice the sea and neglected the water-position of their strategy. In particular they failed to see the British Channel; yet the Channel was the focal point of the western war; one might even say that the western war could be called the Channel War, since its fortunes could be read in the Channel which was a defence moat in 1940, a no-man's water in 1941-43, and became an Allied canal in 1944-45. If we are to believe F. M. von Rundstedt, the Nazis never contemplated crossing that 20-mile stretch of water. With Britain's refusal to oblige with peace proposals, the Nazis felt at a loss; their fleet was helpless against the British Navy and could not be expected to keep any improvised invasion force protected and supplied. They resorted to air bombing, but failed to complete the preliminary task of securing air superiority; their bombing-plan was ill-articulated, and if we believe Goering's recent revelations, it was spoiled by Hitler's interference, and given up prematurely.

All the known facts go to show that the cold calculating Nazi High Command had not prepared for Britain's invasion; yet that was the key-operation of their strategy.

Had they achieved it, they would have won the war. However much Mr. Churchill may have challengingly spoken of fighting on from the distant parts of the Empire, the occupation of Britain would have been a disaster from which the Allies could not have recovered: an invasion of Europe from American bases would have been postponed indefinitely, and Hitler would have had time to organise Europe according to his Nazi pattern.

What is stranger is that even their defeat in the Battle of Britain did not teach the Nazis that the reduction of Britain's power was the key-problem of the war. Once they renounced invading Britain, there remained for them to strike a decisive blow at the Empire's naval power by overrunning Egypt, the sole bridge-head. This was quite feasible; instead of sleeping inert, they should have ordered the Italians to occupy Tunisia, and so dominate the shortest sea-route to Africa, and they should have doubled Rommel's armoured divisions. Rommel would have been in Cairo by the summer of 1941, the Mediterranean would have been turned into an Axis lake, and the Allies would have had no oversea bases from which to assault the Continent. Any move by Russia at that time could easily have been countered by divisions on the defensive.

Instead of this, the Nazis waited till the spring of 1941, rushed through the Balkans and occupied Crete. From all appearances they were preparing Turkey's invasion in order to reach Egypt through Palestine; they then hesitated, possibly out of fear of Russian intervention, and, soon after, they committed their second great strategic blunder. They changed their line of operations; they turned away from Britain and her Empire, which was then in a much weakened strategic position, and they shunted their war machine into the measureless expanses of Russia. What they should have done was to keep on the defensive against possible Russian attack, until they had mastered the Near East and brought Nazi aggression to the Arabian Sea where they could have joined their Japanese partners. Their position and resources could then have sufficed to defy the Allies.

English Tradition

Sir Robert Denniston writes in *The Indian Review*:

What is tradition? As a lover of my own language I often consult a dictionary, and Mr. Webster, I think, rather rises to the occasion. "Tradition", he tells us, "is the oral delivery of information, opinions, doctrines, practices, rites and customs, from father to son, or from ancestors to posterity; the transmission of any knowledge, opinions or practice from forefathers to descendants by oral communication, without written memorials."

Why do we attach value to a family heirloom—some trinket perhaps of no great intrinsic value except that it has been passed down from father to son? We value it, I think, for its antiquity, and because of its associations. It has been said that the only true aristocracy is old age, and tradition and old age have much in common.

If we search for tradition in England we at once discover the greatest tradition of all—the monarchy. If tradition and antiquity have much in common perhaps also tradition and loyalty go hand in hand.

Where does tradition come from? What is its background? Religion? To some extent, as those will agree who remember the grandeur and nobility of the Coronation Service. History, of course, is the mother of tradition, and many present-day ceremonial customs—and extremely odd some of them are—date back to the

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knights errant of old. The navy and the army, of course, are full traditions, most of them connected with battle honours.

Tradition in England is not confined to the army and navy and you will find that nearly every little village has its old customs, the origin of which is sometimes lost in antiquity.

Our law courts, of course, are full of traditions, and there is nothing nobler in the English language than the clerk of the court's charge to the jury. If the official who administers the charge is not called the Clerk of the court I apologise, but the law and I are but slightly acquainted.

Parliament is tradition-ridden to the Nth. and in spite of Cromwell's petulant 'Take away these baubles' 300 years ago, they still remain. I can imagine the hush of reprobation when, a short time ago a truculent Scot was so lost to all sense of tradition as to scorn the good offices of his sponsors, and to declare, in effect, that he had been elected by his constituents, here he was and here he would remain, and he didn't propose to be introduced thank you.

Those who sneer at the "old school tie" will also, I have no doubt, sneer at tradition, and our schools are full of traditions, but those traditions are based on loyalty, and I can think of less desirable characteristics than loyalty. Each school has its own traditions and some of them, such as the precise angle at which the cap should be worn, in accordance with one's seniority are rather puerile, but the motto "Manners maketh man" is no bad thing to live up to—no, I do not myself come from that particular seat of learning.

No mention of English traditions would be complete without the mention of Shakespeare, who is England. There is no occasion, no event, no world shattering occurrence for which we cannot find some appropriate reference in the works of Shakespeare. Why, in happier days, was Stratford-on-Avon the Mecca of tourists from the new world? There is nothing that our orators have said for generations that was not better said by Shakespeare 320 years ago.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Vocational Guidance for Young Persons in Sweden

The following extract is made from an article under the above caption published in the *International Labour Review*:

In 1940, the organisation of the employment service in Sweden was taken under central control by the State Employment Market Commission, and at the same time special attention began to be paid to the further development of vocational guidance.

An adviser on these questions was attached to the Commission. After preliminary investigations had been made to find out the conditions which were likely to prevail in various quarters and the main lines which ought to be followed, the Commission undertook a comprehensive reorganisation of vocational guidance in the spring of 1941.

From the outset, the Commission took the view that the work of vocational guidance must be so organised as to bring it into direct contact with the employment service proper. Only in this way could vocational guidance be based on a broad and general view of the employment market and on the necessary familiarity with the various workplaces, occupations, and types of work. In addition, experience had shown that the mere assembly of a great deal of information is in vain unless it is accompanied by practical action and that therefore vocational guidance must in many, perhaps in most, cases lead directly to preparation for work or training.

From the point of view of organisation, therefore, vocational guidance activities were linked up with the public employment service, and particularly with the sections of employment offices set up for applicants for work under 18 years, the juvenile employment exchanges, and for secondary school pupils and students, with the student employment exchanges in Stockholm, Goteborg, and the two university towns of Uppsala and Lund. When the Commission took over the employment service, however, only a few of the larger offices had special sections for juveniles, and the student exchanges were also relatively unsatisfactory. Steps have therefore been taken to equip the juvenile and student exchanges more adequately for their work and to extend their services over the whole country.

The material needed to help the vocational guidance officers in their work is in the main prepared in the headquarters department of the Commission which is directly responsible for the juvenile and student exchanges. This applies to: (1) the forms needed for collecting information on the person applying for work or advice; (2) the pamphlets to be studied by the juveniles and their parents or guardians; and (3) the descriptions and surveys of occupations used by the guidance officers as a guide when giving young people the necessary information on different jobs and training opportunities.

So far as training and work opportunities are concerned, a fairly comprehensive enquiry is being made for the purpose of providing guidance officers with reliable information on different occupations and training facilities. Particulars as to workplaces, occupations, kinds of work, and means of training are systematically collected from vocational schools, employers, occupational organisations, individuals representative particular occupations, and technical journals literature. These particulars, after having examined and sifted, are intended to form the basis accurate descriptions of occupations in each branch activity. Such descriptions have already been compiled for some occupations. As soon as a particular field work and training has been analysed, the material placed at the disposal of the vocational guidance officers. In this way the Commission hopes that reliable information will gradually be compiled, of the type demanded by members of the Riksdag in 1938 and recommended by the Social Board and the Central Board of Education in 1939, concerning the most suitable form for centralised information work for vocational guidance of young persons. In this connection, it is worth noting that material from the Commission's investigation of employment conditions certain university graduates, and from various other enquiries made by the Commission and/or by employment exchanges (in collaboration with, e.g., handicrafts associations) to ascertain the supply of demand for pupils and apprentices in the various localities and occupations, constitutes a valuable basis for the work of vocational guidance.

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An Oriental Cultural Centre in London

In a snappy article in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Fred H. Andrews discusses the need of the establishment of an Oriental Cultural Centre in London :

By the reconstitution of the Archaeological Survey through the efforts of Lord Curzon, and its brilliant administration by Sir John Marshall, the appointment of expert coadjutors and the systematic training of Indian students in scientific methods of research instituted under Sir John Marshall's direction, the advances made have been very remarkable. The extent of territory indicated and now subject to the active investigations of the Archaeological Survey is, apart from other considerations, sufficient to justify amply the provision of a great museum in this, the centre of the Empire. But the geographical dimensions, extensive though they be, are small in comparison with their artistic, historical and archaeological content. And, mindful of the fact that Britain has been in administrative charge for many generations, of more or less of these great tracts with their hundreds of millions of people, their numberless languages and dialects, their storied culture and their past and present influence on the rest of the world, our obligation to recognise worthily all this in the form now again advanced, is surely incontestable and, indeed, imperative to our own self-respect. While other countries publish by snappy articles in small popular periodicals the activities of their nationals in India, conveying by implication that we British are doing worse than nothing, we by culpable complacency allow the fiction to pass as fact. It is unfortunately true, as a distinguished Indian scientist intimated recently, that "there is as little general attention paid to India in this country as to the planet Mars."

One of the effects of the present war has been to bring together in this country thousands of men and women from the Dominions and from the countries of our Allies. It is characteristic of many of these latter candid friends that they believe they have better knowledge about us and our activities than we ourselves have, and one hears the fantastic ideas entertained by the majority about India, of its people and our administration of that land. Our own people being almost equally ignorant, thanks to deficient education, are not only incapable of rebutting calumny but often enough are inclined to accept the distorted views so positively aired. The want of knowledge concerning progress made in education, sanitation, health, industry, irrigation, and in numberless other directions is deplorable, and the ignorance of the complexities of race, language, caste, religion and social customs is not only profound, but by its extent affords scope for speculative assumptions unjust alike to Indians and British. Another effect of the war has been to take thousands of our intelligent and educated men and women to the East, many of whom would have their interest in those lands quickened, and in many cases would desire to supplement and extend that interest by available means on their return home.

In the near future, with the extension of rapid travel distance will no longer divide East and West. Short visits will be practicable and will be encouraged; and our Oriental Centre might be made an attractive and appropriate focal point for visitors, providing rooms for private consultations, for small committee meetings and such other facilities as the general idea may suggest. It should be a rendezvous for Orientals and Westerners where friendly intercourse in congenial surroundings would promote knowledge and understanding of each other.

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Franklin Delano Roosevelt

The Catholic World writes on the death of President Roosevelt :

President Franklin D. Roosevelt died suddenly at Warm Springs, Ga., April 12th, at the age of sixty-three. The news of his death came as a great shock to the whole nation that was momentarily expecting the final victory in Europe.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born January 30, 1882, at Hyde Park, N. Y. He prepared for college at Groton Boys School and entered Harvard at eighteen. He became president of his class in his senior year and editor of *The Harvard Crimson*. He then studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1907. Meantime he had married his distant cousin, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, and they had five children.

Mr. Roosevelt entered politics in 1910 when he became a State Senator, and very soon achieved renown by fighting Tammany, though Tammany contr[illegible] both houses of the Legislature. When Wilson be[illegible] President in 1912, Mr. Roosevelt was appointed As[illegible]tant Secretary of the Navy and he held this post d[illegible] the First World War. In 1920 he was defeated for [illegible] office of Vice-President.

The following year Mr. Roosevelt was stric[illegible] with infantile paralysis but he went on to further s[illegible]cesses in spite of this illness. In 1928 he was elect[illegible] Governor of New York and in 1932 was elected Pre[illegible]dent in the midst of the depression. In the two mo[illegible] prior to his first inauguration 5,504 banks had closed [illegible] the country was almost in a panic. The vari[illegible] alphabetical agencies were brought into being [illegible] counteract the depression.

President Roosevelt was re-elected in 1936 and [illegible] 1940 was elected for a third term, breaking a prec[illegible] as old as the Republic. During this third term [illegible] President met with Winston Churchill, August 14, 19[illegible] and they issued jointly the eight-point statement [illegible] principles for peace known as the Atlantic Charter. F[illegible] months later Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and [illegible] President asked for a declaration of war. In Novem[illegible] 1943, President Roosevelt met with Churchill and St[illegible] in Teheran in Iran. In the following year he was elec[illegible] for a fourth term and was inaugurated with a sim[illegible] ceremony last January 20th. Less than a month later [illegible] again met with Churchill and Stalin at Yalta in [illegible] Crimea. At the end of March the President went [illegible] Warm Springs, Ga., intending to stay for a brief [illegible] Death came a few hours after he had a sudden br[illegible] hemorrhage.

May his soul rest in peace !

Curtis W. Reese writes in *Unity*:

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a great man and [illegible] great President, and we shall not soon see his [illegible] again.

He was a great in his understanding of the wh[illegible] sweep of human needs, and he was genuinely interest[illegible] in the well-being of all men everywhere.

He was great in his conception of government [illegible] a means to the realization of a full life, and he allow[illegible] no antiquated ideas of political science to deter h[illegible] from applying this conception.

He was great in his strategy of dealing with all sor[illegible] and conditions of men, and he was able to marsh[illegible] conflicting groups in behalf of democratic and unify[illegible] social purposes.

He was great in his awareness of world trends a[illegible] the meaning of world events, and he gave direction [illegible] trends and events.

In the scope of his outlook, in the method of h[illegible] procedure, and in the breadth of his human interest[illegible] Franklin Delano Roosevelt stands secure among th[illegible] great of all time.

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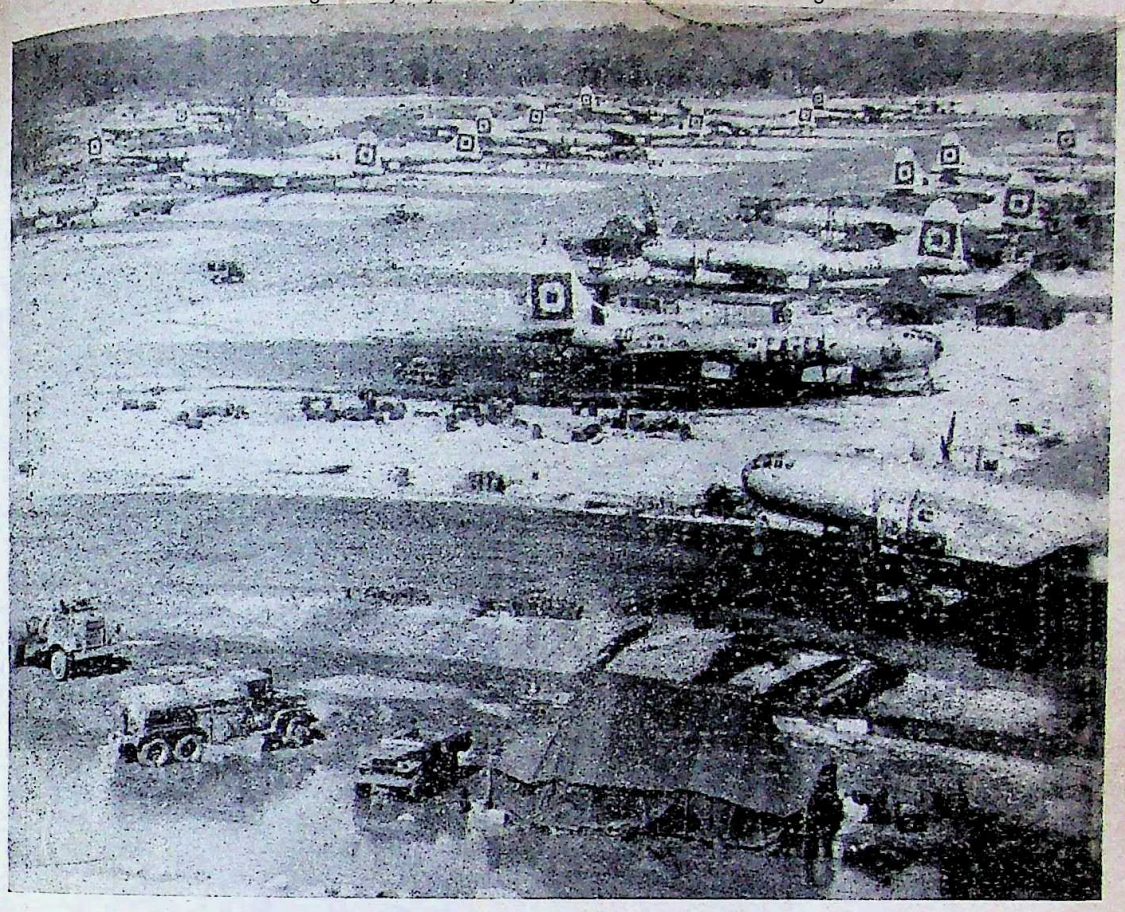
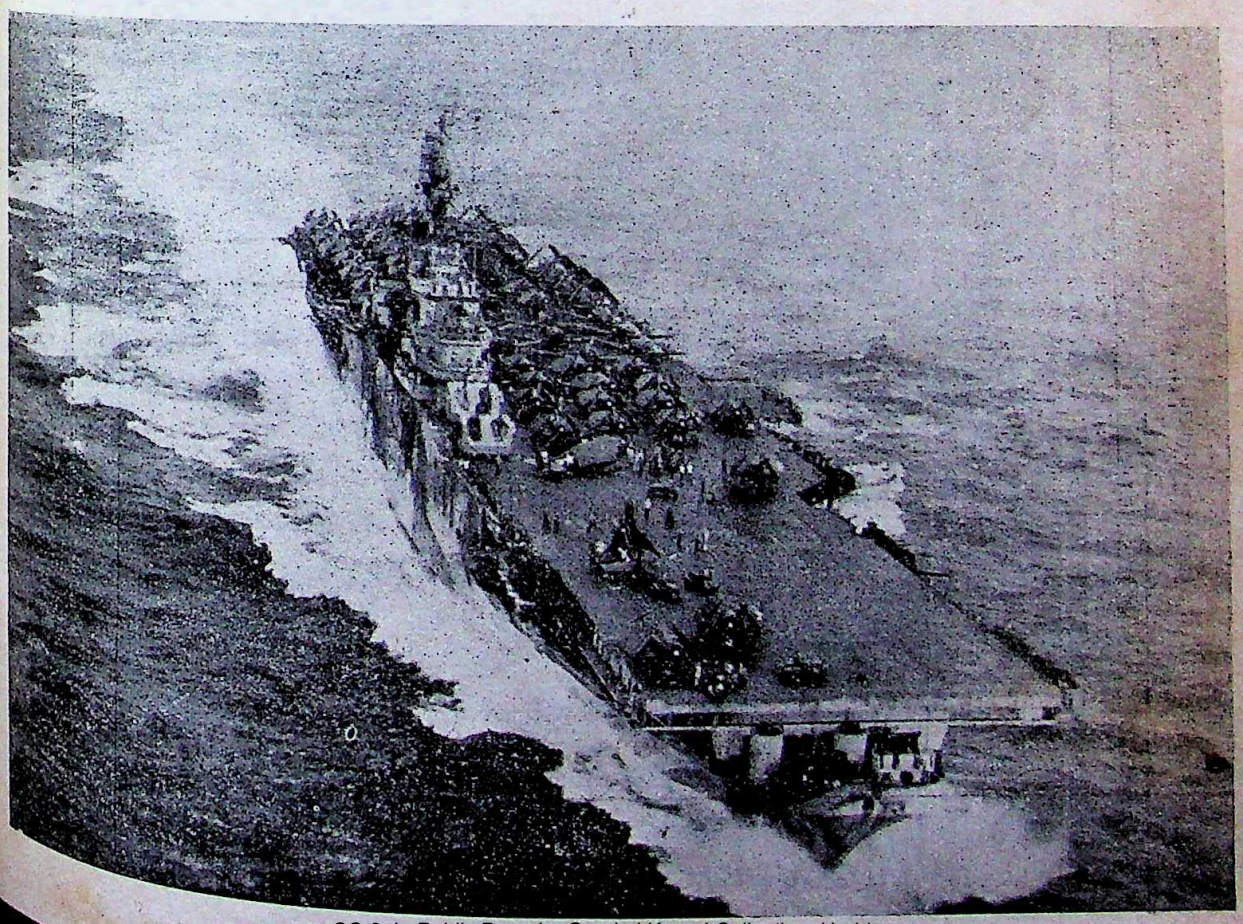


B-29 Superfortresses in the Marianas ready for attack on Japan



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U. S. aircraft-carrier steams through the Pacific

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DESOLATE SHORE
By Devaprasad Roy Chowdhury

Prabhat Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

The End of World War No. 2

The last phase of the war against the Axis powers came when there were less than three weeks left of the sixth year of the struggle. As yet the finale has not come to a close (29. 8. 45.) but the Allied fleet is steaming into Tokyo Bay, and soon the curtain will be rung down on the second act of what seems to be the tragedy of Western civilization. The end came with dramatic suddenness, as is known to the world, with the Atom bomb and the Russian invasion of Manchuria. But whatever be the factors in the concluding stage, the main cause of the Japanese collapse was the American conquest of the air, as was also the tidal wave of American war production. As in Europe so in Asia the failure of the Axis lay in their inability to meet this twin challenge of the U.S.A. war effort. Of course, it must be admitted that but for the grim and bitter resistance put up by the Chinese and the Russians there would have been no time for the American war machine to reach its optimum output. Similarly it must also be conceded that many other opponents of the Axis contributed in their own several ways towards the scattering away of the fighting strength of the Wehrmacht, without which the defeat of the Germans would have been a task even more favourable than what it was in 1944 and 1945. But World War II has come to a close anyhow and soon it would be merely so much material for historians, propagandists and other dealers in political fiction.

The first World War was a "war to end all wars" and such a good job did the victors make of it that the twenty-seven years that have elapsed since, the world knew no peace. There was a backward drift into feudal despotism on the part of all the Imperialist powers, major and minor, and international tension never eased for a moment, nor did the fires of war totally cease on this earth for a day. Oppression of subject peoples reached a new height once the Western imperialists felt that they were secure, and their Far-Eastern colleague started fishing in troubled waters, in accordance with the rules of the game of Power Politics. International strife began to rise in intensity and with the advent of the Rome-Berlin Axis the dream of world peace and security faded into the thin air. Major wars started blazing up in Africa, Asia and South-Western Europe, while the "Democracies" kept looking on with puzzled amazement. Then followed a stampede for the stepping-up of armament production which set the trigger for the world-shaking explosion that was the second World War.

The second World War has surpassed the first one not only in its magnitude and intensity but also in its slogans and shibboleths and likewise in its diatribes and denunciations. The suffering of the billion odd inhabitants of the old world beggars description while the whole world, victors and vanquished alike, is now facing economic chaos. All the wealth of the nations of the Western "civilized world," accumulated through three centuries of toil and predatory adventure, now clutter the earth as rubble, dust and metallic shards or poison the atmosphere in the form of noxious gases. It may truly be termed the end, not only of the World War II, but of almost all things that really are of the essence.

The War is over, and Post-War merely awaits the Declaration of Peace. And in the terms of that Peace the World will see what will prevail, *Ahimsa* or the Atom bomb.

The Atom Bomb

In all its six years of intensified scientific warfare World War II produced no new weapons of destruction excepting towards the end. For almost five years the armament of the belligerents were merely bigger and "better" varieties of the weapons of World War I. Mechanized warfare brought into action panzers of diverse varieties, with far greater fire-power, superior mobility and heavier armour. Aeroplanes were improved beyond the dreams of the air-strategists of 1914-1939. Interceptors and Fighters attained speeds exceeding that of sound, with the capacity to climb into the stratosphere at a straight steep angle with the speed of an arrow. Bombers of gigantic size and tremendous radius of action were built to carry bombs of great destructive power to heights never attained before, and so on and so forth. And above all the Gargantuan production of the U.S.A. war factories dwarfed all previous records into insignificance. But there was nothing in all this that was intrinsically new. Towards the close of the War in Europe came the V weapons,

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marking not only a new departure in the matter of destructive missiles but also a new phase in the methods of "civilized" warfare. And the end of the six-year-old struggle was hastened by the newest of all weapons, which ushered in not only a radically new method of destruction but also threw into strong relief this new phase abovementioned.

What is known as the early medieval period of History is marked by the savage and barbaric incursions of uncivilized nomadic peoples of Central Asia into the civilized areas on a vast scale. Inhuman slaughter of innocent non-combatants and wanton destruction of all things pertaining to higher modes of living and thinking were the results. Entire peoples were terrorised into slavery and highly-developed civilizations, as those of Mesopotamia, Iran and Trans-Caspian areas, were ruthlessly destroyed. Revulsion rose high in all cultured countries and as a result was evolved a code of warfare which put certain limitations on methods of fighting and on the use of weapons, which also enforced discrimination between combatants and non-combatants. The Code of Chivalry of the medieval period marks the zenith of this attempt to civilize warfare, and Western civilization really starts from that period. In the East, the Code of Honour amongst warriors is far more ancient amongst the civilized peoples of Asia, whence resulted the magnificent civilization of the East, that were destroyed by the barbarians of the West and Far-West, whose methods of warfare were devoid of all concepts of honour and morality.

Gun-powder marked the end of chivalry, as was remarked by Chevalier Bayard, the greatest name amongst the knights of Europe. Immense power for destruction was put in the hands of the unscrupulous peoples of the West and for centuries thereafter the world knew neither peace nor security. War was glorified since it brought in plunder and threw into slavery people who did not possess adequate firearms. And this process of international butchery and blackmail has prevailed up till now despite protests from a multitude of thinkers and philosophers. Western civilization has lapsed more and more into savagery although the outward veneer of luxury and science has been polished up to a brilliance never attained before. Standards of living have soared up, while the thoughts and passions of the possessers of that standard sank lower and lower.

The Atom bomb marks perhaps the culminating point in this retrogression. In effect it tends to complete the work begun by gun-powder. It has been denounced by all true lovers of human life and culture, from the Pope downwards, and pious hopes have been expressed by others that it would act as an instrument of international peace, since the secret is in "right hands"! It is useless to discuss here either the futility of the denunciation or the inanity of the hopes as the next decade, or even a lesser period, will amply demonstrate the realities of the situation. It is sufficient to remark that this 'secret' will be possessed by *all bellicose nations* within the next few years and new fissures will develop into international alliances and antagonisms accordingly. And that Western civilization will go down in a welter of destruction and mass butchery of non-combatants, unless the Western peoples can radically alter their ideas of living like princes of old and thinking and behaving like predatory animals.

British Empire a Trading Empire

Leonard Barnes, in his recently published admir booklet *Soviet Light on Colonies*, gives a brill picture of the British colonial system as viewed by Socialist politician. He seems to have touched the part of the subject when he says that the real ques in British colonial policy is: "What is the conceal final end that operates to produce the appearance aimlessness? What is the unstated major premis which British official thinking about colonial af depends, and why does it express itself in policies th seem to exhibit no coherent principle?" The auth himself answers this question and says that there is great mystery about it really. If it appears to work a mysterious way, that is simply because it gove British colonial policy without being concerned w conditions inside the colonies. He suggests that t British colonial system has always been and still fundamentally uninterested in the internal state social health among colonial peoples. British empire a trading empire, British dominant interest in the co tries of which they make imperial use is the ex territorial rights that have been carved out for the selves—"the iron frame within which trade (and latte industry as well) could be preferentially carried o To the problems of the various societies among wh that trade and industry went forward, British atti has been one of superb indifference.

The basic formula for the British empire is ex cessions, foreign settlements and extra-territorial rig The conception of extra-territoriality lies at the root all their colonial dealings and gives them a certai consistency, beneath their superficial opportunism Administrative responsibility is avoided as far a possible. When such responsibility is assumed it is done with reluctance and for the primary purpose of creating stable economic and political conditions for prof earning co-operation between British capital and natives labour and natural resources. Dependencies which are actually governed are secondary forms derived from the extra-territorial prototype to meet special circum stances. "Government is conceived as a regrettable sometimes necessary outgrowth from extra-territoriality and is felt as something whose scope it is alwa advisable to restrict to the minimum."

This hypothesis no doubt is capable of accounting for all the characteristic features of British Imperialism There is a grotesque discrepancy between the pro principle of no racial discrimination and the extreme thorough practical elaboration of the colour bar in industry, trade, law, education, public and social services, property ownership, political representation and entry into government service. Britain abstains from any positive or constructive role in colonial affairs. The British Imperialists have the profound conviction that the art of government consists in bring ing about some kind of balance of pre-existing social forces and interests, while declining all effort to impose a consciously chosen direction to the social process as a whole.

British "Trusteeship"

Barnes next discusses the trusteeship theory as the foundation of British colonial policy. He suggests that trusteeship arises as a secondary feature of policy in the secondary type of dependency—the type of dep

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dency in which Britain does assume direct administrative responsibility. In the last two or three generations, Britain, and indeed every advanced country, has been driven to introduce universal compulsory education, a complicated system of social insurance, and a wide range of social services, in order to maintain the working population at the level of technical efficiency required to enable the ruling groups to pursue the art of power politics with some hope of success. In the same way and for very similar reasons there comes a stage, as world economic relations grow more closely integrated, when even the iron frame in the colonies has to be padded and upholstered a little, if the natives who toil within it are to be kept sweet and made competent to carry out the technical tasks which world economy imposes on them.

In trying to appraise the whole colonial situation, one has to see this trusteeship question in proportion. The zone of the effective operation of trusteeship is evidently small by comparison with the total social area involved; trusteeship measures actually touch only a little minority of the population. The indices of literacy and of infant mortality, to take two examples at random, are enough to show that. Education in the colonies is never compulsory and it is far from being universal. The social services and public utilities are incomplete and fragmentary in the extreme.

For some months even after this war started the British were still clinging desperately to their pet formula that each dependency should be self-supporting from the standpoint of the public finance. This means that until the early summer of 1940 they were committed to a mainly negative and passive interpretation of trusteeship. Barnes calls it a sort of atomic self-sufficiency which has now been abandoned—nominally. The British authorities announced in 1940 that financial assistance for development and welfare schemes in the colonies would be granted up to a maximum of £5 million a year. The total population of the British colonial empire, excluding India, is about 60 million. The British Government has, therefore, expressed its intentions wish to spend 1s. 8d. per colonial head per year in implementing the trusteeship principle. But in practice, Britain does not do even this. The *Economist* records that the total financial assistance given to the colonies under the new scheme was just over £800,000 up to the end of 1941—about one-seventh of what should have been spent if the rate of £5 million a year were maintained. In other words, on Britain's new 'activist' interpretation of the trusteeship, they have allocated from central funds over a year and a half about 3d. per head of the colonial population for welfare and development. This effective rate of 3d. a year does not suggest that the improvement in conditions at the colonial end is likely to be very striking. The *Economist* mentions, by the way, that the Chairman of the committee which settles these allocations has another full time job, and can spare only an hour a week to the committee's business. Then Barnes says that if the *Economist's* version of the facts be accurate, apart from its views, those responsible for the administration of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act are, according to Soviet notions, wreckers and saboteurs. In Soviet Russia, they would be arrested, put on trial, and if convicted sentenced to a fair slice of imprisonment. In Britain, however, they remain undisturbed in objects of consideration and influence, and apparently give satisfaction to the highest authorities. Something more deep-seated than hypocrisy may be tracked down in the trusteeship principle. In considering the practical significance of the trusteeship principle, one has to remember firstly that its benefit extends only to a small minority of the colonial population, secondly that it was a negative principle until 1940, thirdly that since then British official agents have indeed pursued it in its positive form but in a remarkably half-hearted manner and on a remarkably diminutive scale, and lastly that most of Britain's unofficial agents, such as settlers, mine-owners, banks and big trading concerns, do not make even a pretence of pursuing it in either form. This last matter is important, as the great bulk of the active relations between the British society and native societies of the colonies are conducted by these unofficial agents. The impact made by the officials and their policies is altogether less extensive, less sharp and less continuous. Trusteeship, in short, is a speciality of officialdom, and is of far less vital influence than the unofficial economic penetration by which it is vigorously and often bitterly repudiated.

The history of colonial trade affords abundant evidence that the terms of exchange are normally unfavourable to the native participant, whether he figures as buyer or as seller. Indeed, colonies are valued precisely because colonial trade can offer it continuously over a longer period than can trade with sovereign, independent, and one may add, well-armed countries. Orthodox British spokesmen appear to overlook all these points when they expatiate on the topic of trusteeship.

Power Politics Behind Middle East Oil

The *Commerce* writes in its issue dated July 21:

The oil resources in the Middle East are enormous, with great supplies still untapped. The major fields are in five Provinces of North Persia, and in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and their neighbourhood. The eyes of the Big Three have, for a fairly long time, been concentrated on these rich resources. The United States is interested in their exploitation as its own oil reserves are stated to be getting depleted. Britain has no natural reserves in its homeland and has, for several years past, enjoyed concessions in exploiting oil resources in Iran. Russia is interested in Middle East oil areas for more reasons than one—both economic and political. From the Czarist days, Russia has enjoyed oil concessions in the northern Provinces of Persia; and, with the recapture of Rumanian and Polish oilfields, it cannot pretend to be short of oil for its internal needs. The interest it now evinces in this direction is twofold: first, for claiming a right in the South to ship oil from the Persian Gulf, back through the Suez and the Dardanelles, to Batum and feed its export markets; and second, with a view to exercising political hegemony in the areas extending as far as the Persian Gulf.

Whatever may be their respective motives, the Big Three, in their mutual interests, are anxious to avoid a clash in the Middle East region; indeed, there have been evidences of anxiety on the part of Britain and the U.S.A. to arrive at an agreement on the issue with Russia. It is pretty certain that the Middle East oil question will come up for discussion at the Potsdam Conference now in conclave. Early last year, there were suggestions that some link between the three countries had been established in regard to the development, sale, and distribution of oil from the Middle East, but they lacked confir-

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mation. There have, however, been pointers suggesting that moves have been afoot for a world-wide agreement covering the development and conservation of oil resources. America is especially appreciative of the fact that agreement between the Big Three would enable them "to control 95 per cent of the known oil resources of the world, and would be an effective weapon at the Peace Conference as well as international trade and policies."

India has also been included in this zone of trading interest. It has been openly alleged that all the prospecting licenses for oil have been granted to European companies and no contradiction of this allegation has as yet come to our notice.

Separation of Races in South Africa

The following report appears in the *Natal Mercury* of South Africa :

> The Bill, of which Mr. H. G. Lawrence, Minister of Welfare, gave notice in the House of Assembly, comprises five clauses and a number of regulations which will permit the State to take almost whatever action is deemed necessary to end the present dangerous shortage of roofs for the population.
>
> While the full details of the Bill have as yet not been made available to Parliament, I understand that the regulations will enable Provincial Administrations to set up housing boards which will have powers largely parallel to those of the National Housing and Planning Commission. They will empower such housing boards to expropriate for housing purposes and to take steps towards the separation of races. In this respect the provisions of the Natal Housing Ordinance, passed last year by the Natal Provincial Council will be validated.
>
> The Bill is a most contentious one, but some protection is afforded by the fact that the drastic powers to be conferred upon executive authorities must be reviewed in three years.
>
> One of the greatest obstacles—that of building and auxiliary trade union support—has, I understand, been overcome as a result of the active work of Mr. Ivan Walker, the Secretary for Labour.
>
> The Bill will authorise the National Housing and Planning Commission to act for the Government, to commence building operations without delay, to acquire in bulk building materials necessary for national housing, to undertake experimental construction, and to requisition land on a basis of 30 days' notice. Most of these features were incorporated by the Defence Department at the outbreak of the war.

Recently Mr. Lawrence, in the Union Senate, warned the country that these methods would be adopted to meet the housing shortage.

Commenting on the Housing Bill, *Indian Opinion*, an organ of the Indians in South Africa, writes : "We have no doubt that the other object of this Bill is to provide for the separation of races. The Bill will empower the provinces to set up their own Housing Boards. Natal will be the first to put into operation the powers given to the Provincial Councils under this Bill. Indians in Natal will be the first to bear the brunt of the separation of races. And it must follow Indians in Transvaal and in the Cape will also be faced with the operation of the separation of races by their Provincial Administrations. All Indians sooner or later will become the subject of racial separation and so also other non-European races."

The *Indian Opinion* does not seem to have any illusion about the High Commissioner in South Africa or his masters at New Delhi. It clearly says that "he is not the representative of an Indian National Government. If he were so appointed by such a National Government, he would have taken his cue in all he did from his National Government. We are not yet near to that National Government."

The passing of this Bill in its present form is a clear breach of the Capetown Agreement and Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. Such breach of agreement on the part of the South African Government is nothing new. a similar breach of both these Agreements was deliberately made when the Asiatic Land Tenure and Trading Act was passed. It is natural that such breaches will be more frequent when the war is over and South Africa no longer needs Indian blood to defend her freedom. General Smuts has expressed his anxiety to build a better world. He has started with Indian baiting just as the Nazi Fuehrer had begun his world mission with Jew baiting.

Unholy Alliance Between Indian and British Industrialists

A scathing indictment of what is considered as an unholy alliance between the British and Indian industrialists for the management of Indian industries was made by Mr. Jagmohandas Kapadia at the last quarterly general meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay. The speaker informed the House that he had received information from London which showed that the process of mortgaging managerial rights over Indian industries had already begun. The speaker gave details of his information to indicate that certain Indian industries had concluded contracts with the British Companies the effect of which was to start Indian Companies with such capital structures as would enable two classes of shares to be issued—shares of a higher denomination and shares of lower denomination —the British and the Indian industrialists taking up the bulk of the shares of the lower denomination whose voting rights were the same as those of the shares of the higher denomination. By such devices, said Mr. Kapadia, a complete alliance between the British and Indian industrialists was achieved on the Indian industrial front so far as management of Indian industries was concerned. The speaker further revealed that under the arrangement explained by him the British and the Indian managing agents were to share in the managing agency remuneration as also in the royalties to be paid to the British company. Besides the Chairman and the Director of the Board were also subject to the approval of the British concern. It was also provided that no changes could be made in the Articles of Association which would disturb the equilibrium regarding the voting rights. In the opinion of the speaker these arrangements were repugnant to the canons of patriotism, and he felt that the stage was reached when it had become necessary for the Committee of the Chamber to criticise the industrialists who entered into such unpatriotic deals.

Mr. M. A. Master, President of the Chamber, said "It is reported by some of the responsible industrial leaders, who have returned to this country after visiting Great Britain and America, that they have received advice from responsible government quarters that

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would not be wrong to allow the foreigners to participate in the Indian ventures to the extent of 30 per cent." This apparently innocent concession will be sufficient to hand over complete control over the Indian industries to the foreigners. Judging from the practice today, it is found that Managing Agents who hold 30 per cent of the shares of a concern are able to exercise complete control over them. Indian shareholders, holding 70 per cent of the shares, are scattered all over this vast sub-continent, and it is not possible for them all to assemble. The maximum attendance of shareholders in a company's general meeting is barely 50 per cent, usually much less. Control over a compact group of 30 per cent easily gives a managing agent or a managing director full powers over the company. Mr. Master has also pointed out that there has not been, and can never be generally cent per cent voting. It will, therefore, be realised that even 10 or 15 per cent participation by foreigners in capital will give them not only a substantial control of the industries but it will also give them the opportunity of exercising the right and power of veto on such progress and development of the industry as may be prejudicial to the interest of the foreigners in the future. The country will eagerly wait to know the identity of those members of the Industrial Commission who have taken this opportunity to betray their country for personal gains.

U. N. R. R. A. and India

The U.N.R.R.A. has assumed quite a lot of importance to India. It is absolutely callous in respect of providing relief for the devastated areas in Bengal and Assam which have suffered as a direct result of Jap invasion. But it shows great eagerness to squeeze out more and more money from the Indian exchequer. One must not forget that the sole task of this organisation is to extend relief mainly to the European destitutes. India is as yet excluded from its sphere of operation. Allegations of blackmarketing activities have been made against some of its workers which is being investigated by the British police. Americans also are demanding an inquiry.

At the U.N.R.R.A. Conference recently held in London, question arose of implementing its financial resources by increasing the contributions from each country by one per cent. This means in effect doubling the contributions. The original contribution was based on one per cent of the contributing country's revenue. India gave 8 crores. Increasing the contribution by one per cent more means doubling and naturally India would be called upon to pay Rs. 8 crores more. Indian delegation refrained from voting on the demand for increase at the Conference because India could not afford to make this increase. The magnitude of India's contribution is realised from the Indian High Commissioner's statement who pointed out that out of total contribution of 70 million dollars to that body, 24 millions, or more than one-third was contributed by India. Sir Samuel Ranganathan, at the final session, said:

India cannot be insensitive to the pressing needs of relief in those countries which have endured occupation by enemy. Her long humanitarian traditions preclude that her attitude to the suffering in any part of the world should show any lack of sympathy. India particularly welcomes the promised extension of the beneficent activities of U.N.R.R.A. to the Far East which the collapse of Japan now makes possible. Without allocation of substantial proportion of U.N.R.R.A.'s funds to the relief in the Far East, India would regard the work of U.N.R.R.A. as seriously defective. My Government realises that U.N.R.R.A.'s existing funds will prove inadequate to meet the total needs of first-aid in Europe and Asia. Nevertheless India though spared of extensive devastation by enemy has suffered severely through war. Her position as base for major operations has involved very heavy direct financial commitments on her Government and she has greatly strained her internal economy which has always lacked that margin of safety which is normal in many other countries. India herself has during war been without consumption goods which U.N.R.R.A. is bringing to the recipient countries. Against this background and expenditure on internal relief of over 700,00,000 dollars, contribution of 240,00,000 dollars has already been voted by India.

We must remember another significant fact that although India contributes more than one-third of its total fund, she has no seat on its Central Committee which consists of Great Britain, U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and China. Although Indian delegation did not vote, it has now been given out that "all contributing countries have agreed to recommend their Governments double this payment to the organisation's fund."

India has nothing to do with wars. She never participated in fomenting them. It is utterly shameless to call upon India to pay heavily in rehabilitating the areas devastated by the warlike activities of the Europeans themselves. Indian blood and money have been largely used against her wish in this act of destruction and it is monstrous to call upon her to contribute for their relief when her own people are in the direct need of relief. No western country ever came to her help when she needed it.

Government of India's Mineral Policy

The mineral policy of the Government of India has long been an object of mystery. The Geological Survey of India, dealing with India's minerals, was established in 1842, and it was only in 1945, *i.e.*, more than a century later, the mineral policy of the Government was enunciated for the first time. Even this was done grudgingly by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on a cut motion moved by Mr. K. C. Neogy. He began his statement with the frank confession, "I shall be very candid and say that the Government of India so far had really no mineral policy." The Government of India have recently declared their industrial policy. This declaration dismisses the mineral policy in one sentence by stating that steps were being taken to extend the geological survey. The only specific reference was to coal but even that was confined to a fare statement that the case of coal would be examined and dealt with separately.

The Government of India's mineral policy came up for discussion in the Central Legislative Assembly over the question of the election of a member to the Advisory Committee for the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India. Mr. K. C. Neogy, who initiated the debate, referred to a Conference which was presided over by Sir Feroz Khan Noon, while he held charge of the Department, on July 6, 1942, at which a lengthy statement was made by Dr. Cyril Fox, Director of the Geological Survey of India, in the course of which

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he called attention to the disgraceful policy of the Government of India in regard to the development of India's mineral resources during the last century or so.

Mr. Neogy said :

> Dr. Fox, in announcing the constitution of the Utilisation Branch of the geological survey at the conference, referred to the fact that India even from pre-historic days—he referred to 2,000 B.C.—was a manufacturing country in respect of important metals and was actually exporting manufactured steel to other different parts of the world. With the British connection, however, the whole picture was changed and Dr. Fox made the astounding revelation that the importance of geological work on the part of the Government was realised only in the interests of getting coal for the purpose of supplying ships which came from Europe with merchandise to this country. That was the first step that was taken for the purpose of undertaking geological activities in this country at the instance of the Government of India. (*Central Assembly Proceedings, dated September 14, 1942.*)

Mr. Neogy pointed out that a specific reference to the year 1902 was made by Dr. Fox. He said that in that year the Department possessed six specialised mineral experts and was prepared for a big utilisation drive. The Government of India of those days did not agree to this work of utilisation and stripped the department of its personnel by turning the experts into simple mining inspectors. The Government took the view that the department was concerned in getting minerals for export to other countries and was not interested in the question of manufacturing anything out of these minerals. This is what Dr. Fox said : "The work of geologists in India was mainly to promote the export of raw materials rather than encourage industrial development in this country."

Forty years later, after the fall of Burma, the Government's conscience was roused and they entertained Dr. Fox's proposal to establish a Utilisation Branch. This Branch has been manned mostly by the Burma evacuees so far as important appointments were concerned. At the opening of the Utilisation Branch we had been given an idea that utilisation was really desired by the Government. No doubt it began during a critical period in the war, but that was nothing more than an incidental feature. It would continue after the war. But in fact, with the improvement of the war situation in Asia, specially Burma, the activities of the Utilisation Branch have been curtailed and it is a fact that it is now in a moribund condition. It will not be surprising if India still remains a mere exporter of raw materials as has been the case so far.

The first clear statement on the Government's mineral policy came from Dr. Ambedkar on March 12, 1945. He said :

> The mineral policy of the Government of India and the action which the Government of India propose to take in furtherance of that policy falls into two parts : in the first place we propose to reconstitute the Geological Survey of India in order to make it a more potent instrument for the furtherance of our policy. Accordingly, a detailed scheme of expansion of the survey has been drawn up and administratively approved. The new branches of the Geological Survey which we propose to set up will deal with engineering geology, industrial utilisation of minerals, central mineral development, physical work, oil development. It will include the establishment of a natural history museum and publicity section in order to keep the public informed of what is being done.

Dr. Ambedkar said that the second part of the Government's mineral policy consists of legislation which the Government of India propose to initiate for the purpose of establishing control over minerals.

Government of India's Mineral Policy in Action

Within six months of this declaration, we have got a foretaste that the mineral policy of the Government will be administered quite in keeping with its traditional practice of exploitation of Indian resources for the benefit of Britain. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in an editorial article published early in August, stated that recruitment in the expanded Geological Survey was going to be made on racial considerations. Provision for the appointment of a large number of foreigners have been made by earmarking the big posts for non-Asiatics and it was revealed that an Italian war prisoner was going to be one of the fortunates to be selected. Indians have so far been carefully kept out of the highest posts on the Survey. The usual plea is that there are no experts among Indians. But we have a suspicion that Indian officers are not allowed to become experts. If an Indian expert is not given a scope for gaining experience, there is no chance of perfecting their knowledge during the tenure of their office. This careful discouragement provides the Government with the usual plea that Indians are no experts.

The manner in which the Government's mineral policy works, has been further illustrated in the review of the mineral resources and industries of India and their post-war development drawn up by the Mineral Advisory Committee formed by the Mining, Geological and Metallurgical Institute of India. In 1930, at the third Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress, held in South Africa, this Institute was represented by Mr. E. L. G. Clegg and Mr. F. G. Percival. The former had subsequently become the Director of the Geological Survey of India. It was resolved in this Congress, "that the proposal to institute a 'Review of the mineral resources and industries of the Empire and the conditions affecting their development' be submitted to the Imperial Conference which will assemble in London on September 30, 1930, in the hope that the proposal . . . may meet with general approval . . . ." These proposals were submitted to the Imperial Conference of 1930 which adopted the following resolution :

> The Conference recommends to the favourable consideration of the various governments that steps should be taken by each part of the Commonwealth to compile along the lines of a common plan existing information of its mineral resources, and where practicable, to make a survey of those resources with a view to completing such information, arrangements for the settlement of the form of programme and for the correlation of results to be undertaken by a Central Committee on which such governments as may desire, the Imperial Institute, and Mining and Metallurgical Institutions of the Commonwealth would be represented.

The Review referred to is the continuous review and the object of the Report, as stated in the Report, is, "is two-fold : (a) a year or two ago, "is two-fold : (a) a place before the Empire Council the views of

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Institute on India's mineral position so that the Empire Council can include them in whatever plans it may adopt for the Empire in its endeavour to take part in the discussions on the future of the mineral and metallurgical industries on the cessation of hostilities; (b) to place before the Government of India the views of this Institute in the hope that such official action as is necessary will be taken."

Discussing the Atlantic Charter from the Indian and International viewpoint, even these Reviews that are made to serve Imperial interests state: "It cannot by any stretch of the imagination be contended that India has placed any restrictions on the free availability of its mineral raw materials to the world. On the contrary, there is much to appreciate in the contention that the world's industry has gained more from the use of Indian minerals than Indian trade itself has gained; indeed the argument has been advanced by some that most of these minerals have been exported in the raw state to the detriment of Indian industrial possibilities."

It must be clear that the mineral policy of the Government of India has been kept carefully separate from the industrial policy. Dr. Ambedkar had stated, in his declaration, dated, March 12, referred to before, that "the mineral policy of any government is necessarily dependent upon the industrial policy of that government. Minerals necessarily play a great part in the industrial development of the country and if the country has no industrial policy, obviously there cannot be a mineral policy at all." The Government of India's industrial policy has been officially declared after this statement. The inherent connection between the mineral and the industrial policy, so candidly stated by Dr. Ambedkar, has been left undefined in it. Is it because the Government of India still desires to keep the two separate or due to a lack of co-ordination between Dr. Ambedkar and Sir A. R. Dalal's Departments?

War-time Development of Banking in India

Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, in his speech at the last annual meeting of the Bank, discussed some features of the war-time development of Banking in India. Some of these features were in evidence even before the outbreak of war, but the plethoric monetary conditions which the war has brought in its wake seem to have intensified them, and though the extent of these unsound practices is yet to be ascertained, available information, specially given out by Sir Chintamon, indicates that they are sufficiently widespread to need a word of caution. The first among these is "the tendency among a few banks to acquire control of non-banking companies by the purchase of the latter's shares, regardless of the price, yield and the effects of the deal on the bank's financial position. Closely allied to this one the interlocking of interests between banks and concerns and the holding of large blocks of shares of companies controlled by the management or directors, the floatation of investment trusts for such purposes, and in general the tendency to use a part of the depositors' money for the benefit of the management against the traditional canons of safety, profitability and liquidity." The second undesirable feature is "the indiscriminate growth of banking engaged in by a number of banks, with the object of attracting deposits at high rates of interest in places which already have adequate banking facilities resulting in the banks' temptation to make larger profits by assuming greater risks in making advances or in giving undue facilities to borrowers. In some cases, the expenditure incurred on branches is out of all proportion to the resources of the institution or the capacity of the head office or available trained staff to control them officially."

The third undesirable feature "is the excessive manipulation practised, in a few instances, at the time of the preparation of balance sheets which give an altogether misleading impression of the bank's financial position to the shareholders and auditors, particularly in respect of deposits." Besides these, "there are also indications that certain banks, which obtained windfall profits through speculative operations in shares or Government securities or the revaluation of either investments or immoveable properties, have frittered them away in paying dividends instead of following the sounder and more conservative policy of strengthening their reserves."

These unwholesome features are sought to be removed by the present Banking Bill, now with the Select Committee. But judging from the draft Bill we are not quite sure how far it will succeed in removing them. The Bill as it stands now, is not sufficient to meet all the realities of our banking problem. Its chief defect is that it is essentially negative in character and seeks to give much more powers at the hands of the big banks at the cost of smaller ones. It embodies no plan for the healthy growth of the entire credit structure of the country and makes no provision for safeguarding the genuine Indian banking against the unequal competition of the foreign banks.

In this connection we may mention the Banking Act and the Commonwealth Bank Act recently passed by the Federal Parliament of Australia. Both these Acts have their positive aspects, and are not purely negative in character like our Indian Banking Bill. Under the Australian Banking Act it is now mandatory for any bank that may be unable to meet its obligations, to inform the Commonwealth Bank, which can then take over the bank and operate it until all deposits have been repaid or suitable provision made for their repayment. The great need for such a provision in the Indian Banking Bill will be realised within the coming few months. A crop of bank failures may be apprehended when the prices of gold, machinery and commodities go down the cover limit and immediate demands for repyament are not fully met. Our Reserve Bank will be nothing more than a mere statue if and when a bank crash comes. Bank crashes are likely to be widespread all over the world, as had been the case after the last Great War. While other countries are taking steps to prevent such a catastrophe the Government of India is sleeping and the Governor of the Reserve Bank is busy merely delivering sermons over the unwholesome practices instead of doing his best to devise means to tide over the impending crisis.

Two of the more important features of the second Act, the Commonwealth Bank Act, may also be mentioned here for the enlightenment of our financial experts. They may very profitably be introduced in India. The most important addition in the Commonwealth Bank Act is the Industrial Finance Department which will provide long-term finance for industry, particularly small undertakings. The second feature is the special provision for the Commonwealth Bank to

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make housing loans. These will be on a credit foncier system to individuals and prescribed building societies to build and buy homes or pay off mortgage on homes. Preference will be given to those who wish to build their own homes. With a limit of £1,250, loans will be made to individuals up to 85 per cent of the security. Repayment will be over a period of not less than five years and not more than 35 years. Interest rates will be as low as practicable.

Rowlands on Tax Dodging

Sir Archibald Rowlands, Finance Member to the Government of India, discussed tax dodging and reorganisation of Government machinery in an interview with the New Delhi correspondent of the *Free Press* (July 29). He said that in England people tried to exploit loop-holes in law to escape taxes but did not attempt to evade them when clearly due under law. It is difficult to draw a dividing line between "exploiting the loop-holes" practised in Britain and evasion alleged in India. To the common man, both appear almost the same in intent and effect. But to those who have a comparative knowledge about the tax systems of Britain and India will understand that there is genuine cause for evasion of tax. The tax burden in this country is very much higher and in several cases extremely unjust. For example, Income-tax in India is the same for every earning which makes no discrimination whatsoever in respect of bachelors, small families or large families. It is, therefore, quite natural that an income tax assessee with a large family will try his best to evade tax. In respect of income tax on companies, the most glaring discrimination between a British and an Indian firm is made. The former's assessment is done on its balance sheet and the whole procedure is finished within a few hours while an Indian firm has to submit all its account books for assessment. Days and weeks and sometimes months are wasted in arriving at the taxable figure which means unnecessary expenses and vexation for the company. The Excess Profits Tax is another shameless example of discrimination in taxing British and Indian companies. The British people has another advantage over Indians in this country. When a taxation measure is passed in any Indian legislature, they secure legal exemptions by utilising their political advantage in this country. The partial exemption secured by Tea Companies which are mainly British from Income-tax or from Agricultural Income-taxes are well-known. We do not claim to know what exactly happens in Britain in the matter of tax dodging, but we find that in India, the British people are no less eager to evade taxation than the citizens of this country. The only difference is that evasion is legally secured by the British while a colossal amount of tax is gathered from the poor people of the country groaning under one of the most unjust and inequitable systems of taxation in the world.

Rowlands on Reorganisation of Government Machinery

In the same interview, Sir Archibald discussed the problem of the reorganisation of Government machinery and said that such reorganisation was long overdue. Two of his most significant sentences are: "If the Viceroy's Council consisted of members commanding general support in the legislature and country, their task of dealing with difficult and complex prob that lie ahead would obviously be easier than th a government lacking such support. A govern formed by such representative Indians would doub find the legislature co-operating with construc criticism. Sir Archibald frankly admitted that present government was necessarily less in touch public opinion than a representative government. admission is very important because it is the consid opinion of one who had the opportunity of exami the entire governmental machinery of the biggest vince in India. His report on the Bengal Administra indicates that it has left a bitter taste in his mo This report is a positive proof, if proof was needed the danger a government runs in allowing its admi trative machinery to be drifted away from the moorings of a public vigilance. Power without resp sibility is an opiate which is bound to turn the he of the officials and the entire administration is t thrown open to bribery, jobbery and corruption. T shelter they seek behind control measures and increa powers will always prove inadequate and claim more powers will ever remain incessant. This is exa the condition today. One of the fundamental causes the utter lack of the Bengal Administration to co with the last famine was an unbridled exercise power without the slightest responsibility to t people. A paper responsibility to a foreign governm through Governors or the Governor-General mo nothing. It merely provides an additional cover official misdeeds as it invariably does under the pres conditions.

How Control Hits Handloom Weavers

The President, Madras Sourashtra Weavers' Association, writes in the *Free Press*, Madras, (Aug. 5):

> It is learnt that the Government are contemplating introduction of controls with regard to handloom cloths. The poor weavers are already suffering a great deal due to the lack of adequate supply of yarn every month. Originally each weaver was supplied 6 bundles of yarn a month; later on the Government Controller reduced the quota to 3 bundles, while in fact only 1½ bundles are supplied. Thus the weavers have only work for one week in the month and go without any work for the rest of the month. The condition of the weavers is very pitiable. And this reduced supply of yarn has also been responsible for the increased cost of handloom clothes.
>
> Introducing control will only add to their misery. If the Government will, instead of introducing control make early arrangements for supplying at least 6 bundles of yarn to each weaver, the position will not only ease, but the prices of handloom clothes will also come down. Then there will be no necessity for any kind of a control. Furthermore, individual weavers work on a very small capital, most of them are uneducated, and cannot therefore be expected to keep accounts, submit returns and reports, etc., which will become inevitable when control to be introduced.

Control of a commodity produced by unorganised people is bound to lead to further chaos and exploitation. In Bengal, jute price has been controlled by the fixation of a maximum, and the result has been endless and unlimited misery for the jute growers. The practice is for the British Mills and the non-provincial

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keep their shares of the profit out of this maximum, d only the remainder which is barely sufficient to pay the cost of production goes to the grower. Of gal's golden fibre, gold goes to Britain and Marwar d malaria remains for the cultivator. The control sures have just legalised and perpetuated this pro- We apprehend that control of handloom cloth will be different. The poor weavers always in need of t relief are at the mercy of the rich and powerful dlemen. The fabulous rise in the price of the hand- m products has enriched only the middleman and shopkeeper. Introduction of control measures, rced by the present administrative machinery sur- ged with inefficiency and corruption will open up her avenues of exploitation. Control measure can er be successful unless introduced by a national vernment, operated solely in the interest of the on and administered by honest and efficient offi- s responsible to the people.

eatment of Indian Prisoners

Treatment of Indian prisoners formed the subject an interpellation in the newly constituted British liament. The answer given by Mr. Henderson, der-Secretary for India, makes one believe that ough Mr. Amery has left India Office, his files are the Secretary's table and answers to Indian affairs be culled from them by labour stalwarts whenever stions on India are raised. Replying to Miss Rath- e, Mr. Henderson gave a rosy picture of condi- s in Indian prisons admitting by the way that some es had occurred 10 or 15 years ago as if things e all right now. He said :

> Mr. Henderson said that the Secretary of State r India had made inquiries of authorities in India s to the allegations referred to in Miss Rathbone's question and in other recent allegations in the press. He is informed that there is no foundation whatever r allegations that torture was used in the Andaman lands, that prisoners are kept in cells 6 feet by 4 feet and deprived of water and that a particular prisoner was made to sit on blocks of ice. As regards an alleged incident in Midnapore the Government of Bengal have reported that the allegations relate to the period 1930-32. At a time when there was widespread disorder and terrorism the gaols became overcrowded with this new type of prisoner creating unusual difficulties of administration, and resort was sometimes made to exceptional measures to maintain order, including flogging. The description of a scene during such happenings in the allegations to which Miss Rathbone refers is, I am advised, completely untrue. As regards two alleged incidents in a prison in Bengal during the period of 1930-32 following terrorist and communal disturbances, I am awaiting a further report from Government of Bengal in regard to them.
>
> The Central and Provincial Governments in India have never tolerated the use of third degree methods in any shape or form, and have never hesitated to take disciplinary action against any of their officers who exceeded their instructions.

The latter part of Mr. Henderson's answer has absolutely no relation to actual state of affairs which has even to the present day. Confinement in dun- called cells, standing handcuffs, twenty-four-hour letters are some of the third degree methods ised in Indian prisons even a short time ago. resulting in death has been recorded in the pages of the official proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Lathi charges on unarmed prisoners, both political and ordinary, have been quite frequent, the latest instance is not even a few months' old. Firing in the prison or detention camp resulting in deaths has also been resorted. Bad food, bad treatment and worse medical aid are general features of Indian prison administration.

We quote below the comment of the *Independent*, Nagpur (Aug. 20) on the subject :

> Not a week passes without coming across, either in the press or in personal talks, complaints about the conditions of political prisoners, either security or convict, especially in the lower class.
>
> The stories we some times hear are disquieting. Diet, health and general treatment are said to be extremely unsatisfactory. Prisoners are kept in solitary cells for months together, or awarded other severe penalties for the smallest lapses. The worst part of it is that, either by accident or deliberate policy, these complaints do not reach higher authorities.
>
> But even if the complaints reach proper authorities, there is no guarantee that they will be speedily and impartially redressed. The experience is that whenever Government is confronted with complaints, it countermands them by blandly drawing attention to the written rules or statements of policy which by themselves provide no scope for illtreatment of prisoners.
>
> And yet persecution goes on, making one wonder if Government has two sets of policies, one for public consumption and another for actual practice.
>
> In any case Government's confidence in its officials, be he a warder or a jail superintendent, is almost unlimited. Their infallibility in the discharge of their duties is taken for granted, so that very often it appears that an inquiry into a complaint is conducted more to seek out loopholes for their escape than to bring them to book fairly and squarely.
>
> We have deliberately avoided citing specific cases, because they can all be fitted into the general setting given above.

It has become an established practice that the Secretary of State must see through the ears. His ears are opened to the statements of those very people who have participated in these perfidious acts. If he had wanted to exercise his eyes for the ascertainment of facts, he would have enough materials in Indian newspapers reaching his table.

General Election in India

Prior to his departure for London, Lord Wavell has announced general elections for all the Provincial Legislatures as well as the Central. We welcome this decision and we are glad to find that the Congress has taken up the matter. Although it may be difficult for them to prepare within so short a time, but even so we consider that they must face elections at any cost. The relative strength of the different parties must be tested at the earliest possible moment.

The most important issue in the coming elections will no doubt be the question of unity or division of India. The danger of the policy of appeasement is now crystal clear. The timid and nervous Congress policy question has been largely responsible for bringing the country to the present deplorable

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state. We consider that it is high time to declare that no division on any ground whatsoever will be permitted. Congress must declare officially, as many of her leaders are individually doing, that India must remain united. With the full knowledge that a far more devasting third world war is already brewing, India cannot but remain united and indivisible. Concession of Pakistan will logically lead to the creation of Sikhistan, Achhutstans, etc., which will make India weak, divided and an easy prey to foreign aggression and domination.

Congress will do well to declare that any attempt at dividing India will be resisted with utmost strength even at the cost of a civil war. Abraham Lincoln did it and to-day he is recognised as one of the greatest statesmen the world has ever produced. Not only did the southerners demand separation, but even a number of slaves sent a petition to Lincoln challenging his right to set them free. Lincoln turned a deaf ear to all such demands and platitudes, compelled the southerners to remain within the federation and the result is the America of to-day. If the right to secede is granted to the American States to-day, even a fool will understand that none of them will break away.

The same has been the case with Canada. The French wanted to break away but the separation was forcibly prevented. The constitution drawn up by Durham on a strong centralised basis with a good deal of provincial autonomy has now proved to be an unmitigated boon to Canada.

In season and out of season the example of the U.S.S.R. is dangled before our eyes. We do not pretend to have a detailed knowledge of that land painted as a paradise. Broadly speaking, and judging from her actions, we find very little to choose between Churchill, Truman and Stalin. With a fallen enemy at the feet and with a treaty concluded with China, we find the Soviet bear pushing incessantly on towards Korea after having occupied the whole of Manchuria. The examples of Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia and Poland are also before us. Of the victorious Allies, it is Poland which has really lost the war and that at the hand of Russia. It is true that Russia is to-day a fully integrated and united country. No State in the U.S.S.R. came forward with a claim for separation when Stalin permitted them to secede if they wished. We must not forget in this connection the ruthless repression carried out in the initial stages for the building of a United Russia. Force was amply and fully applied to achieve unity first and when this unity was an accomplished fact, when every citizen completely understood the benefit of this unity, it was then and only then that the "concession" of separation was announced. We want the Congress to travel along those lines which history has proved to be the wisest. We are prepared to accept some concessions made to different communities in the shape of reservation of seats in the Legislatures but that must be done on the understanding, firstly, that it is for a temporary period clearly specified and secondly that joint electorates must be re-introduced forthwith.

The problem of Bengal must have a special consideration by the Congress as conditions here are peculiar and deserve special attention. Bengal is an integral and inseparable part of India and it must remain so for all ages to come. Congress policy towards Bengal has been rightly criticised as halting and short-sighted. Had a Congress-Krishak-Proja Coalition or even a benevolent neutrality of the Congress Party towards the Krishak-Proja Coalition been permitted, Muslim League could never have gained any footing in province. The short-sighted policy of the Co High Command had forced Mr. Huq to the L fold and the strength consequently gathered b League meant a tremendous accession of strength the All-India League. The Congress High Co must take timely precaution this time and shou that progressive forces in Bengal are given suffi opportunity and encouragement to rally roun banner of the Congress.

Muslim People and the Capitalists

Mrs. Zubaida Khatoon's statement publish the *Tribune* (July 31) gives a good idea of the p day thought-currents among the enlightened and cated Muslim ladies of the country. We give extracts below :

> My humble request to Begam Bashir President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League men's Committee is that she should look country's problems with a wider and more pathetic outlook. Her remarks ". . . M Unionist dare not say—they do not believe in stan" are vague and irrelevant. We believe existence of so many things which we do not Pakistan will exclude about 3,00,00,000 M which will be living in Hindustan. Who will after their welfare ? Her remarks "we will tolerate the capitalist domination of Hindu rity" has my wholehearted support. But is it to say that we will tolerate the capitalist dom of our own community ? To my mind it capitalist domination which we will not tolera it will hardly improve the situation so long as whether Muslim or Hindu capitalists, domin entire population.
>
> As Begam Bashir Ahmed agrees that M laws are Socialistic, she will, therefore, agre we are fighting against capitalism and not H in which case millions of Muslims and Hindu follow Begam Bashir Ahmed.

No exaggeration is made when we say th Bengal and Assam, the most ruthless exploitation poor Muslim cultivators has been made by M capitalists acting under the careful patronag governments dominated by the Muslim League Assam startling revelations have been made course of the enquiry conducted into the affairs Grain Purchase Syndicate. In Bengal if any enquiry be instituted, we are quite sure that th sinister revelations will be made.

Difference in Hindu-Muslim Culture

Speaking about the differences in Hindu-M culture, Mrs. Khatoon writes :

> To quote the Begam again that 'our lan and culture are so different' I feel obliged that the culture and language of Musl Hindus do not differ in one province so much they do amongst Muslims themselves from p to province. This is true of Hindus also. M and Hindus are having practically the same and language in the Punjab. But a Musl Hindu of the Punjab has very little culture and language with a Muslim or Hi Assam or Bengal.
>
> I can say without fear of contradiction young man or woman from the U.P. or whether Muslim or Hindu, would hardly

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matrimonial alliances in the Punjab or the Frontier Province and *vice versa*. A further thinking will bring to light the fact that people from Northern India would not like to be married with those of Southern India. Imagine a village girl (87 per cent of Indian population is in the villages) of this province, tall and healthy with Shalwar and Kamiz married to a half-naked Tamil boy, and the former eating Idlee and Rasam (pasted rice and tamarind soup) instead of using Roti and ghee. The question of culture and language is more vital amongst the Muslims themselves if the entire Muslim community of India is taken into consideration, than amongst the Muslims and Hindus within the same province. Pakistan will not solve this. It will not bring salvation to Muslims except a few capitalists. To hope that Muslims will move from Hindustan to Pakistan is idle imagination, which will never be true in case of villagers. Those who talk of Pakistan are dwellers of the towns and are in a microscopic minority. They forget the sentiments of the villagers who cling to that piece of land which is handed down to them by their forefathers, with the utmost affection, which they will not give up to get one, ten times bigger in some other province. We are not fighting against Hindus or Sikhs, not even against the British. We are fighting against poverty, and capitalism which breeds poverty. In this fight we stand against all who impose poverty on us whether Muslims, Hindus or the British.

We have dealt on these points in these columns on several occasions before. They need not be repeated here.

The System Among the Muslims

Pointing out the existence of a caste system in the Muslim Society the enumeration of different castes among the Muslims had been carefully recorded in the Census Report of 1901. Since the adoption of the "favourite" policy of the British Government in 1905, the enumeration of castes in the Muslim community has been discontinued and this division has been carefully applied in the case of the Hindus. Obviously this is done to give the Muslim community an air of unity and to make the Hindus appear as a divided and disintegrated body. Regarding caste Mrs. Khatoon writes:

> I may point out here that although we blame our Hindu brethren as caste-ridden community, we are as much caste-ridden in practice as any one else. Maybe we have borrowed this bad system of caste from the Hindus by living with them for thousands of years. But we cannot deny that it is there in our community which we should now eradicate. A Syed in the Punjab is more respected by Muslims than a Brahmin by Hindus. Pathans do not marry out of their circle. In the U.P. Qasi (butchers) and Julaha (weavers) do not marry each other, and it is a pity that they are considered as low class Muslims by the community itself. Where is the justice and universal brotherhood which our Prophet founded centuries ago?
>
> My intention to find fault with my own community is two-fold—firstly to bring home the defects, so that they may be rectified, and secondly, to condemn the notion of creating a difference between Muslims and Hindus or the pretext of divergence in culture, language and caste system which is unfounded. It is a pity that other countries like Russia, Switzerland and Egypt can successfully pave their way to peace in spite of wide differences in religion, language and in some cases culture. It is not true economically that religion is playing a vital part in our life. It is false to create divergence amongst Hindus and Muslims on the basis of religion. It is the economic bankruptcy in India which is the root cause of all evils. Look at Bengal who lost more men in one year due to bad management than the British Empire in 6 years' war.
>
> Qaide-e-Azam has all my respect for his efforts to further the cause of our community. But Maulana Azad and Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani are not fools to make a common cause with the Hindus to fight for freedom. Time is ripe enough for wider outlook to surpass baser communalism.

We take this opportunity to congratulate Mrs. Khatoon on her bold, firm and outspoken statement which contains a very welcome flair of sound and wise thinking.

Enlightened British Opinion on Jinnah

Mr. Jinnah has said that through his efforts the world has been impressed and can see now what he stands for. Like most people Mr. Jinnah naturally cannot see himself as others see him. It is possible that Imperialists look up to him as a great ally to be used and applauded as long as he furthers their interests. In spite of his talks about 'fight for freedom' his slogan "quit but pray divide before quitting" is what Mr. Jinnah thinks can be left as the high water mark of courage, human ethics and patriotism for posterity. It may interest the Moslem League in particular and the Indians generally to know how others see Mr. Jinnah and evaluate his efforts. In an interesting letter received by the Air Mail last week an Englishman writes to an Indian friend long associated with him his views about the Simla talks. The writer was long a member of the Indian Civil Service in Bengal and held responsible positions before he retired prematurely and is now engaged on Social and Educational work in England. He writes:

> I think the breakdown of the Wavell proposals a real tragedy. Like you, I am firmly of opinion that the Hindu-Muslim differences owe most of their bitterness to British Policy. Had the British administration in India worked to bring the parties together they could easily have done so 50 years ago—now, certainly, it is much more difficult. But instead they actually exaggerated and harped on the differences. Jinnah I regard as India's evil genius. His claims are preposterous and are largely bluff based on the knowledge that he has the tacit support of Whitehall in holding up agreement. I did hope that Wavell would have called his bluff by saying to him "Very well, if you refuse to submit names I shall go ahead and form my Council without you from the names submitted by other parties." I can not help thinking that if he had been a free agent he would have done so—but that the price that Churchill exacted for agreeing to the proposals was that if there was any such difficulty as did actually occur there should be immediate reversal to the old system. It is, of course, notorious that Churchill loathes the idea of any concessions and would be only too glad to seize on any opportunity for continuing the old system. We were in fact surprised that he sanctioned the proposals at all and probably did so only because that he was confident that Jinnah would prove

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obstinate and provide the necessary excuse for breaking up the conference. Churchill, as you know, is a very shrewd estimator of the baser factors in human nature and probably knew exactly how Jinnah would act if indeed he did not tip him the wink beforehand. The only hope now is the return of a Labour Government. I have no very high opinion of Labour Policy in reference to Imperialism. But at least they might reopen negotiations and give Wavell a free hand. There is a strong leader today in the *Reynold's News* which lays all the blame on Jinnah and openly advises a council without him and that paper represents the more enlightened Labour view.

This is what *Reynold's News* wrote editorially, commenting on the failure of the Simla Conference and alluded to in the foregoing letter :

> It is time for plain speaking on India. Moslem League Chairman, Jinnah has again endangered plans for settlement of constitutional dead-lock by his insistence that League must be assumed to represent all Indian Moslems in plain defiance of fact that great number of them are enrolled under the banner of Congress. This is not the first time that Jinnah has been intransigent. How much longer can we allow him to sabotage every hopeful move?
>
> Britain's duty is to do more than conciliate. When conciliation is manifestly being wrecked by action of one section then Britain has a duty is to say to Moslem League that we regret its attitude but we cannot allow it to keep a permanent stranglehold on plans for Indian Self-Government. We can say that we are going ahead with what we deem a just plan accepted by the largest Indian political movement: and that places are open for Moslem League when it wishes to take them.
>
> Unless Britain grasps this nettle it seems on past experience that we can give up hopes of real progress towards Indian Self-Government.

Muslim Majlis Chief Refutes Jinnah's Claim

Refuting the Muslim League's claim to represent all the Muslims of India, Mr. A. M. Khwaja, President of the All-India Muslim Majlis, in a statement issued from Aligarh, says :

> What is the Muslim League of today ? It is an institution which took its re-birth in 1926 under false pretences posing as a nationalist body, solemnly agreeing to work with the Congress and thus securing its support and that of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the Nationalist Muslims belonging to different organizations. Immediately after the last general elections it began to show its true colours and was duly repudiated by all the nationalists. It then started at communal and anti-national agitation based upon misrepresentation of Islam and hatred of Hindus. In their desire to reconcile the League, Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and others gave undue importance to Mr. Jinnah. Unfortunately, the Congress and Congress Ministries failed to appreciate the situation and to handle it properly. The baser elements of human nature which exist in all human beings and communities wrought the mischief which has resulted in the situation with which we are faced today.
>
> I claim that the League does not represent the Muslim masses, but let us admit for the sake of argument that it represents the majority of the Muslims. Has a minority no right to exist or claim representation ? If not, on what principle does Jinnah base his claim against the 30 crore Indians ? If the Wavell offer is good for India, would suffer by its rejection—the Nationalist Hi and Muslims, who by their terrible suffering sacrifice have brought about the offer, or Leaguers who have no record of any sacrifice suffering in the cause of the Motherland ? Jinnah, unless he is playing a very deep game, know that his followers consist mostly of men in spite of their protestations will not be prep to offer any sacrifice, and that as soon as the Le loses the real or the supposed support of the Go ment, all the titled magnates and benefactors w dwindle away and the net result of the war cr Pakistan and the ill-feeling nurtured by the Le would merely lead to some Hindu-Muslim which would be ruinous to poor Muslims.

Mr. Khwaja agrees that the "Congress Wor Committee as the Supreme National Council" is tak the correct attitude towards the various commun and the Nationalist Muslims. It is reassuring to that progressive Muslims have now become more w and have unanimously joined in denouncing the Leag as the sole representative of the Mussalmans.

A Plea for an All-Bengal Electrical Grid

Mr. V. L. N. Row writes in *Science and Culture* August :

> Apart from the development of large-sc industries in a few scattered cities and towns, a w laid-out electrical distribution system in Beng when properly worked out, will doubtless bri about the much needed industrialization of t moffusil and rural areas and will further grea contribute to the development of agriculture providing cheap electricity. This diversion of in tries into the interior of Bengal is the most necess and desirable drive. It will effect a uniform dis bution of employment throughout the province a will thus control the large influx of moffusil po lation into the metropolis, leading to the scarcity housing accommodation, sanitary and other d culties characteristic of a city.
>
> This important problem of decentralization industries in the moffusil districts throughout t country instead of crowding the cities and deple the villages has curiously enough escaped the no of the Bombay Planners.
>
> At present there are roughly about 50 elect licenses in this province, out of which about 14 a held by the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporati itself. All these are company managed except t one at Darjeeling which is a municipal undertaki For large-scale and quick development a la hydro-electric or thermal grid scheme is essenti Though the largest group of hydro-electric and steam power stations in India are owned by pr enterprises like the Tata Hydro-Electric and Calcutta Electric Supply and Tramways Co. Ltd., most schem like the Mundy and Malakand schemes in the Bo west or the Ganges Valley Hydro-Electric in U north and the Sivasamudram, Pykara and Mo Power Schemes in the south would not have co into existence except for Government activi Inter-connection of power stations and large-sc generation have always been found to be best do by an independent Government constituted bod It is a very regrettable fact that the Governm have not rendered any financial help whatsoev

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any business undertaking except to the municipal undertaking of electric supply at Darjeeling. The apathy of the Government, the present discriminating licensing system for which the Government are again responsible, and the failure to command adequate finance not forthcoming have largely arrested electrical development in Bengal.

Mr. Redclift, Electrical Adviser to the Government of Bengal, had suggested in 1939 a concrete scheme in his *Preliminary Report on the Position of Electrification of Bengal*. His plan may be operated even now with slight modifications if necessary. He divided Bengal into five separate generating areas as follows:

(1) A hydro-electric power station to be erected utilizing the waters of the river Teesta or Jaldhaka. This would supply electricity for the whole of North Bengal as far south as the river Ganges and as far east as the river Brahmaputra. This power station could also supply the whole of the Dooars and possibly Cooch Behar and any load in the neighbouring regions of North Assam.

(2) The second area could be conveniently supplied from steam-driven power stations in the coal fields and from Calcutta.

(3) The district of Bankura and a portion of Midnapore could be supplied from the proposed large Behar Government thermal station.

(4) The district of Mymensingh and Dacca could be supplied from a thermal power station at Cherrapunji where a hydro-electric power station is not advisable on account of the risk of earthquake tremors.

(5) A hydro-electric project utilizing the waters of the river Karnafuli could supply the Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong areas.

Bengal derives Rs. 20 lakhs annually from the present electricity tax. This amount could be utilised for this purpose. Mr. Redclift expressed the opinion that the completion of this scheme would ensure a supply of cheap electricity within five miles of the remotest village in Bengal and would involve an expenditure of about Rs. 6 crores. The Government of Bengal have already wasted Rs. 17 crores in two years in food transactions and have budgeted for a loss of about Rs. 6 crores during the current year. They are certainly able to find a capital outlay of Rs. 6 crores for this very important practical project only if they have the mind to do so. An honest effort in checking wastages and leakages would, we are sure, bring this money to them.

Educational Progress in Ceylon

The chief Imperialist agreement for denying self-government to the colonial countries is that the natives are backward and therefore unfit for self-government, before attaining a self-governing status, they must learn the art of government dose by dose under the care, guidance and patronage of their white masters. Ceylon has given a straight reply to the worthlessness and hypocrisy of this plea in the recent Education Bill her native ministers have drawn up. The people of Ceylon have found out the key to democracy—universal and sufficient education. The provisions made in the Bill for the spread of education in the island has no parallel in modern world. From the short newspaper summary of the Bill we find that provisions for free education from the kindergarten to the university stage have been provided. The education will be free in the fullest sense of the word, books, students' clothings, mid-day tiffin and if necessary the whole day's food and drink will be provided free by the State. This will apply from the primary schools right up to the university including the medical schools. Provision for seasonal health resorts for young students has also been made. Mother tongue has been given a prominent place in the plan, in the lower stages mothertongue will be the medium of education. Education will be compulsory for boys and girls, between five to fifteen years of age. The plan will mean an annual expenditure of Rs. 4 crores 80 lakhs, which will be met from State revenue.

The Education Bill, drawn up by the Education Minister Mr. Kannangare, has been approved by the Ministry and will shortly be introduced into the State Council as an official Bill.

Subhas Chandra Bose

It is difficult to realise that Subhas is no more. On at least two previous occasions the news of his death was circulated only to be disproved by his own voice over the air. Indeed even now the element of doubt is there, though the news has come through the Japanese official sources and is circumstantially connected with other facts that are capable of being proved at a later day. All the same one can hardly believe that that turbulent spirit, that indomitable and doughty fighter for his country's freedom, has gone to his final rest.

Tributes have been paid to his memory all over the country by all real lovers of freedom, the few of his own political creed that have refrained have done so because they are still hoping against hope that he is alive. He was the hero of that section of the younger generation of India that believes in freedom at all costs, and in his own province he was idolized by the youth. There are many true nationalists who differ from him regarding the ways and means but there is none that doubt his utter fearless devotion to the cause of the fatherland.

Patriotism burned like a clear, pure flame in Subhas. There was never any question of his serving any other master, or being guided by any other motive, excepting his fatherland and its freedom's cause. Imprisonment, repression, and frustration, all of that he suffered long, as well as virtual exile from his homeland, but it all failed to quench the fire that was the life of his life and the soul of his soul. If, indeed, he is at his Journey's End, then we can justly claim with the rest of the real lovers of Freedom all over the world, that he is answerable only to his Maker for all his actions. For no soldier ever went through the ordeal of fire for a better cause than that of Freedom nor was there in any warrior a higher spirit of devotion and sacrifice than that of those who give of their uttermost for their country.

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Sir N. N. Sircar

In the death of Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, India has lost one of her foremost jurists. His talent had benefitted the whole of the country. As Law Member of the Government of India, he showed a remarkable spirit of independence and astuteness. He had to overcome great opposition in his attempt to amend the Indian Companies Act both from outside and also from within the Government. Three times he had to submit his resignation to Lord Willingdon in order to overcome internal difficulties. This amendment went a long way in curbing the arbitrary powers of the managing agents. He astutely fought one of the stiffest oppositions led by the European Group in the Central Assembly during the course of the legislation. The Insurance Act is one more of the successful legislative measures seen through by him.

As a delegate to the Round Table Conference, his greatest achievement was the securing of the allotment of nearly three-fourths of the jute export duty to the provincial revenue. This success of his efforts has permanently enriched Bengal's revenue position to the extent of some crores of rupees. Sir Samuel Hoare had a hard time with him. Sir Nripen had subjected him to a prolonged cross-examination and had put him in a very tight corner. He followed a persistent opposition to the Communal Award.

All along his life, he was a decent gentleman. His pleasant company is remembered by many. Late in life, he had published a class quarterly, the *Hindustan*.

Dr. G. S. Arundale

George Sidney Arundale was born in Surrey (England) on December 1, 1878, and was educated at Cambridge University. He came to India in 1903 with late Dr. Annie Besant and was associated with her for 30 years in education and politics. He was Principal of the Central Hindu College, Benares, and reported on the Kashmir educational system. Later he became Principal of the National University of Madras, which in 1914 conferred on him honorary degree of D.Litt., Rabindranath Tagore, Chancellor, signing his diploma. He was also, for a year, Minister of Education, Indore. For some years he was the Organizing Secretary of the All-India Home Rule League and was interned with Dr. Besant in 1917 under the Defence of India Act.

He had been General Secretary for the Theosophical Society in England, Australia and India. He first visited Australia in 1926 and took keen interest in activities for Australia's development; founded Who's for Australia League in 1929. In Australia he was the Bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church and lived in Sydney. He was President of the New India League (1939); Chief Commissioner for the Hindustan Scout Association in the Madras Presidency (1939) and an original member of Indian Council on World Affairs (1944).

Dr. Arundale was the first Englishman to marry a high-caste Hindu girl, Rukmini Devi. He was chosen by Mrs. Annie Besant to teach J. Krishnamurti whom she had selected to be the world "messiah." After Mrs. Besant's death, Dr. Arundale succeeded her as President of the Theosophical Society in June, 1934.

Dr. Arundale, accompanied by Rukmini Devi, was in Delhi in December last, and addressing journalists gave expression to his burning desire for the immediate attainment of Swaraj by the land of his adoption. Paying his tribute to his departed soul, Mr. A. S. Iyengar, writing in *Roy's Weekly* (Aug. 19) narrates an incident which is quoted below:

> Dr. G. S. Arundale was not a politician, though by reason of his association with Mrs. Annie Besant in the conduct of *New India* he had the distinction of being arrested. It was the summer of 1917 when the first World War was at its height and it was going against the Allies. Politicians began to be arrested under the Defence of India Act. *New India* was publishing articles couched in language of extremism, as extremism was then understood to be urging Home Rule for India! It was evidently an embarrassing situation for the British Government in India and for Lord Pentland's administration in Madras. I happened to be present at the portico of the *New India* building when a Police Officer came in with a warrant of arrest to be served on Mr. Arundale. As soon as Mr. Arundale heard this, he himself came out to ascertain what the matter was. There was great sensation not only in the Second Line Beach but even in the High Court where the news had spread. But how do you think Arundale received the arrest warrant? With absolute calm and a perfect bonhomie! He did not even look at the warrant order and treated the whole affair as if it did not concern him. On the other hand, noticing that the Police Officer had two buttons missing on his coat, enquired "My dear friend, I see you have two buttons missing on your coat. Can I help you in seeing that they are restored?"! The Police Officer was not prepared for such a calm reception of a warrant order by almost the first journalist-cum-politician to be arrested. At any rate the incident showed that on critical occasions great men are always calm and do not allow personal feelings, whatever they may be, to get the better of their judgment.
>
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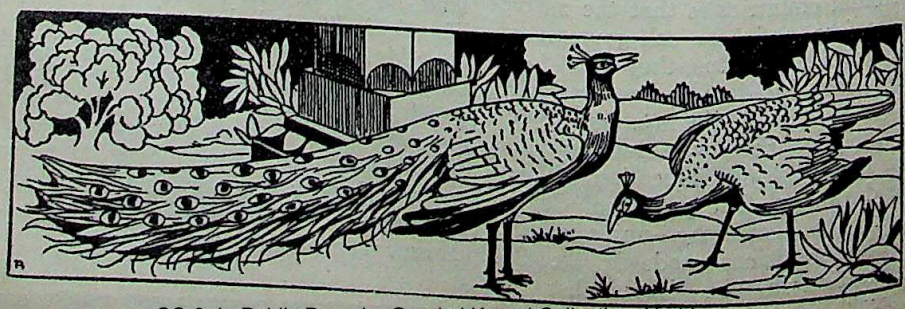

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LONDON LETTER

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From MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

The General Election

THE most significant election in Great Britain in the memory of man is over and the result has astonished the world and, in the extent of its landslide, has surprised even the victors. The Labour Party, for the first time in history, is not only in office but in power at Westminster with a strong majority. Numerous well-known House of Commons figures are gone, many of them never to return.

Mr. Winston Churchill entered the last Parliament not as a Conservative but as an Independent. He stood and captured his seat as the one and only 'Constitutionalist'. He was not even a member of the Conservative Party when war broke out in 1939. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the then Prime Minister, wanted to form a National Government but, so little faith had the Labour Party in him or his judgment, that they refused to serve in any Government of which he was the head and it was they who urged that he should resign and that Mr. Churchill should take his place, in which case they would co-operate wholeheartedly in forming a really National Government. The Conservatives were the strongest single party in the House and they saw the advantage to themselves, from the purely party point of view, of having Mr. Churchill as their Leader although they had persistently opposed him throughout the whole four years of the life of the Parliament up to that time. He was offered the Leadership of the Conservative Party and accepted the position—his first big blunder. He then had to consider the Conservative Party point of view instead of standing outside party and looking only to the National point of view.

Mr. Churchill had no illusions about the kind of men who had chosen him as their leader. As recently as 5th October, 1938, he attacked the Conservative Government in these words :

> "When I think of the immense combinations and resources which have been neglected or squandered, I cannot believe that a parallel exists in the whole course of history.
>
> "The responsibility must rest with those who have the undisputed control of our political affairs. They neither prevented Germany from re-arming, nor did they re-arm ourselves in time . . . They exploited and discredited the vast institution of the League of Nations and they neglected to make alliances and combinations which might have repaired previous errors."

No wonder the electors refused to vote for the men he so described and of whom he became the leader.

The Conservatives were convinced that if they could get a General Election soon after the end of the war with Germany they could sweep the country in another 'khaki' election on the lines of the 1918 election at the close of the last World War. Labour and Liberal protests were unheeded. The electoral roll was admittedly unsatisfactory because of its errors and omissions. It had been hurriedly prepared on very incomplete data and without adequate revision and many electors—including Mr. Churchill himself—found that their names had been omitted from the Roll. Even the date of the General Election, fixed by Mr. Churchill on the advice of the Conservative Party Headquarters, had to be altered and postponed in the case of between twenty and thirty constituencies owing to local conditions in these constituencies. Many electors who, at the qualifying period, had been working far from home, found that they could only go to record their votes at the place at which they were registered at the cost to themselves of two or three days' time and pay—a sacrifice many of them were unable to face.

Mr. Churchill apparently forgot what he had written on Mr. Lloyd George's 1918 'khaki' election in the first volume of *The World Crisis*. Then Mr. Lloyd George went to the country on a personal appeal. Every candidate who supported him stood not for any principle but merely asked the electors to support 'the man who won the war.' 'Vote for . . . the Lloyd George candidate' posters filled all the hoardings from one end of the country to the other and those of us who fought in that election and dared to point out that 'the man who won the war' was not necessarily nor even likely, with a strong backing of reactionary Conservatives, to be the best man to win the peace, had no chance of being elected and the result was a Parliament, predominantly Conservative, described by one of themselves as 'a lot of hard-faced men who seem to have done well out of the war.' The recent General Election was fought on exactly the same lines. 'Vote for . . . and let Churchill finish the job.' No programme for peace—simply a personal appeal.

Of Mr. Lloyd George's 1918 Election Mr. Churchill wrote :

> "The whole nation was eager to acclaim 'the pilot who weathered the storm.' Was it wonderful that the pilot should turn from aggrieved and resentful associates of former days who sourly awaited the hour of peace to call him to account, and from Conservatives with whom he had no real sympathy, to the vast electorate who sought only to testify their gratitude by their votes ?
>
> The Election at once raised the party issue in its crudest form.
>
> When the Election came it woefully cheapened Britain . . .
>
> Mr. Lloyd George, having committed himself to the electoral scrimmage, played the part which circumstances enjoined. In his august station, national and European, he ought never to have been called upon to speak night after night upon the platform. The hardest test of all is to stand against the current of millions of rejoicing supporters.
>
> He ought to have been more sure of himself at this time, and of the greatness of his work and situation. He could well have afforded, as it turned out, to speak words of sober restraint and of magnanimous calm.
>
> In the wider sphere of Europe the blatancies of electioneering had robbed Britain in an appreciable degree of her dignity. The national bearing, faultless in the years of trial —loyal, cool, temperate, humane amidst terrors and reverses—had experienced quite a vulgar upset."

There is an uncanny parallel between the circumstances of that election in 1918 about which Mr. Churchill wrote so ably and the recent General Election. Had Mr. Churchill re-read and studied and taken to heart the words he wrote about the 1918 Lloyd George election the result might have been different to some extent.

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There is no doubt of the gratitude for and appreciation of Mr. Churchill's services as a War Leader felt and expressed by members of all parties, but to try to cash in on this to return to the House of Commons not merely Mr. Churchill himself but many of the more reactionary die-hard Conservatives was more than the country could stand after its experience, not merely of the Parliament elected in 1918 with its reactionary tendencies, but also of the years between the two world wars when the House of Commons was predominantly Conservative. It was under their regime that Japan was allowed to overrun Manchuria without protest, that Franco was fawned on in Spain, that Great Britain remained neutral while the dictators of Germany and Italy tried out their new weapons and planes against the lawful Goverment of Spain to establish the Franco rebel regime. Mr. Amery, the late Secertary of State for India, who has now lost his seat in Parliament, expressed the Conservative Government viewpoint on Japan in these words :

> "I confess that I see no reason why either in act or in word or in sympathy we should go individually or internationally against Japan in this matter. Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stands condemned if we condemn Japan."

And Sir John Simon, when Foreign Secretary, on Mussolini's seizure of Abyssinia, stated the Conservative Government policy in these words :

> "I am not prepared to see a single British ship sunk, even in a successful naval battle, in the cause of Mussolini's aggression."

It was while giving lip-service to the support of the League of Nations that Sir Samuel Hoare, as Foreign Secretary, made his infamous pact with Laval —the Hoare-Laval Pact—for the dismemberment of Abyssinia, a member of the League. Mr. Neville Chamberlain went even further and in Rome proposed a toast to 'the King of Italy and Emperor of Abyssinia.' For his Munich journey and disgraceful agreement with Hitler he was acclaimed in the House of Commons by the Conservatives and 187 out of 251 who voted for this agreement have lost their seats in this election.

And the 'Caretaker Government' formed by Mr. Churchill after the break-up of the late National Government contained the same Sir Samuel Hoare, under his new title of Lord Templewood, Mr. Amery, Lord Simon and others of that kidney. No wonder the electors, while grateful to Mr. Churchill for his great services as a War Leader, refused again to be saddled with the men with whom he chose to associate himself. As the *Times* in a leading article wrote : "It will be necessary to seek the explanation of the Conservative defeat largely in the circumstances and conduct of the election itself. Mr. Churchill himself introduced and insisted upon emphasising the narrower animosities of the party fight. As a result the great national programme was allowed to slip into the background : the Prime Minister's own stature was temporarily diminished : and the voters, who were deeply interested in real, urgent, and essentially non-party subjects such as the housing of the people, seem to have visited their disappointment on the side which could be represented, on this showing, as taking but a perfunctory interest in the reconstruction programme, and as relying for success rather upon charges against the probable misconduct of their opponents than upon any creative virtues of their own."

There is no doubt that, whatever Mr. Churchill's merits as a War Leader, which are acclaimed by all, his stock as a statesman and politician has slumped badly—entirely on account of his election speeches. It was hard to realise that the inspiring words of the war leader of the dark days of Dunkirk were uttered by the same man who descended to the deliberate misrepresentation of his political opponents—so ridiculous that it amused without frightening the electors, although not amusement but sadness that he could fall so far from his pedestal was the predominating feeling. In his tour of the country Mr. Churchill had great personal ovations everywhere. They admired his leadership in war but these same places voted against the candidates for Parliament with whom he chose to associate himself for Peace.

The war against Japan will be prosecuted with the same vigour by a Labour as by a Conservative Government. That is the first plank in their programme and following on that—indeed along with that—a great housing programme will be speeded up. Coal, electricity and transport will also be amongst the matters receiving early and urgent attention from the Government.

One of the results of the election is the practical elimination of the Liberal Party as a force in politics. Liberalism is not dead—far from it—but it has been absorbed into the two other parties. Out of its 300 candidates only 10 were returned to Parliament and amongst the defeated are their leader, Sir Archibald Sinclair, their Chief Whip, Sir Percy Harris, and Sir William Beveridge on whose Plan they based most of their election campaign. As this plan had been adopted to a greater or lesser extent by the two other parties the Liberals had little distinctive of their own to offer. They were to hold the balance between the two other parties but the electorate want something more definite than that in Candidates who solicit their votes. The other fragmentary parties like the Commonwealth, who gained a certain amount of success during the war years while the party truce was in force, have practically disappeared, their leader Sir Richard Ackland even forfeiting his deposit.

The winning of Peace—real Peace—is as difficult as the winning of War, but it is not at all certain or even likely that a good War Leader will prove to be also a good leader for Peace. Mr. Churchill in 1932 published a book under the title *Thoughts And Adventures*. In the course of this book, dealing with this question, he wrote :

> "Two opposite sides of human nature have to be simultaneously engaged. Those who can win a victory cannot make a peace : those who can make a peace would never have won a victory. Have we not seen this on the most gigantic scale drawing out before our eyes in Europe ?"

Anxious years lie ahead, years that will try every government everywhere. Great problems have to be met and solved but I am convinced that the government now established in power at Whitehall will meet these problems with a sympathetic understanding and an ability that may presage not merely a Labour Government now but a succession of Labour Governments in this country.

Westminster, London,
30th July, 1945

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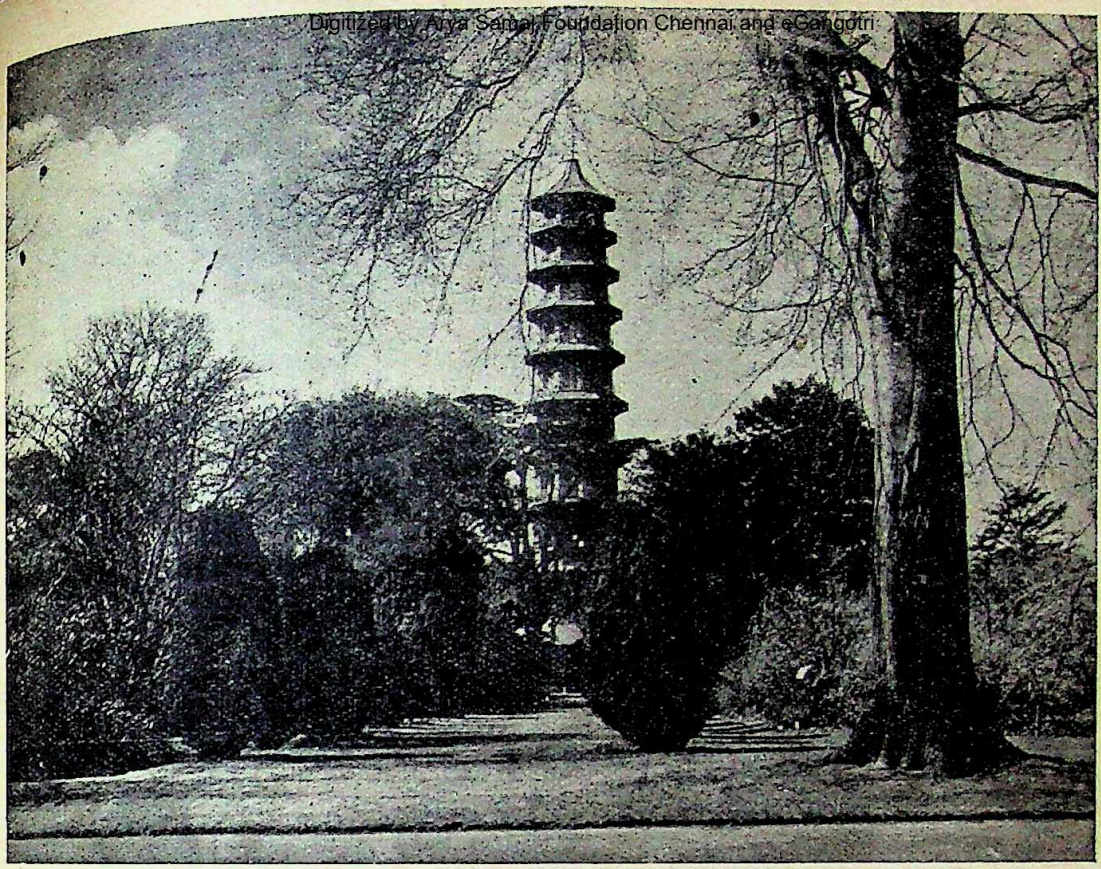
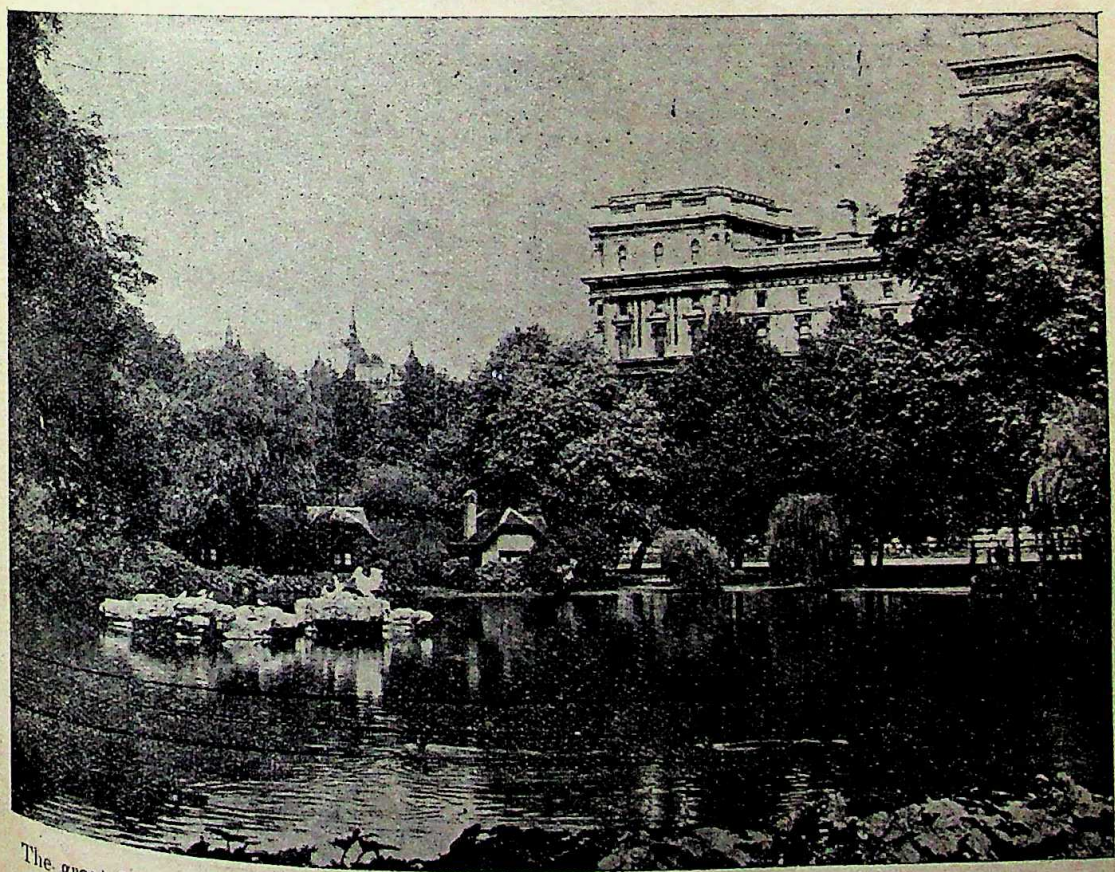


Kew Gardens, which London has now absorbed, were originally laid out in the eighteenth century. They retain many traces of these times, including this Chinese Pagoda



The great Ministries of Whitehall look out into St. James's Park with its lake stocked with ducks and other aquatic birds

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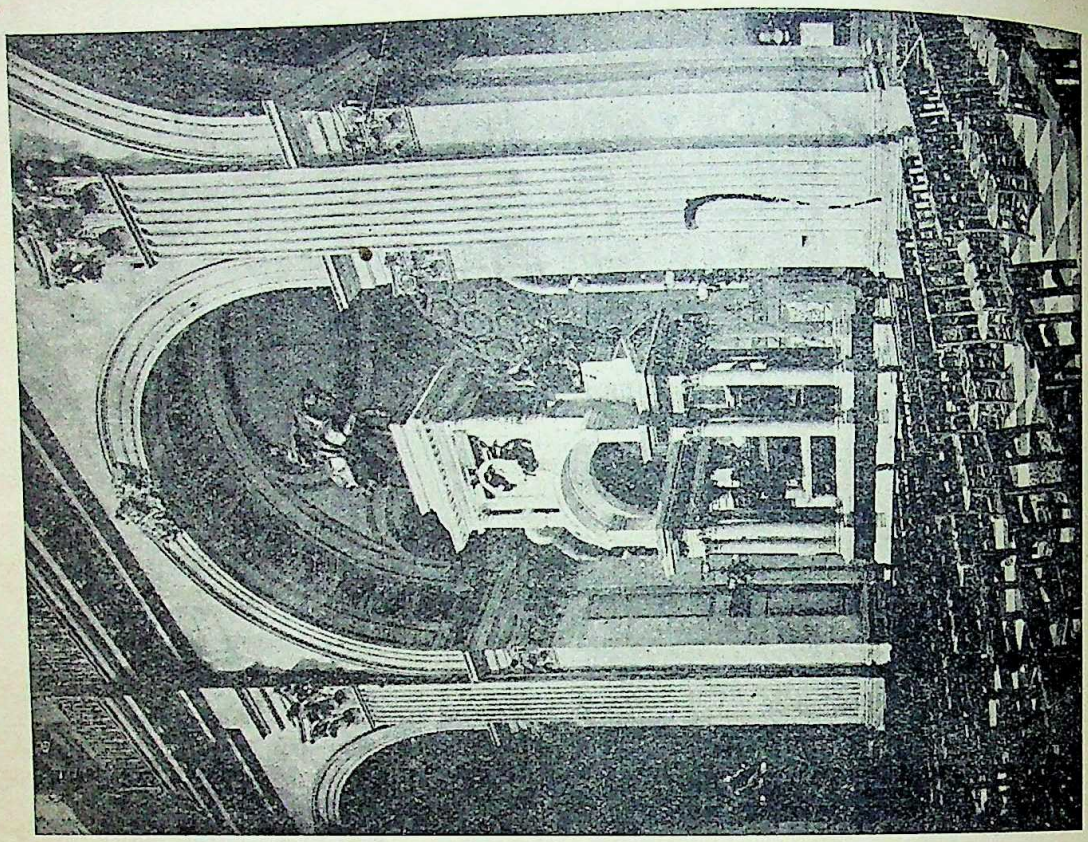
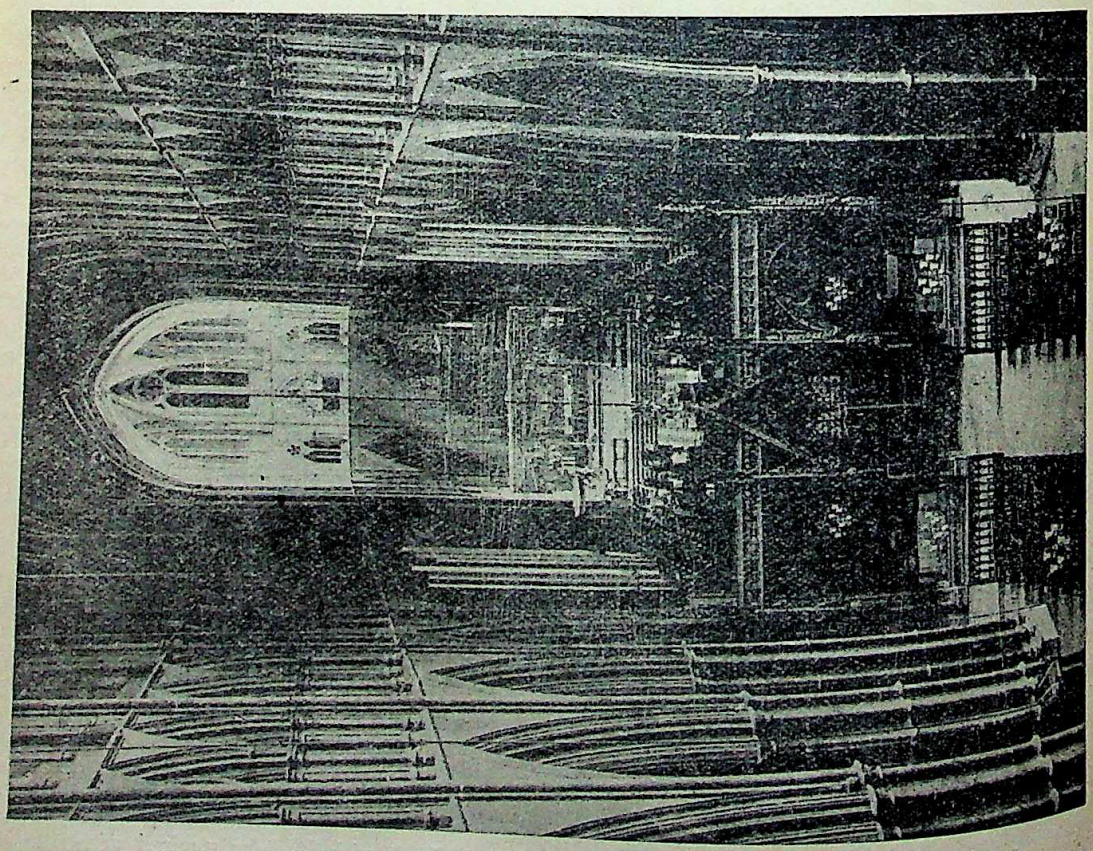


This magnificent monument to the Duke of Wellington in St. Paul's Cathedral is one of the finest tombs in the world



The 800 years old Abbey of Westminster which stands close by the Houses of Parliament in London is the Mother Church of the British Empire

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HUMAN FREEDOMS

By Prof. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (Oxford), Bar-at-Law

Freedom is a valuational conception and humanity is an ...tional perception and perfection. But are there any ...damental values and ideals of life for man and ...manity? Are there any individual necessities or ...cial desirabilities for human beings in order to make ...man lives possible and good. An answer to these ...estions will depend on (1) whether we consider that the life of man is fully absorbed in, or is subordinate to and is covered by the needs and rules of his group or society and by its political, social, religious and economic beliefs and institutions and cultural complexes, or (2) whether we are of opinion that there is something which is unique, independent or incalculable, which is more or greater than what society, the state or the community has made of him, which always remains with him or is left over in him after all his social and cultural achievements, institutions and complexes have been counted. In other words, the question is this, whether society and its institutions are greater than the man, or man and his potentialities are greater than the institutions he has created. Is society an end or means? Are we to render to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's, and *also to man what is man's*, to his inherent power and independence, initiative and potentiality, to his physical, moral, mental and spiritual needs as man? Should we care only for good laws or good men also?

What should be the nature and contents of this freedom, this due to man, would depend on his present achievements and outlook, his future course and spirit. But its necessity and desirability can hardly be doubted. Whether you consider according to Rousseau that man is born free and he is now found everywhere in chains, or the opposite that man is born in chains and that he now wants to be, is striving to be and ought to be free, as a true reading of history, or whether you accept the truth of the doctrine of the natural rights of man or of the legal rights of man, as a philosophical hypothesis, you must render unto man what is his due in nature and in society. The question is, does he possess or ought he to possess a right of resistance or independence against complete coercion or absorption by society, state or church which dominates and suppresses his personality, or is it merely their duty to protect and provide good conditions for life and to promote forces for good life for him.

The proper study of mankind is man. There is something more in man than is apparent in his ordinary consciousness and behaviour under a given system of environment, something which frames ideals and values of life. There is in him a finer spiritual presence which makes him dissatisfied with merely earthly pursuits. The ordinary condition of man is not his ultimate being. He has in him a deeper self, call it soul or spirit. In each being dwells a light and inspiration which no power can extinguish, which is benign and tolerant and which is the real man. It is our business to discover him, to protect and to insure him for life and humanity's welfare. It is the nature of this man to search for the true, the good and the beautiful in life and to esteem them properly and to strive for them continuously.

Then we must note that there is also an incalculable element in the human will and an endless complexity of human nature. No system, no order, no law can satisfy the deep and potential demands of a great personality, be they religious, political social or educational. Men are often endowed with great potential energy and creative power which cannot be encased within the bounds of old formulas and doctrines. No fixed discipline can suit the developing possibilities of new human manifestations in the psychological, ethical or spiritual fields. No system can satisfy the growing needs of a dynamic personality. There is always left out something unthought of and unrealised in the system. Hence we want freedom for man in the shape of human freedoms.

There is always a tendency towards a rise of new values and new ideals in human life. No ready formulas and systems can satisfy the needs and visions of great thinkers and of all peoples and periods. Freedom is necessary because authority is not creative. It sets limits to uncontrolled possessive authority. It gives full scope to developing personality and creates conditions for their growth. No uniformity or conformity in or comprehension of all aspects of life will be helpful. The present centralisation of all authority, its bureaucracy and party dictatorship, its complexity and standardisation, leave little scope for independent thought and development, for initiative and choice.

Freedom has to be considered in relation to man himself and also in his relations with others. It must assure him his physical needs and mental qualities and opportunities. It must also protect him from his neighbours and also help him to associate with them for common welfare and progress. What is at issue in the world of today is the dignity of the human being his inalienable right to exist, to life, to freedom from want and violence, from fear and frustration, from early death and dishonour, and also his inherent right to think and to speak, to associate and move freely. Wherever an individual is molested or tormented, wherever he is segregated or detained, the call of human freedom must resound.

Our world must think in terms of personalities and problems and not merely in terms of collective wholes or systems. Personality is the worthiest test of what is highest and noblest in life. The known facts of historical experience do not form a guide in understanding him. Our reason and experience cannot grasp his intuitions and visions. Things or ideals which to us seem as trifles or are unknown sometimes assume in his valuation and human perspective a great significance His values and ideals may appear wrong or out of the way, but they may become very valuable for a developing humanity. He may be a rebel or sinner today but his values and visions may rule us tomorrow as being more true in life. This justifies the conception of freedom of human thought and speech and its correlated freedoms and qualities.

When the highest powers and personalities of the world are today engaged in a titanic but tragic drama of slaughter and destruction, when the best, the vigorous and the innocent are being sacrificed at the

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altar of national hatreds and imperial wars, when freedom and its high principles of human life are being suppressed in its very name and are lying broken and bruised in thousands of homes, to sing the songs and praises of human freedoms, as if the world is striving and hankering after them, would seem to be a mockery of man and humanity. When the hang-over of supernaturalism and mysticism in political theory and political attitudes, and of the divine right of rigid codes and bigoted preachers, intolerent rulers and superior races, is still inspiring the intelligentsia of some of the countries, and when educated men are still dominated by holy notions of Jehad, Kaffirism, Mlechhism and Negroism in politics, society, religion, economics and culture, when there is no notion of respect, tolerance and fellow-feeling for others, when men are devoted to and dominated by ideas of foreign cultures and religions and when there is no freedom from violence and violation, from want and exploitation, how can there be any hope or opportunity for human freedom in many lands and even in its homelands.

The intellectual outlook of the masses remains much the same as it was in primitive times. It is actuated by an all-pervading supernaturalism and credulity propagated by all religious preachers and preserved by social traditions. Thus the great majority of so-called moderns is still overwhelmingly primitive in their ways of thinking and behaviour. To them freedom would mean more of the same old stuff of life and superstition. Much of the specific content of earlier superstitions has come down to us in the modern era with them. To-day our life is a compound of various levels of culture and tradition. In politics we venerate and worship our rulers. In law we are rigidly bound by our holy books and traditions. In economics we follow caste and communal groupings. In sociology we adhere to notions of heredity and religion. In civics we accept conceptions of the high and the low, the privileged and the protected. Then there is a superficial agitation for democracy, humanism, liberty and equality. In spite of the great vitality inhering in these modern conceptions they are very little adopted in practice. Our life is still based on old theories and practices of small intolerant nomadic and exclusive agricultural groups, and we want still to live our twentieth century life and expect progress and happiness by regulating it according to old standards. Thus we are living in an era in which our opinions and institutions are overwhelmingly the product of contributions from the pre-scientific and pre-liberal or pre-human era.

Can we then feel a call for national freedom and for human freedom, when we are so rigid, inflexible, fanatic and exclusive in our political, religious, cultural and socio-economic outlook? Not having succeeded in imposing our rules and systems on all countries and continents some of us still harbour feelings of superiority and hatred, coercion and dominance against our neighbours.

Therefore first let us "be man", and then lay down the contents, qualities and inter-relations of human freedoms. We must respect humanity and personality, tolerate our differences and others' ways of internal and external group behaviour, and combine to serve one another in calamities and in great undertakings.

To talk of human rights in India is no doubt very necessary and desirable but not easily possible in the present socio-cultural and religio-political complexes we live in and are inspired by. There are no human beings in India but only religious men, racial caste men. Our intelligentsia and masses are mad racial privileges, religious bigotry and social exc ness. In short we are engaged in a silent war of mination of opposite groups. Our classes and munities think in terms of conquest and subjug not of common association and citizenship. There present a continuous war of groups and communiti rulers and ruled, in our body politic and body from which conceptions of humanity and tolerance sense of humility and respect have disapp Bigotry, intolerance and exclusiveness sit enthro their places.

The world is mad today. It runs after destru and despotism, world conquest and world order, loot and world dispossession. The enormous generated against human life and achievements no sense of humanity or human love in the politics of today. But shall we renounce "being first and always? What we want is freedom from and war, from fear and frustration in life. We also freedom from an all-absorbing conception of the the community and the church coercing indivi to particular and ordered ways of life. Along with we desire freedom of thought and expression, ment and association, education and expansion mental and moral spheres of life. In any defined and ordered scheme of life we must have right of independent thought and belief even a right of non-violent resistance and autono life in order to develop our ideas of good human

In order to do this we shall have to give up of the superstitions of material science and reason which make man too much this-worldly introduce higher spiritual values of human end qualities. Then on that basis we shall have to orga our social life in all its aspects. We want not material conditions of happy life but also virtues of good life. Man's freedom is being des under the demands of economic technocracy, bureaucracy and religious idiosyncrasy.

Great thinkers like Manu and Buddha have emphasis on what should be the *assurances* necessary man and what should be the *virtues* possessed by They have propounded a code as it were of ten ess human freedoms and controls or virtues necessary good life. They are not only basic, but more prehensive in their scope than those mentioned by other modern thinker. They emphasize five free or social assurances and five individual possessions virtues. The five social freedoms are, (1) freedom violence (Ahimsa), (2) freedom from want (A (3) freedom from exploitation (Aparigraha), (4) dom from violation or dishonour (Avyabhichara) (5) freedom from early death and disease (Am and Arogya). The five individual possessions or are, (1) want of intolerance (Akrodha), (2) sion or fellow-feeling (Bhutadaya, Adroha), Knowledge (Jnana, Vidya), (4) freedom of and conscience (Satya, Sunrita) and (5) freedom fear and frustration or despair (Pravritti, Dhriti).

Human freedoms require as counterparts virtues or controls. To think in terms of freedoms out corresponding virtues would lead to a logical imagination or even a determinism personality and also to chaos and conflict in This two-sidedness of human life, its freedom

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...ions or controls, its assurances and possessions have ...to be understood and established in any scheme for the ...welfare of man, society and humanity. Merely the right ...to life, liberty and property or pursuit of happiness ...would not do, nor merely the assurance of liberty, ...equality and fraternity would help. Human freedoms ...virtues must be made more definite and all-sided ...help the physical, mental and spiritual development ...man and humanity.

If we are to prevent this open and latent warfare ...mutual extermination, national and international, ...must create and develop a new man or citizen ...endowed and possessed of these tenfold freedoms and ...values which are the fundamental values of human ...life and conduct. Otherwise our freedoms will fail in ...their objects and mission to save man and his mental and moral culture from the impending disaster with which the whole human civilisation is now threatened by the lethal weapons of science and the inhuman robots of despotic and coercive powers and their ideologies and credologies.

We in India also want freedom from foreign rule. Foreign rule is a damnable thing. This land has suffered from it for hundreds of years. We must condemn it whether old or new. Then we must have self-rule in our country under one representative, responsible and centralised system. Then alone we shall survive.

I know that men who are devoted to and dominated by rigid ideas of cultures and religions cannot feel the call of national or human freedom. But we cannot give up higher objectives and desirabilities for their sake and their prejudices.

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PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHY AND RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

By K. KALIANA SWAMI, B.A., B.L.

...ALDOUS HUXLEY has pointed out in the luminous introduction which he has contributed to the latest English translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood that what has been called the Perennial Philosophy which was first committed to writing twenty-five centuries ago "has found expression, now partial, now complete, now in this form, now in that, again and again" during the course of these centuries—be it in Vedanta and Hebrew philosophy, in the Too Teh King and the Platonic dialogues, in the Gospel according to St. John and Mahayana theology, in the Persian Sufis and Christian mystics of the Middle Ages and the Rennaisance, and in a way "has spoken almost all the languages of Asia and Europe." He also showed that underlying all these languages, myths and particularist doctrines "there remains a Highest Common Factor which is the Perennial Philosophy in what may be called its chemically pure state."

Four fundamental doctrines are said to constitute the Perennial Philosophy "in its minimal and basic form, namely, (1) that the phenomenal world of matter and the individualised consciousness is the manifestation of a Divine Ground within which all partial realities have their being and apart from which they would be non-existent; (2) that human beings can realise by pure intuition and have immediate knowledge of the Divine Ground; (3) that man who possesses the phenomenal ego and an external Self or Spirit (the spark of divinity within the soul) can, if he desires, identify himself with the Spirit and therefore with the Divine Ground, which is of the same or like nature with the Spirit; and (4) that man's only end or purpose in life is to identify himself with his eternal Self and thereby to come to unitive knowledge of the Divine Ground."

He illustrated how the Divine Ground had found expression in the various religions and how all the great religions of the world are more or less agreed with regard to the four fundamental doctrines mentioned above and as to man's final end or goal in life which is the unitive knowledge of the God-Head. It is said that the Perennial Philosophy and its ethical corollaries constitute a Highest Common Factor present in all the major religions of the world, though "there is not the slightest chance that any of the historical religions will obtain universal acceptance" in the sense that the people of different religions will all embrace some one particular religion which may be called a universal religion. But at the same time we are told that the Highest Common Factor of all religions, the Perennial Philosophy, has always and everywhere been the metaphysical system of the prophets, saints and sages of all ages and climes. He concluded by saying that

> "It is perfectly possible for people to remain good Christians, Hindus, Buddhists or Moslems and yet to be united in full agreement on the basic doctrines of the Perennial Philosophy."

His view is that

> "The hope of the world rests on the possibility of the acceptance and practice of the Perennial Philosophy by all men."

In the light of the above exposition, let us see what the much-misunderstood Raja Rammohun Roy had done over a century ago. He had studied, in original, the scriptures of the great religions of the world and asserted that the basic universal truths underlying all of them were the same, whatever might be the legends and superstitions that had gathered round each one of them, due to varying conditions of climate, culture and custom and that the so-called differences and distinctions which are paraded to sharply distinguish and separate one religion from another are only seeming and superficial. To put the same in the phraseology of Aldous Huxley, they are manifestations of the Divine Ground or the Perennial Philosophy which is the Highest Common Factor among all those religions, and the same, Rammohun called Universal Theism. "He found that the core of religious truth, comprehending the unity of God as Spirit, His worship in spirit and in truth, the immorality of the soul, and ethical discipline as the basis of spiritual life formed the central teaching of the Canonical Scriptures of the historic religions." There was only one Theism, with certain historical varieties, *e.g.*, a Hindu Theism, an Islamic Theism, and

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a Christian Theism. He had perceived and proclaimed afresh that "the Universal Truth was stressed in different ways, had different accents in its different historic utterances." According to him,

> "All religions ethnic or credal, all religions by which masses of men have lived as social aggregates, must be recognised as moving along their own lines of historic tradition to a universal ideal or Centre of Convergence. That ideal is the ideal of Universal Religion."

Rammohun with his prophetic vision could see that

> "It is as certain as anything in man's future history can be, that the future will see a reapproachment of Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Vedantism—not a 'melange', not one Concrete Universal Religion—but world re-actions of each of these religions under mutual contact and assimilation."*

The great historic religions, which are the national embodiments of universalism will neither cease to be nor be merged one in another but will grow along their own lines of historic continuity as specific embodiments of a Common Universal Regulation, growing fuller and fuller by mutual contact and assimilation, as well as by ideal convergence.

To the same effect are the observations of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the late Editor of *The Modern Review*, in his monograph on "Rammohun Roy and Modern India." He says :

> "It should not, however, be forgotten that though he (Rammohun) was cosmopolitan in his acceptance of truth, there are reasons to think that he believed in what may be called rational or racial manifestations or developments of universal theism." "It seems to us, that the Raja may have thought that Theism though at bottom one all over the world has yet found various expressions among different races, ... and that the future unity of the human race in religion is not to be realised by all mankind following the creed of this or that sect, but by each nation or race giving up all such erroneous and superstitious beliefs and pernicious customs and lifeless rituals as clash with pure theism, but in everything else keeping all that is racy of the soil, all that distinctively belongs to the religious genius of that nation or race, in a spirit of discriminating reverence for its own past and of respect and toleration for others."

Thus it will be seen that the idea underlying the Perennial Philosophy or the Divine Ground, which constitutes the Highest Common Factor, present in all the major religions of the world according to Aldous Huxley is no other than what Rammohun Roy called Universal Theism, underlying all the separate theisms, the universal ideal or Centre of Convergence, the Universal Religion towards which all religions move along their own lines. By his establishing a common place of worship, wherein persons of all religions can meet for the adoration of the one true God, as set forth in his famous Trust Deed, he hoped, as does Aldous Huxley, on the possibility of the acceptance and practice of the Perennial Philosophy by all men.

* The quotations are from the address of Sir Brojendra Nath Seal, delivered on the anniversary of Rammohun Roy, at Bangalore, on 27th September, 1924.

But yet, Prof. D. S. Sarma, the author of *The Renaissance of Hinduism* and other books, has certainly very harsh things to say about the religion of the Brahmo Samaj established by Raja Rammohun Roy which betray a gross misunderstanding, if not prejudice on his part.

On p. 3 of his book *What is Hinduism*? he says :

> "As the aim of all religions is to seek the perfection of God and to teach individuals and communities to order their lives in the light of that knowledge, we should look upon all religions as allies engaged in a common cause, namely, the moral and spiritual improvement of humanity.
>
> "But at the same time, we should not commit the mistake of supposing that we could ever arrive at a sort of universal religion by putting together all that is good in every historical religion. Such an attempt would only result in an eclectic artificial religion with no life in it. We may cull all the flowers in a garden and string them together into a beautiful garland but they will fade away in no time. We cannot have a living and growing universal religion any more than a living and growing universal language."

On p. 112 of his book *The Renaissance of Hinduism* he says :

> "But they (Brahmos) retain the Cosmopolitanism of Keshub and practically cut themselves off from all historic religions when they say : Whatever book contains truths calculated to ennoble the soul or elevate the character is a Brahmo's scripture, and whoever teaches such truths is a teacher and guide. So the Samaj is to be not a flowering tree with its roots stuck deep in the soil, but a garland of cut flowers taken from various trees. It is entirely a wrong application of the principle of the harmony of all religions. Harmony is not attained when all religions surrender their historic individualities and hold a round-table conference of skeletons."

Again on p. 636, in the concluding chapter of the same book, he says :

> "At the same time this survey has demonstrated that any attempt to establish a universal religion by the eclectic method of choosing the best part of each of the historical religions of the world is bound to fail. No religion can flourish which has not its roots in an authoritative canon and which is not preserved protected by appropriate ritual as a tree by its bark. The canon should, of course, be liberally interpreted, the spirit never being sacrificed to the letter, and the ritual should ever be in vital connection with the faith. But to do away with all canon and with all ritual is to tear up the tree by its roots and to remove its bark. What remains would only be a life-less stick, fit to be thrown into the fire."

On p. 637 of the same book he says :

> "The chief objective of the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj was social reform, and when that was achieved they lost their momentum to a large extent."

I have made these rather extensive quotations to show how Prof. Sarma has misunderstood and misinterpreted the spiritual and social aspects of the Brahmo Samaj.

While saying that "we should look upon all religions as allies engaged in a common cause, namely,

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moral and spiritual improvement of humanity" he abhors the idea of arriving at a universal religion by putting together all that is good in every historical religion, as "such an attempt would only result in an eclectic artificial religion with no life in it." To be sure with, all religions can be allies engaged in a common cause, only in the sense that the aspects of universal truth they individually teach and emphasise are such as are required by every man in his path towards perfection, as otherwise they cannot conduce to the moral and spiritual improvement of humanity. They cannot be allies simply because there is or can be a certain amount of similarity in their non-essential aspects, which are mostly the results of accident or custom, such as popular superstitious, meaningless ceremonies and lifeless rituals which do not really touch the core of any religion. So the alliance can only be in the partial expression of truth which they individually vindicate as forming part of the eternal body of truth of which each religion is such an expression. It cannot be otherwise as God's eternal and infinite truth cannot be exhausted through any particular religion or prophet or scripture however elevating, exalted or ancient it or he may be. So man in his path towards perfection has to seek the assistance of truth as expressed in all religions, by all prophets and in all scriptures. What Rammohun Roy did was that he had harmonised the truths expressed in all religions by correlating the same and pointing out their connection with each other and to the eternal body of truth of which they are but partial expressions. That was the Universal Religion or Universal Theism envisaged by Rammohun Roy of which the theisms proclaimed by the historic religions are but national embodiments tending towards a common centre of convergence.

Bearing in mind that what was harmonised by Rammohun Roy are the various aspects of Eternal Truth, which form the best parts of the historic religions, in enunciating the Universal Religion he had proclaimed, to compare it to a garland of cut flowers is only another illustration of giving the dog a bad name to hang it. That it is so, appears from the inference Prof. Sarma draws of the nature of a garland of cut flowers, namely, that these flowers would fade away and die in no time and that way we cannot have a growing universal religion. But it needs no special intelligence or spiritual insight to understand that universal truths cannot fade away and die like cut flowers, for, if they fade away and die they cannot be universal truths and if they are universal truths they cannot fade or die. So, it is seen that this mischievous simile of comparing universal religion to a garland of cut flowers has been resorted to only to misinterpret the religion of the Brahmo Samaj and to mislead others regarding its true nature and significance. But in spite of Prof. Sarma's strictures, there is no fear that the religion of the Brahmo Samaj would fade away and die. This question "Whether the Brahmo Samaj would last?" was long ago answered by Rai Pratap Chandra Mazumdar, in a pamphlet bearing that name, in which he said that the religion of the Brahmo Samaj, which is based on eternal truth, is bound to last as long as truth lasts.

Another criticism of Prof. Sarma is that bereft of authoritative canon and ritual, the religion of the Brahmo Samaj is like a tree plucked out of the soil by the roots, whose bark is removed, leaving a lifeless stick which is fit to be thrown into the fire. By the mere fact that the Brahmo Samaj does not confine itself to any particular scripture or prophet as neither can exhaust God's infinite truth or be infallible, it cannot be said that it has not got any authoritative canon, as it welcomes truth wherever it is found and holds it worthy of its reverence and obedience, and as truth always carries its own authority with it. As for ritual, it is not as though Brahmos have no rituals though they are not of that idolatrous variety which are popularly reckoned as such by many. It may be within the knowledge of Prof. Sarma that Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan, for whom he has a good word to say because he is sticking to the Hindu name, though many other Brahmos are not, has written a book on "Brahmo Rituals". Thus even according to Prof. Sarma's standards, the religion of the Brahmo Samaj is not like "a lifeless stick fit to be thrown into the fire." Others with broader vision and wider outlook have seen in it the seeds of a universal religion and Prof. Sarma's criticism of the religion of the Brahmo Samaj need not therefore perturb the Brahmos or others interested in it.

Lastly we come to Prof. Sarma's statement that the chief objective of the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj was social reform. That is another serious misunderstanding of the mission of the Brahmo Samaj and unfortunately Prof. Sarma is not alone in holding this view. The objective of the religion of the Brahmo Samaj is essentially, first and foremost, a spiritual one and holding as it does that religion is life and not mere intellectual conviction it launched into what others call social reforms only to give effect in practical life to the implications of its spiritual teaching. Thus, living according to the spiritual principles of his religion, a Brahmo has necessarily to do away with social abuses and exhibit in his practical life what others look upon as social reforms, though they are his normal activities. Pandit Shivanath Sastri, who was one of the best products of the Brahmo Samaj, says as follows in his presidential address, at the All-India Theistic Conference of 1910, held at Allahabad :

> "Religion to us has two sides—Spiritual and Social. On the spiritual side we are related to the Supreme Spirit, holding loving communion with Him and drawing our spiritual sustenance from such communion; on the social side we are related to our fellow-beings, giving them their due and loving and serving them in the best way we can.
>
> These two sides of our religion, at least as long as we are in this world, are equally important and should never be neglected."

Later on, in the same address he says :

> "Man cannot truly attain to God unless he truly develops the soul he has received from Him. And that development depends upon the right exercise of its powers. . . . The best means of spiritual union with the Supreme Being is to attain moral perfection as an individual and also as a member of society, for that is the only means of fulfilling the Divine purpose in making man a domestic and social being."

It is therefore seen that to say that the chief objective of the Brahmo Samaj was social reform is to betray an ignorance of its real position which is unworthy of any keen student of religion, let alone the ordinary lay man.

Thus Rammohun's Universal Religion or Universal Theism is no other than what Aldous Huxley

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calls the Perennial Philosophy or the Divine Ground or the Highest Common Factor, on the acceptance and practice of which by all men rests the future hope of the world. May the recognition of this identity, at least, lead to a correct appreciation of the religion of the Brahmo Samaj about which there are many misconceptions and prejudices !

——:O:——

EDUCATION AND EDUCATORS IN THE LAND OF SOCIALISM

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKERJI, M.A.

A vast sub-continent about 4 million square miles in area with a population bordering on 400 million, but only nineteen universities and a literacy of 9·5 per cent of the population. Can you name any such civilised (!) country ? It is unhappy India and that after well-nigh 200 years of British rule.

The Sargent Scheme proposing an expenditure of Rs. 10 per capita per annum for education in India has been put in the cold storage on the convenient plea of paucity of funds. It is a land where the beggar's pittance of Rs. 15, in some cases even less, is deemed sufficient for a primary school teacher. His comrades in profession in higher educational institutions fare no better. Not a few graduate teachers in Secondary schools rot on between Rs. 30 and Rs. 40 a month. Lucky is the college teacher who earns a magnificent Rs. 100 a month.

Yet we are reminded in and out of season of India's deep debt of gratitude to England. Nor do we minimise our debt. We would yet like to point out that England has conferred no benefits on India without first benefiting herself. Mr. Sumner Wells, ex-Under-Secretary of State at Washington, says that railways and irrigation works were started in India for the investment of superfluous British capital. Higher education of a purely literary character was given to a certain class of people to produce English-knowing clerks and assistants for their masters though "it has produced results undreamt of in the philosophy of those who wanted only quill-drivers."

How refreshing to turn from education in India under the British regime to that in the land of the Soviets ! Lots of things have been told against the U.S.S.R. We do not say that they are all false. We would suggest nevertheless that the defects and drawbacks of the U.S.S.R. should not blind us to its manifold achievements.

The U.S.S.R. has set before itself the ideal of the emancipation of humanity by a four-fold revolution—economic, social, cultural and political. An entirely new culture has been evolved during the last 27 years which, among others, has created a people who have proved too hard a nut for the Nazi war machine till recently the most efficient and ruthless in the modern world.

The Soviet Government realised at the very outset that education is the bed-rock of culture. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee in 1918 took the decision of making education compulsory up to the age of 17. Due to civil war and economic crisis the resolution had to be kept in abeyance for 12 years. At last in 1930 Stalin declared that the hour had arrived for the introduction of compulsory primary education, the first step in the path of cultural revolution. The first two Five-year Plans gave shape to this ideal. The third contemplated making education in urban areas compulsory up to the age of 18.

It is not proposed here to enter into a discussion as to the merits and demerits of the Soviet educational system. Two points should, however, be clearly borne in mind. For one thing, education in the land of the Soviets is, generally speaking, free. For another, nothing, which has not been tested on the touch-stone of science, is taught in Soviet educational institutions. As P. Yulin says, "The Soviet system of education is diametrically opposed to the misanthrope, bestial doctrine of the supremacy of one nation over another. It imbues the youth with a spirit of love, a spirit of national patriotism. But at the same time the Soviet school fosters in them the spirit of international solidarity, an understanding of the interests of other nationalities and a respect for other peoples." (*Soviet Culture*—pp. 19-20). Tsarist Russia was rightly regarded as the 'prison-house of nationalities' and the Tsarist government regarded the numerous national minorities of Russia as mere prey for colonial plunder. Indifferent to their cultural development, the Tsarist officials planted and fostered barbarism and ignorance among them by inciting the various nationalities against one another.

The October Socialist Revolution swept away all restrictions with regard to the rights of any nationality to education. The percentage quota imposed by the Tsarist government for Jewish children admitted in high schools and universities, the banning of national schools in the Ukraine, in Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaizan, Byelorussia and Central Asia and barriers of a similar nature were abolished.

The number of school children and students and the expenditure on public education and school construction are among the best criteria of judging the condition of a country in the sphere of education.

The Tsarist government budget under the head 'Education' in 1913 was fixed at 136,700,000 roubles. This meant an average expenditure of 80 kopeks (1 kopek = about 1 farthing) per head, while England and Belgium in the same year spent 3 and 3·50 roubles per head respectively, and the U. S. A. somewhat over 9 roubles.

The Tsarist government was of opinion that compulsory education could be introduced "no earlier than before the end of the 20th century." But the rapid economic development of the country, "the cultural growth and increased material well-being, the tremendous work done by the Soviet Government in the field of culture made it possible to introduce universal compulsory elementary education throughout the country in 1931."

Tsarist Russia had 8,137,000 elementary school children in 1914. The number shot up to 47,442,100 in

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1938-39. The student population of Secondary schools was 995,000 in 1914. In 1938-39 the Secondary schools (both general and special) had an attendance 12,076,000. In 1914 there were 112,000 students in universities and colleges whereas by 1938-39 this number had increased to 601,000. It may be of interest to note here that in the field of higher education only the U.S.A. is more advanced that the U.S.S.R. In the one 1 citizen in every 225 is a university student while in the other the proportion is 1 to 300.

Of every 1,000 inhabitants in Tsarist Russia less than 50 attended schools. Children of school age constituted 22 per cent of the population, but only 4·7 per cent actually attended schools.

The Soviet State recognised the right of citizens to education. Article 121 of the Stalin constitution runs as follows :—

"Citizens have the right to education. This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education, by education free of charge* including higher education, by a system of State stipends for overwhelming majority of students in higher schools, by instruction in schools in the native language, and by the organisation in factories, State farms, machine tractor stations, and collective farms of free industrial, technical and agricultural education for the working people."

During the last 27 years 500,000 teachers have been trained and more than 40 million illiterate people made literate by the State. A large number of schools have been built for the education of the adult. 10,000 schools have been started during the quinquennium 1936-40. The spread of education continues unhampered even in the midst of a life and death struggle. Russia had a percentage of literacy of 21·2 in 1897. It rose to 44 at the end of the first decade of Bolshevik rule to 70 in 1939 and to 100 in 1944.

Improvement in the condition of teachers has proceeded *pari passu* with the spread of education. "Receiving a miserable pittance for his work, the village school teacher in Tsarist Russia was constantly being hounded by the local police officers, the local member of the Black Hundreds, the Kulak and the Saloon-keeper. Regular school buildings were practically unknown in the countryside. The school was usually housed in an old shack on the outskirts of the village . . ." (*U.S.S.R. Speaks for Itself*, p. 265). The lot of a Tsarist school teacher was, to say the least, miserable. All these are however memories of the past and the Soviet school teacher is a very important factor in the country's cultural development. The Russian teacher's position is much better to-day than it was in pre-Soviet days. The salaries of teachers were doubled in 1936 and instructions sent out to local authorities to pay more attention to the teachers' comforts in general and to the timely payment of their salaries in particular. Salaries were again considerably raised as from August, 1943. The pay is equal for men and women teachers. The local authorities to-day have to be more attentive to the teachers' comforts with regard to accommodation, supply of fuel and other commodities. Their rations are now the same as those of industrial workers. Special dining rooms for teachers have been provided in some districts. In 1943 a number of Primary and Secondary school teachers were awarded State honours "for great service in the sphere of communist training and teaching children, for continued educational work, and for active participation in the social life of the community."

The teacher's house is the hub of the universe in rural districts. He or she plays a leading role in all local activities, stimulating agricultural experiments, improving the organisation of labour, arranging courses of lectures on a variety of subjects and what not.

Salaries of teachers vary with their training, with areas (urban or rural) in which they are engaged, with the size of their schools and with the length of service. The lowest salary for unqualified rural teachers is 325 roubles a month. In the country there is generally a rent-free cottage with its plot of land and fuel. The salary of the head of an urban Secondary school with more than 880 pupils may be as high as 1,000 roubles a month.

A teaching day in Primary schools (7-12 years) consists of 4 hours' teaching. For teachers of higher forms it is 3 teaching hours. Extra teaching hours are rewarded with over-time pay according to the scale of the teacher. Heads of schools and supervisors of methods in schools receive a 10 per cent increment after 5 years, a 20 per cent on the original salary after 10 years and a further 10 per cent increment after 25 years. Salaries in schools for defective and backward children are 25 per cent higher than those in ordinary schools. In some regions in Eastern Siberia such as the Irkutsk region, the Yakut autonomous republics and other sparsely populated or formerly very primitive and backward areas, salaries are higher by one-fifth. In regions beyond the Arctic circle, including islands in the Arctic and the Pacific Oceans, the salary is 50 per cent higher. The need for teachers in the whole field of education including training colleges and universities being very great, promotion is very general and often rapid. The academic staff's voice counts in the matters of running the institution and determination of the conditions of service. The assistant teachers can complain against the head. If the allegations are found to be true on enquiry, the head is dismissed or otherwise punished. The latter has the same right regarding the staff.

A large number of teachers have been elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and many more to the Republic Soviets. An ex-woman teacher was elected Vice-President of R.S.F. S. R. Supreme Soviet in 1944. It has thus been rightly pointed out that the Soviet teacher now occupies a position "in which he takes an active part in administering the affairs of State in the land of Socialism." (*U.S.S.R. Speaks for Itself*, p. 270).

* Payment for education was introduced for the three upper classes (ages 15-17) in the Secondary schools and in all higher education in 1940. Fees paid by students constitute but 3-6 per cent of the total expenditure on education. Fees are remitted and stipends given to orphans or students from families earning very low incomes, who reach the required standard. The measure, however, is purely temporary in nature meant for the period of transition from Socialism to Communism.

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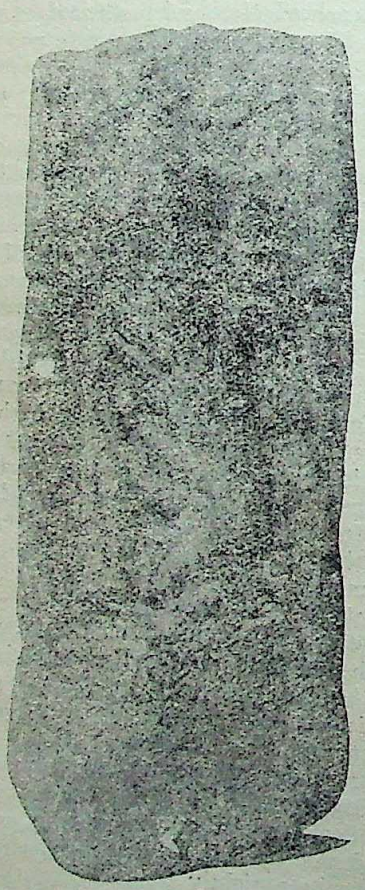
THE TERRACOTTAS FROM KAUSAMBHI

By SATISH CHANDRA KALA, M.A.,
Curator, Allahabad Museum

The remains of ancient Kausambhi lie near the village of Garhwa, some 40 miles west of Allahabad. Nothing is however known about the origin of this city. There are frequent references of Kausambhi in the Satpatha and Gopatha Brahamana as well as in the Buddhist Jatakas and all of them refer to the incredible wealth and prosperity of this celebrated city. In the sixth century B.C. Kausambhi was one of the six principal cities of North India. Buddha is said to have sanctified this city by his visit particularly on an invitation from the three wealthy citizens of Kausambhi. At that time a ruler named Udayana or Udena was ruling in this region. In due course of time Kausambhi passed under the sway of the Maurya, Sunga, Kushana and Gupta powers and in all the periods and under all the political vicissitudes Kausambhi retained its glory and prosperity.



Terracotta plaque from Kausambhi

The happy conditions of life, peaceful atmosphere and royal patronage helped in the healthy growth of an artistic life. The aesthetic temperament of the people is very well reflected in the sculptures, beads, gems, decorative plaques and terracottas discovered from the ruins from time to time. The art of terracotta-m was perhaps one of the premier industries of this From Kausambhi come basketful of terracottas interesting scenes and most of them offer entirely material for the study of the contemporary relig cults and concepts. They also throw light on technical aspects of early Indian plastic art. Clay the cheapest gifts of God to mankind has been for making pottery and other articles in all parts the ancient world. Clay is also a more conven medium for human or animal figures and this is perhaps the reason that in early phases of civilisations we across more clay figurines than stone sculptures. the ancient terracottas are well baked and gener bear a red slip or wash.

The most common type of Kausambhi terracottas a female with archaic figures. It is represented nude for a girdle round the loins. The hips and breasts are usually prominent. This figurine has been identi with the universal mother Goddess the cult of which was prevalent in all the countries of the ancient world. The other type is a star-shaped figure. It is crude workmanship and has no human features. Such terra cottas have been found in great abundance even Bhita.

In the Allahabad Museum there is a representa tive collection of the Sunga period terracottas from Kausambhi. Of special mention is a piece of Toy Cart (Mricchakatika). In the central sunken space there seated a pleasure party in rows of three on each side. In the middle there is a big plate (*thal*) containing fruits, bread and other eatables and a musical instru ment. The figures in the space are kept with skill order. The dramatic movement of certain figures in plaque is also remarkable. Another plaque of the same period shows an amorous couple sitting on a raised chair. The upper part of the plaque is unfortunately lost. In the lower part is seen a male having both his legs outstretched. The legs of the female encircle his hips. Below on the left is a hunch-backed woman holding a circular mirror in one of her hands and on the extreme left is seen a cock and hen. From this plaque it can be very well judged what intense feeling the artist had for the portrayal of amorous scenes. In a third specimen again we see another amorous scene. Here both the male and the female are seated in an embracing attitude on a chair, resembling a throne. Amorous scenes are too common during the Sunga period. The amorous couple or *mithuna* is described as an important decorative motif in the Shastras and it finds a place in the sculptures and paintings of all the periods of history.

Bacchanalian scenes are also found in the terracotta plaques. In one plaque a couple is seen sitting on a raised chair. The male holds a wine cup (*Madhu pala*) and the female a wine jar (*Madhu patra*) and the female a wine jar (*Madhu patra*) and the female a wine jar (*Madhu patra

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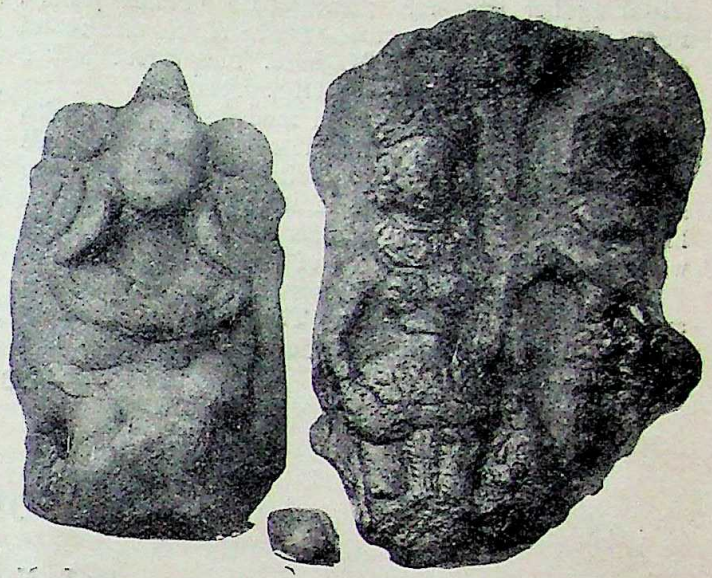
body is turned sideways and her hands look like wings of a flying bird. There is an exquisitely carved device rising above the head of the female. Bacchanalian scenes are common in the Kushana sculpture of Mathura. A scholar has truly remarked that these groups invariably depict the sensuous and material side of human life symbolising the pleasures that follow the bowl of life which these groups invariably

Terracotta plaque

Music and dancing were popular in the Sunga period. It appears that dancing had both a religious and secular significance. Tradition says that Udayana the ruler of Kausambhi was a great patron of music and dancing. From the Udenbathu we learn that each of the three queens of this king was attended by five hundred dancing girls. It is also revealed from the Pali literature that Udayana was the recipient of a wonderful lute from the hermit Allakappa. There are a number of plaques from Kausambhi giving glimpses of dancing and music. There is an exquisitely moulded dancing female in the Allahabad Museum. She wears a long, thin, striped tunic supported by a fine girdle and is bedecked with heavy jewellery. Her left leg is little raised and there is *hasya mudra* in her face. The delineation of the bodily parts of the figure is highly superb. In several fragmentary plaques we can clearly the dancing poses or *mudras*.

Terracotta plaque

The Kushana period is another important phase in the evolution of Indian plastic art. The Kushana rulers were patrons of art and religion and it was during their ascendancy that the earliest image of Buddha was evolved. The majority of the Kushana terracottas bear rough features. A large number of terracotta heads seem to have been modelled at Kausambhi during the Kushana period. They have vigour and force but are marked by a feeling of same. In the Allahabad Museum there is a unique terracotta piece showing a dancing performance on the obverse and a standing female figurine on the reverse. On the left of the obverse is seen sitting a male playing



Terracotta plaques from Kausambhi

on a harp and on the left there is a female in a dancing pose. A tree, the significance of which is not known, is also depicted in the centre. It is probable that the man playing on the harp is a teacher giving training to the female in dance performance on the right side. Or the scene might relate to some rehearsal. The workmanship of the plaque is of inferior quality but the pose of the female is highly effective. In another plaque we find a female with thick features standing in a dancing pose. Both of her hands are fixed at the waist.

At Kausambhi was found a terracotta piece which resembles a tree trunk but has an animal capital at the

A female figurine

Terracotta plaque

top. From the tree there is seen emerging a crude dwarfish figure with his hands raised above. It is difficult to say if it represents a Yaksha or a tree spirit. In the Dhammapada commentary there occurs a story in which a spirit is said to have burst out of a tree and offered food to some needy saints. It is probable that a similar story was in the mind of the artist but who was not acquainted the details of the story.

The Kausambhi pottery artists deserve the highest praise for their poetic fancies. There is a rare terra-

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cotta female bust in the Allahabad Museum. The female holds a parrot in one of her hands. The bird is seen touching her lips. In the artist's fancy the parrot is here mistaking her lips for pomegranate (*Vimba phala*). Females playing with parrots (*Shuka Krida*) are found on several sculptures of Mathura. The parrot is the attendant of the god of love (*Kamadeva*).

The potters of Kausambhi modelled animals with an affectionate insight. The most favourite animals were the elephants, bulls, crocodiles, and rams. All the animals are modelled with masterly freedom. It is likely that some of the animals at Kausambhi were worshipped as the attendants of gods.

The variety of the subjects used by the Kausambhi artists is simply bewildering. They did not merely work on the poetic or mythological subjects. They had a highly realistic sense to adopt historical subjects, the incidents or episodes relating to our everyday Several romantic stories associated with the King Udayana seem to have been used by the in the terracotta plaques. In a plaque the best served specimen of which is in the Bharat Kala Bh Benares, is depicted the scene of the abduction Vasavadatta. Seated on the elephant are Udayana, Vasavadatta and the Vidusaka Vasa In a male torso even the intestines are represented must have served as a model for the students of science. Besides, in a number of plaques animal or attacks have been depicted. The action, vigour the ferocious movements of the animals are faithf rendered and throw light on the artist's power of observation and understanding of animal psycholog

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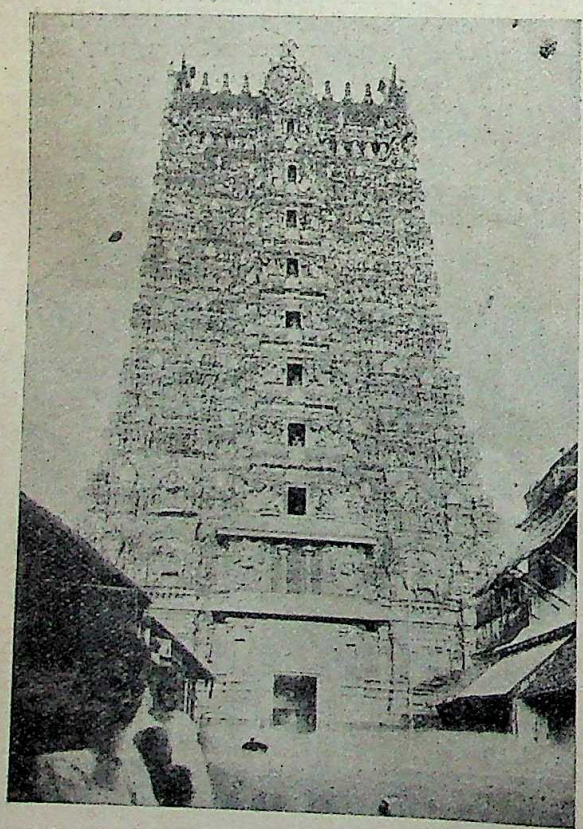
MADURA

By L. N. GUBIL

Madura is the second of the largest and most populous towns in the Madras Presidency. In many respects it can be likened to Athens of the Periclean period and to Paris of modern times. What Athens was to Greece, and what Paris was till very recently to Europe,



The Temple at Madura

Madura was to the Tamils of South India. It was the centre of Tamil learning and it was the seat of Tamil scholars. According to the documents available now, the third of the famous Tamil Sangams flourished here in all its splendour and glory. Some of the most marvel and picturesque buildings built by the ancient king Madura are to be found here to-day mellowed softened by the passage of time. In the temples, fame of which is widespread, are rare pieces of sculpt and statues of kings who ruled over Madura. Furth as the old capital of the Pandyan kingdom, it has g historical importance and the palace and temp abound in ancient script and carvings, the delight of th research student and scholar. To-day Madura h acquired additional importance on account of its gr industrial activity. There are three large cotto spinning factories. Modern labour problems acquiring great importance, and Madura will have play its own part in their solution worthy of its ind trial importance. There are two Arts Colleges and t carry on the old tradition of learning and cult Madura is thus a very important town and should seen by everyone who wants to have a good idea South India.

This famous historic town is situated on either s of the Vaigai which courses its way through the to The major part of the town lies to the south of t river, and it has almost all the important buildin Modern Madura is a tribute to the industry and pl ning of its authorities, who are responsible for administration. Clean and broad roads traverse t town, and every one of them is kept in very good co dition. The planning of the town is worthy of imitatio Looking at the town from a 'plane, a beautiful sce unfolds itself, the roads looking like brown ribb and the river meandering through it looking like streak of gleaming light.

Let us for a moment consider the name of t town. According to some authority, it was nam Mathura by the Aryans, who migrated to the South fr Muttra in the North. But others maintain that t name was given by Kulasekhara Pandya. He built temple in honour of Siva, and planted a small cob round it, and conferred upon it the name of Madura the name for the water of the Ganges, which sprinkled on the ground as the God Siva danced, a

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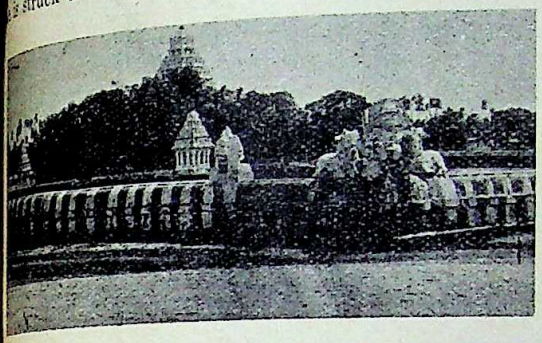
there are differences in opinion about the genesis the name of this town.

Conspicuous and proudly remarkable among its ant buildings is the famous Meenakshi temple in centre of the town. It is massive in structure, ficent and imposing, the fruit of the labour of of patient toil and planning. The architectural y of the temple does not lend itself easily to tion. On seeing it with the eye of a specialist e struck dumb at the skill of those who worked on



The Vandiyur Teppakulam Tank, Madura

for the beauty is something which is not to be des- ed, but must be seen and enjoyed with one's own . Within the temple are the hall of the thousand the Golden Lotus Tank and the image of Gana- Pudumandapam is also within this ancient temple. sists of various rows of stalls exhibiting all kinds goods for sale. In the centre of Pudumandapam is a ous hall, containing the statues of the Naik kings Madura.

South-east of the town lies the celebrated Palace by Tirumalai Naiker. The Palace was built for Princess of Tanjore, whom the King of Madura married. The huge towering pillars and thick ive walls, the many courtyards and audience halls, the swimming bath are of great beauty and they g to light the peculiarity of Indian secular archi- re. To-day, the palace is used for the public offices law-courts of the District.

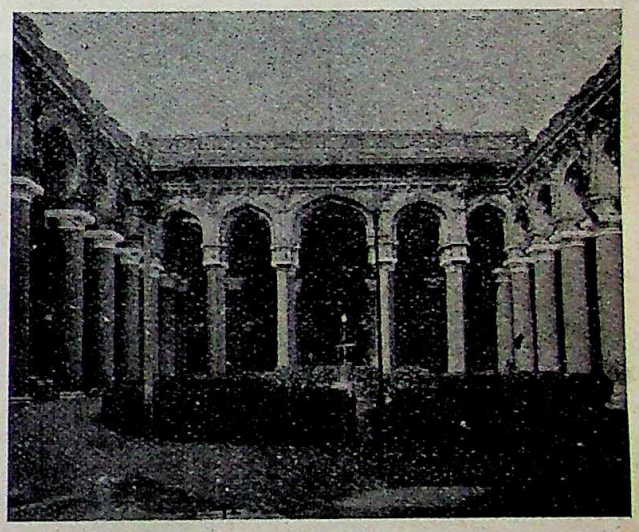
About a mile to the south-east of the Meenakshi ple is the Mariamman Tank, a small beautiful lake, which once a year the floating festival is held. tom and tradition are responsible for the conti- ce of this festival. Every year in April, the most portant of these floating festivals is held in the mman Tank. It is said to be in memory of the n of Meenakshi with Lord Siva. This festival is so portant and is celebrated in such gorgeous splendour picturesque style, that thousands of people come all over the Presidency to witness it. During these s, one can hardly find an inch of ground unoccupied. clearly shows the popularity of the festival. other festival is held in January, and though it is an portant festival, it is neither so beautifully exciting does it attract such crowds as the other.

A few words about the history of the town. Madura the capital of the Pandyan kingdom which com- d Ramnad, Tinnevelly and Madura. The Pandyas over this kingdom independently till about the d century A.D. Between the third and the tenth ries, their power decayed, and the Pallavas established their supremacy over them, and forced them to pay heavy tributes. The Pallavas were followed by the Chola Pandyas, who held sway over the kingdom for nearly three hundred years.

From then onward, it was invaded, interfered with, and generally kept under some foreign domination or other. Malik Kafur invaded the kingdom in the fourteenth century, and seeing the capital undefended by its ruler, established his own rule. Vijayanagar drove the Muhammadans from Madura sometime later and appointed Pandyan governors to rule over the kingdom. But in 1559, Vira Chola defeated the Pandyas and captured Madura, and the Pandyas sought the protection of the Vijayanagar Emperor.

Nagamma Naik was sent to succour the defeated Pandyas, but he defeated the Chola King and established himself in Madura. His overlord furious at this disloyalty sent the son of the disloyal chief on a punitive expedition. The son, defeating his father, took him captive. As a reward for his daring, his father was left unpunished.

Viswanatha Naik was the first of the Naik Kings. His minister Aryanayaka is supposed to have built



Tirumal Naik's Palace, Madura

the hall of the Thousand Pillars. One of his successors was Tirumalai Naik who built the Palace named after him. He was a totally inefficient and imbecile ruler, who played off one supporter against another and bought his enemies off. But this policy ended in eternal dissensions within the kingdom and led to the interference by the Nawab of Arcot. Muhammad Ali was placed upon the throne by his brother, and when he succeeded to the throne of Arcot, Madura also passed under his rule. In return for the service of the English, Madura, together with Salem, was given to the Company. By the India Act of 1858, together with all the other possessions of the Company, Madura came under the British Crown.

Madura is thus an important town, inasmuch as it possesses many relics of ancient culture and many buildings of historical importance. He who has not seen it has missed much in life.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF LONDON

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By WILLIAM A. ROBSON

With a population estimated at 8,575,700 (in 1936), Greater London is far larger than any other capital and normally contains more persons than any one of fifteen European states. In it are to be found the King's principal residence, the Houses of Parliament, the High Courts of Law, and the Executive Departments of the Central Government. The small inner core, known as the City, embraces the Bank of England, the Stock Exchange, Lloyd's and all the other banking and insurance institutions which have given London its financial predominance.

Trafalgar Square which bounds Whitehall to the north is famous for the great column surmounted by a statue of Nelson

London in peace-time contains a population greater than any one of fifteen European states. The government of this mighty agglomeration of offices and factories, docks, quays, barracks, shops, homes, colleges, schools and markets is a task without parallel in the modern world.

London is both the capital of Great Britain and the political heart of the British Empire. It is England's chief commercial centre, her judicial centre, her administrative centre, her cultural centre, her greatest manufacturing city. It is the world's largest port.

Here we find the British Museum, the National Gallery and other great artistic and historical collections of international repute. Here the leading hospitals and medical schools carry on their work, and the most eminent physicians and surgeons congregate in the Harley Street quarter. Here sport has established its greatest arenas at Wimbledon, Lords, the Wembley, Hurlingham and Epsom. Those are a few of the features which make London what it

The Government of so vast a concourse of men women must inevitably be a matter of considera complexity. Let us see how it is carried on.

The inner core (it is called City) little more than a sq mile in extent, is directly d cended from the walled city medieval times, which in was linked with Saxon Lo and the Londinium of the Ro occupation. The City has surv as a historic entity possess separate and peculiar muni institutions of its own, inclu ing its own Guildhall (destro in part by air bombardm electing the Lord Mayor, a enjoying a prestige and influe totally unrelated to its size administrative importance but d rived from the glamour of thousand years of self-governm great civic wealth, a famous tra tion of hospitality, much picture que ceremony, and ancient buil ings and treasures of rare beau

The principal municipal orga is the London County Coun composed of 144 members of whom 124 are directly elected by

A general view of the wide thoroughfare with Big Ben Tower and the Houses of Parliament in the background

the voters and the remaining 20 appointed as Aldermen by the Councillors. The L. C. C. has a Chairman, a Deputy Chairman, a Leader of the Council supported by the majority party, and a Leader of the Opposition appointed by the minority. No other local authority

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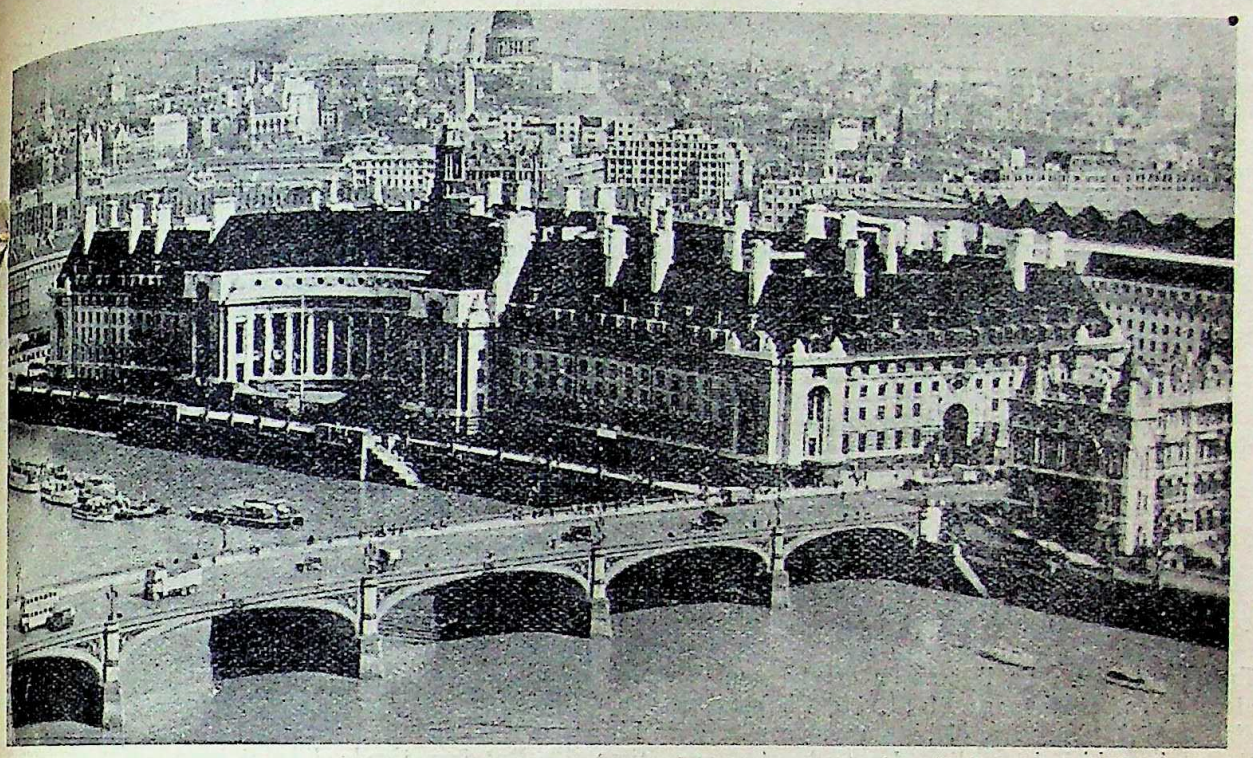

On the banks of the River Thames, opposite the Houses of Parliament, stands County Hall, administrative centre of London's eight millions

in Britain follows the Parliamentary practice of appointing party leaders in this way.

The L. C. C. carries on its work in the administrative county of London, an area consisting of 117 square miles and containing in peace-time about 4,141,000 persons. The chief services for which it is responsible are primary, secondary and technical education, main drainage, main roads, Thames bridges, the fire-brigade, public assistance, housing, town-planning, parks and open spaces, lunacy and mental deficiency, municipal hospitals, many branches of public health, and a long series of regulatory and licensing powers. It spends about £35,000,000 a year.

Within this same area is a second tier or layer of local authorities known as metropolitan borough councils. There are 28 of these also directly elected by the citizens. The metropolitan borough councils exercise considerable powers in such matters as public libraries; disposal of refuse; tuberculosis clinics; street lighting, repair and cleansing; provision of baths, wash-houses and cemeteries; levying of local taxes, and so forth. They are in nearly all respects independent of the L. C. C.

Outside the boundaries of the administrative county, but within Greater London, are a large number of other local authorities of different kinds. There are the county boroughs of Croydon, East Ham and West Ham. There are 35 municipal borough councils, 30 urban district councils, four rural district councils, six parish councils and five county councils. These organs administer areas which were formerly separate from London but now have grown together so as to make a single vast conglomerate.

Four important services are in the hands of four authorities specially established for the purpose. The water supply of the capital is managed by the Metro-

Whitehall, site of the former Royal Palace and now the centre of administration of the British Empire, is one of the historic streets of London

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politan Water Board, an indirectly elected body covering a territory of 573 square miles with a population exceeding seven millions. The port is administered by the Port of London Authority, which owns and operates a huge system of docks and warehouses. The whole mass of passenger transport services, comprising underground and local surface railways, buses, trams and trolley-buses, is run by the London Passenger Transport Board, a public service corporation of a novel type. The Police Forces (with the exception of the City Police, which comes under the City Corporation) is controlled by the Home Secretary acting through a Commissioner of Police.

Apart from these four services, the government of London is carried on by directly-elected local authorities. The municipal administration of the capital is democratic, not only in the letter but also in the spirit. In general, London government is clean, vigorous and politically coherent. There is a keen struggle for power between rival parties representing politically conscious citizens. Corruption, jobbery and patronage are extremely rare. An astonishing amount of disinterested and devoted public service is contributed by the councillors and aldermen, who are unpaid.

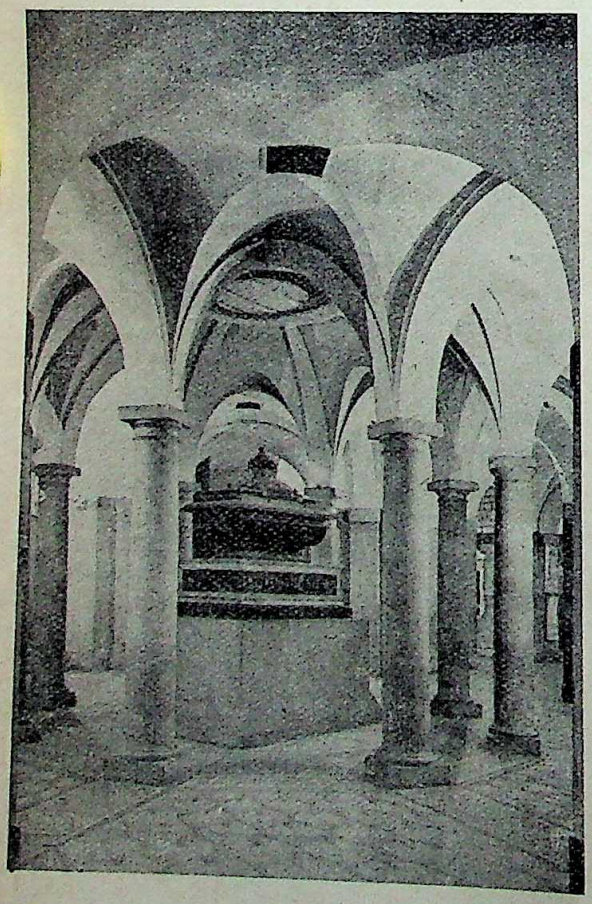
The government of London has made a notable contribution to Britain's war effort. It has been able to do this because it lies close to the people and is based on the popular will.

——:O:——

UNDER THE DOME OF ST. PAUL'S

By J. R. GLORNEY BOLTON

The crypt of St. Paul's was an empty and desolate place when, at the age of 91, Sir Christopher Wren died in 1723. Very few of his contemporaries gave him the praise which he really deserved. At one time



In the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral directly under the great Cross is Nelson's tomb and the magnificent sarcophagus designed for cardinal Wolsey by Torregiano in the sixteenth century

Parliament decided to withhold half his salary payment of £200 until he had completed the building of St. Paul's. King George I deprived him of the Cathedral Surveyorship when he had reached the age of eighty-five.

But ingratitude did not trouble him. He lived long enough to see his own Cathedral completed, and he wrote: "If I glory, it is in the singular mercy of God, who has enabled me to begin and finish my great work, as conformable to the ancient model." His countrymen allowed him to be buried in the Cathedral crypt. They did not bother to give him a public memorial. That was the real reason why the son chose for his father's epitaph the famous words: "Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice."

Yet the fame of Sir Christopher Wren spread. The crypt ceased to be a deserted place. The stone steps which lead from the nave to the crypt have been worn thin and uneven by Englishmen who, from decade to decade, paid their homage first to Sir Christopher Wren and later to Nelson, the hero of Trafalgar.

Down the centuries the fashion in funerals has changed. It was particularly flamboyant when Nelson met his death off Trafalgar in 1805. Shortly beforehand King George III had forsaken Kew, his little palace near London, for a brief stay in Windsor Castle. He was pottering about a disused chapel when he came across a magnificent sarcophagus. This was the sarcophagus which in the sixteenth century Cardinal Wolsey, the proud Minister of King Henry VIII, had commissioned the Italian Torregiano to design and execute. Cardinal Wolsey intended to be as magnificent in death as he had been in life. But he died disgraced . . . as Shakespeare wrote—"an old man, broken with the storms of State." His sarcophagus lay neglected and empty until King George III, wondering what to do with it, heard that Nelson had died in the hour of victory.

There was no need, the King assumed, to wait for Parliament's approval. He ordered a national funeral. He handed Torregiano's sarcophagus to the Cathedral authorities and a site was chosen in the crypt of St. Paul's, directly under the great cross which surmounts the mighty Dome. There Nelson, Britain's hero of the sea, was laid to rest with all the pomp and ceremony that a proud but mourning nation could provide; and

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have for over a century the British public has paid homage to the man who has become the symbol of Britain's naval power.

Half a century later, in 1851, another great British hero died; he was the Duke of Wellington, Napoleon's victor on the field of Waterloo. He died at Walmer Castle—the residence of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

King George III was able, with impunity, to order a national funeral without waiting for Parliamentary approval, but his grand-daughter, Queen Victoria, was more careful about constitutional niceties. Parliament was not due to meet until two months after Wellington had died. His body, properly embalmed, had to wait until Parliament could give its approval for a state funeral.

But the two months' grace enabled Tennyson to complete his monumental "Ode to the Duke of Wellington." It should also have enabled the Dean of St. Paul's to carry out his project of blocking completely the Cathedral windows with black crepe. But this ambitious task could not be completed in time. On the day of the funeral hundreds of carpenters were turned away from St. Paul's.

Nelson's and Wellington's link with to-day's struggle is fittingly symbolised by the care which the Cathedral authorities take with their tombs in wartime. The Wellington monument and the Nelson tomb are both encased in brick walls. These walls will not be removed until the war is over. The sarcophagus which Torregiano designed for Cardinal Wolsey is carefully preserved as a beautiful national possession.

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GOPAL ANANT OGALE

Editor and Founder of *Maharashtra* of Nagpur

By T. V. PARVATE

Readers not knowing Marathi, but knowing enough about the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani and his *Leader* will have a fair idea about what the late Mr. G. A. Ogale has been for C. P. and Berar, when they are told that his work for the Province of his adoption was much the same as the late Sir C. Y. Chintamani's for the United Provinces. Mr. Ogale was to Nagpur what Mr. Chintamani was to Allahabad. In respect of journalistic initiative and achievement, he is on a par with him. In Maharashtra, he might be regarded as an equal of Mr. N. C. Kelkar or Mr. K. P. Khadilkar as far as public service through journalism is concerned.

The closest comparison is noticeable in the fact that both of them were not natives of the towns and provinces they made the principal scene of their work. Sir C. Y. Chintamani founded the *Leader* with the help of friends and public men like Malaviya, Sapru, Nehru and others but kept his independence and made the *Leader* as much an organ of public opinion as his own. Similarly, Ogale started *Maharashtra* with the help of friends like Kharpade, Moonje, Abhyankar, Alekar and others but kept his independence and refused to be affected by personal or party bickerings. *Leader* prospered, had its own building and a road named after it and an efficient press of its own. *Maharashtra* also has its house erected on what hereafter is to be called "Ogale Road" and its own perfect press. Mr. Ogale has indeed excelled Sir C. Y. Chintamani in one respect. While the Leader Ltd., has now become, more or less, the property of Messrs. Birla Bros., *Maharashtra* has been turned into a trust by Mr. Ogale on the eve of his death, the trustees being his son, nephew and son-in-law with a panel of advisory trustees and all arrangements for publishing it as a daily in a couple of months have been completed.

The provisions of the trust show up Mr. Ogale the idealist and the patriot that he always has been. He has turned the *Maharashtra* press, paper and building into a trust, that will in no case revert to his natural heirs. If in any event, the present trustees or their successors find themselves unable to conduct its work according to the terms he has laid down, it will be dissolved and the proceeds of the property will be distributed to the public charitable institutions. While the trust functions, 15 per cent of the profits will be reserved for the welfare of the workers and employees, 40 per cent will be devoted to improvement and upkeep and 25 per cent will go to his son and his heirs.

This great achievement is the result of singlehanded devotion to his work as a journalist and a publicist by Mr. Ogale during the last 30 years. From very humble beginnings the present prosperity has been reached. Mr. Ogale had not even a few hundred rupees to call his own when he started *Maharashtra* as a weekly in 1914. In 1945 it is property worth lakhs, a centre of Nationalist activity in C.P. and an institution that commands respect and wields influence in every quarter. It is held in awe in Government circles but had its share of persecution from the C. P. bureaucracy, the great blow having come in the days of the Home Membership of the late Dr. Raghvendra Rao, in connection with an article on the Sholapur firing by the police during the martial law regime there in the 1931 Satyagraha days.

In 1940 *Maharashtra* completed 25 years of its very useful and eventful career and Mr. Ogale, its founder and editor completed 60 years. That was an appropriate occasion for some jubilant celebration, but Mr. Ogale refused to be associated with anything of the kind. In a letter written then to this effect, he says:

> "One who has nothing uncommon to his credit, not even wholly selfless service of the country hardly deserves any congratulations or lionisation simply because he managed to live 60 years. Even a crow lives long by eating cooked rice offered to the deities. Men in whose long life humanity should rejoice are few and far between and I am certainly not one of them."

Yet a monthly periodical called *Jyotsna* published in Madras in honour of appreciations of Mr. Ogale's career from eminent persons like Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. N. C.

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Kelkar, Mr. D. B. Kalelkar, Mr. Dharmadhikari, Mr. N. R. Alekar, Mr. Brijlal Biyani, Mr. D. V. Potadar, Mr. K. G. Limaye, Mr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra, Mr. D. V. Gokhale, and Drs. Moonje, Khare, Cholkar were included. Only this makes it possible to make a connected study of his career. It would have been difficult to construct a biographical sketch of his in the absence of such material, as he was the most unassuming of men and suppressed publicity about him with an uncompromising and iron hand. About himself, he never wrote one line. But as Dr. Raghvendra Rao once said, "He is the most unassuming but the most powerful journalist in our Province."

G. A. Ogale

Mr. Ogale was born in a poor Chitpavan Brahmin family at Vijayadurg in Ratnagiri District in 1879. His father was a primary teacher drawing the magnificent salary of Rs. 5 a month. He had to look after his own Secondary and College education, which he had at last to give up without taking a degree. He was educated in Poona and during his undergraduate days came under the influence of the late Lokamanya Tilak. He took up a teacher's job in Maharashtra High School of Poona which was being run by Mr. S. G. Lawate, the Prohibition propagandist and the Bhopatkar Brothers. But his restless, patriotic heart was not satisfied with that work. He began to address public meetings and contribute to *Bhala*. He attracted Tilak's attention by his writings and was recommended as a writer to Mr. Padhye who was running a weekly called *Deshasevak* at Nagpur. He went there, and worked for two years as a colleague of the late Mr. A. B. Kolhatkar. Later he went back to Poona and joined the anti-drink campaign in Poona led by Tilak and helped by Dr. Harold Mann. He was fined for picketing at a toddy shop. It is here that his career of conflict with Government began. He had come to Poona because it was not safe to live in Nagpur where plague had broken out. The late Mr. Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpe was proceeded against for seditious writing in his paper *Kesari* about this time and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. Mr. Ogale was approached to conduct the paper in Mr. Paranjpe's absence but he declined the offer because he was more anxious to resume his work on *Deshasevak* at Nagpur with Mr. Kolhatkar and the circle of friends of the Tilak party in Nagpur. A case for sedition was going on against Mr. Kolhatkar and he was also sent to jail. Mr. Ogale assumed charge of the paper and a security of Rs. 3,000 for an alleged seditious writing was demanded from him. Mr. Ogale defended himself and the trying judge then remarked that "his defence was even more seditious than his writings."

Mr. Ogale was compelled to break with *Deshasevak* but even with another gentleman of his own camp, Mr. Gadgil as editor it did not continue for long. Mr. Ogale came to Bombay and joined *Rashtramat*, a Marathi daily, on whose staff he had for colleagues men like Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Mr. D. B. Kalelkar, Veer Vamanrao Joshi, Mr. S. K. Damle, and Mr. Haribau Phatak. In the *Jyotsna* special Kaka Kalelkar has related some very interesting reminiscenses of those days and spoken very highly about Mr. Ogale's intellectual equipment and writing powers. But even *Rashtramat* had to succumb to the repressive policy of those days (1909-10). Mr. Ogale was treated as a suspect having something or other to do with the accused in the Hardinge Bomb case and the Jackson Murder case and was constantly shadowed by the Police. For some time he again became a teacher in Maratha High School and was also offered the Sanskrit lecturership at St. Xavier's College but he declined the offer.

The Morly-Minto Reforms came and the political atmosphere became comparatively quiet. Tilak also was released from Mandalay Jail and activities of the Nationalist Party began to take a new shape. Mr. Ogale found his place again. He started *Maharashtra* at Nagpur. The Home Rule Movement came and *Maharashtra* got stabilised in its wake and came to be recognised as Tilak's propaganda organ in C.P. and Berar. Like his own *Kesari* it found a stable basis. It may be noted, however, that a security of Rs. 2,000 was demanded at the very start of the paper but despite this and other difficulties, it made progress from year to year, chiefly because it has not merely voiced the political aspirations, aired the grievances and put forth the demands of C.P. and Berar, but because it completely identified itself with the social, cultural, educational and industrial life of the Province.

Mr. Ogale planned *Maharashtra* on the *Kesari* model almost entirely. His agreement with the latter might be described as 96 per cent according to Mr. Ogale himself. People often used to wonder why the subjects chosen, the attitude taken and the arguments used, were the same in the leader of Tuesday's *Kesari* published in Poona and that of Wednesday's *Maharashtra* published in Nagpur. Even so, these two papers have come in conflict also. In 1917, *Maharashtra* supported the Nagpur students' strike against the Rising Circular while *Kesari* condemned it. In 1925, when Mr. S. B. Tambe, the Swarajist, accepted an Executive Councillorship in C. P., *Kesari* supported the move but *Maharashtra* severely condemned his conduct. During the 1937 elections also these two papers differed. Generally speaking, *Maharashtra* has shown

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ed for fundamental principles, greater readiness to use the cause of progressive social reform, more ern for taking a rational view of affairs and a ker perception to respond to peasants' and working-s movements. The literary pages of the *Maharashtra* e the best for quite a long time and no other news-e has surpassed that feature of *Maharashtra*.

Mr. Ogale was not merely connected with the *arashtra*. Even when it began to be published twice ek like the *Kesari* he had extended his activity to industrial and educational fields. The Nagpur Glass Pottery Works, the Nagpur Match Works, the bai Deshmukh Girls' High School owe their tion greatly to Mr. Ogale's association with them. He used to speak at public meetings only when necessary, but his weapon really was the pen and not the tongue and that weapon he devoted entirely to the service of his people and country.

He was a practical social reformer. He believed in ending at once all the sub-castes among vegetarian Brahmans and accordingly went out of the Chitpavan Brahman fold, while marrying his sons and daughters, nephews and nieces. Harijans were in his employ both in his household and the *Maharashtra* Press and they mixed with all without the slightest reserve. His generosity supported many philanthropic causes, including that of poor students.

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EARLY HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

AGRICULTURE, from the remotest time, had been the ial means of livelihood for the people of Bengal. The cription of Bengal's agriculture, however, cannot be ed earlier than the seventh century A.D. After ing Bengal in 643 A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hieuen Tsang has left the record that in all parts of the ince the countryside was regularly and assiduously ivated, and produced grains, flowers and fruits in ndance.[1] Later literature like the *Ramcharita*, and perplate inscriptions ranging from the 8th to the 13th ury confirm the statement of Hieuen Thsang and, ever, "mention the cultivators as an important apart from the officials, Brahmanas and others, in various ways convey an idea of the important they played in the economic life of the com-nity."[2] The staple food crop was paddy. The exis-e of sugarcane as a food crop has been traced as far as the first century A.D. *Periplus of the Erythrian* a commercial guide book written in the first ury A.D., records two other agricultural products this province, *viz.*, the malabathrum and the spike-d. Another cultivated crop seems to have been ed. Betelnut, palm, and cocoanut were extensively ivated. The former, under the Sena Kings, in 14th ury A.D., was a source of revenue to the State.[4] ion cultivation was extensively undertaken. Fruits the mango, jackfruit, pomegranate, plantain, date, and were also widely cultivated.[5] But although agri-ure formed the chief means of income, it was ays supplemented by a second source. Crafts and stries played a very vital part in the economic of the people. The more important industries were on and silk textiles, sugar, metal-work, wood-work, e-work and pottery. Development of industry side side with agriculture had taken place in Bengal from early times, notably since the beginning of the stian era. "Apart from a very few inland centres of other provinces, Bengal and Gujarat, because of their shipping facilities, were the chief industrial provinces which worked certain industries, collected the surplus of finished products from the inland centres of other provinces and exported them abroad."[6] But as the industries mainly provided subsidiary employment to the agricultural population, no development of urban life took place. Area of cultivation continued to expand with the increase in population. Although comparatively more data is available for the Muslim period, these are not sufficient for enabling us to ascertain the size of an average holding or the profits of husbandry. The industries of Bengal prospered in the villages side by side with agriculture, till before the rise of the Christian power in India. The domestic system of manufacture was followed and it makes it impossible to ascertain the proportions of people pursuing agriculture or industry as independent means of income.

One instance of the attention paid to agriculture by the Muslim rulers may here be given. Abbas Sherwani in his *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (quoted by Qanungo in his *Sher Shah* pp. 413-414) states :

> "One of the regulations made by Sher Shah was this : That his victorious standards should cause no injury to the cultivation of the people ; and when he marched, he personally examined into the state of the cultivation, and stationed horsemen round it to prevent people from trespassing on any one's field. He used to look out right and left, and if he saw any man injuring a field, he would cut off his ears with his own hand, and hanging the corn (which he had plucked off) round his neck, would have him to be paraded through the camp . . . . If unavoidably the tents of his soldiery were pitched near cultivation, the soldiers themselves watched it lest any one else should injure it and they should be blamed and be punished by Sher Shah."

Pulses, barley, millet, peas, sesame, mustard, sugarcane and cotton, besides the principal cereals, rice and wheat were the chief crops. Cultivation of some new crops, *viz.*, tobacco, tea, coffee and potato were intro-

1 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 194, 199, 200-201.
2 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 649.
3 Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*, p. 47.
4 R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 141, 156, etc.
5 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 651.
6 Akram, *Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan*, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. I, 1935. No. 2, p. 198.

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duced during the Muslim period. A general idea about the relative value of some crops may be obtained from the statistical data preserved by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* :

Crop	*Comparative value*
Wheat	100
Barley	67
Linseed	51
Rape	53
Sugarcane (ordinary)	213
Cotton	150
Indigo	254
Poppy	

Among oilseeds, *Ain* records til, linseed, rape, toria and safflower. Among fibres, only cotton and hemp are mentioned, and not jute. This important money crop of Bengal came into prominence at a much later age, about the middle of the past century. The high level of the comparative value of cotton may be considered in connection with the industrial development of the country ; the raw material of ordinary clothing was expensive when judged by the prices obtainable for foodgrains.[7] Specialisation was already known. Bengal supplied sugar to many parts of India and the world. Indigo cultivation was at first confined to two localities —Biana, near Agra and Sarkhej in Gujarat ; but later Bengal became the chief centre of indigo manufacture.

Yield of crops in Bengal was high. In his *Account of the XII Subas,* Abul Fazl records[8] that in Bengal and Orissa, rice predominated, and that the harvests were always abundant.

When the British came, they found the plain of Bengal the most fertile soil in the world. Dow[9] writes from his own observations in 1767-69 :

"Bengal, a kingdom six hundred miles in length and three hundred in breadth, is composed of one vast plain of the most fertile soil in the world. Watered by many navigable rivers, inhabited by fifteen millions of industrious people, capable of producing provisions for double the number, as appears from the deserts which oppression has made ; it seems marked out by hand of nature, as the most advantageous region of the earth for agriculture."

Another contemporary European writer, materially supports Dow's statement when he says :[10]

"Rice which makes the greater part of their food is produced in such plenty in the lower parts of the province, that it is often sold at the rate of two pounds for a farthing ; a number of other arable grains, and a still greater variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the spices of their diet, are raised as wanted, with equal ease : sugar, although requiring more attentive cultivation, thrives everywhere."

The chief agricultural products at this time were paddy, wheat, rabi crops, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton, betel, etc. Stavorinus, a Dutch traveller who visited Bengal about 1768-71 says that Bengal produced "very good wheat which was formerly used to be sent to Batavia." But he himself points out that this wheat trade was discouraged "in order to favour, as much as possible, the corn trade of the Cape of Good Hope."[11]

Wheat-growing areas, however, were Purneah, the 'borderland between Purneah and Rungpur,' mainly outside the borders of the present-day boundaries of Bengal. The cotton-growing areas, as personally witnessed by Rennel were Jessore, Dacca, Birbhum, Bankura and Burdwan.

Colebrooke's *Husbandry of Bengal* provides the first comprehensive account of her agriculture. The book was written jointly by H. T. Colebrooke and Anthony Lambert immediately before the introduction of permanent settlement. It was the result of an intensive survey of the agricultural conditions of this country undertaken by these two young authors. It was first secretly circulated both in India and in London.

By the close of eighteenth century, endless varieties of rice have been recorded. Its causes have been described by Colebrooke[13] as :

"In almost every plant, culture, in proportion as it is more generally diffused, induces numerous varieties. But the several seasons of cultivation added to the influence of soil and climate, have multiplied the different species of rice to an endless diversity, branching from the first obvious distinction of awned and awnless rice. The several sorts and varieties, adapted to every circumstance of soil, climate and season, might exercise the judgment of sagacious cultivators; the selection of the most suitable kinds is not neglected by the Indian husbandman."

In the present condition of our knowledge it is difficult to state the actual period when this multiplication of the varieties of rice took place and what were their causes. The universal and vast consumption of vegetable oils promoted extensive cultivation of mustard, linseed, sesamum and palmachristi. Among the most important productions of Bengal rich in proportion to the land which they occupied about the time Permanent Settlement was made, valuable in commerce and manufactures, were tobacco, sugar, indigo, cotton, mulberry and poppy.[14] Colebrooke states that rotation of crops was not understood in India, but irrigation was widely practised. He says :[15]

"Irrigation is less neglected than facility of transport. In the management of forced rice, dams retain the water on extensive plains, or preserve it in lakes to water lower lands, as occasion may require. For either purpose much skill is exerted in regulating the supplies of water. In some places ridges surround the field and retain water raised from lower ground by the simple contrivance of a carved canoe swinging from a pole. In other situations ridges are also formed round the field both to separate it from contiguous lands and to regulate the supplies of water : this is more especially practised in the culture of transplanted rice. Dams, advantageously constructed, assist the irrigation of considerable tracts. In some provinces water is raised from wells, by cattle or by hand to supply the deficiencies of rain. Each of these methods, being within their compass, is the separate undertaking of the peasants themselves : but more considerable works, though not less necessary, are neglected. Reservoirs, ponds, water-causes, and dikes

7 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 104.

8 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II.

9 Dow, *Hindoostan I*, cxxxvi.

10 Orme, *Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindoostan II*, p. 4.

11 Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East-Indies*, Vol. I, p. 391.

12 Rennel, *Journals*, p. 73.

13 Colebrooke, *Husbandry of Bengal*, p. 22.

14 *Ibid*, p. 23.

15 *Ibid*, p. 27.

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more generally in a process of decay than of improvement."

Another English writer, Beveridge, has given an graphic account of irrigation in Bengal. He says:

"When, in grounds not regularly flooded, a plough simplest and rudest form has by one or more sufficiently pulverised a soil, which is for most part, of light and porous texture, the seed, usually in drills, quickly germinates, and threatened with destruction by excessive drought, carried with success through all its stages by irrigation. This irrigation, without which a of the country would be doomed to absolute provided for in a manner which goes that Hindoos, when urged by the stimulus of are not deficient in skill and enterprise. No in the world have done more to overcome the of their position in respect of the moisture to secure fertility; and when we see how they have done for irrigation by means of raising the level or changing the course means of vast reservoirs, in which water of the rainy season is carefully future use, it seems only fair to infer if they had encountered similar difficulties in departments of agriculture, they would have been energetic and successful in surmounting them."[16]

Profits of husbandry in Bengal has been calculated detail by Colebrooke. Cultivators employed farm The monthly wages for such servant did not one rupee per month, in cheap districts it was as eight annas. According to the then geographical of Bengal, and the distribution of districts, dearest and most productive were Burdwan, and Nadia, while the cheapest and least were Ramgarh, Sylhet, Tipperah and Cooch Capital expenditure was low. A plough complete than a rupee. The cattle employed were of smallest kind, they cost on an average not more five rupees each. The reward of a cultivator who half the produce in lieu of rent was calculated Colebrooke and was found insufficient for his toil. calculation[17] is as follows:

Ten mans of rice are a large produce from one and a return of fifteen for one:

Cultivator's share .. Mans			5 0 0
Seed which the proprietor of the land had advanced, & which is repaid to him with 100 per centum by way of interest	26	10½	
The labour of reaping, etc., at the rate of a sixth of the whole crop	1 26	10½	
Ditto weeding twenty days at 2½ Ser	1 10	0	
			3 23 5
			1 16 11
Ditto husking with the wastage at three-eighths			0 21 4
			0 35 7

Thirty five sers and seven-sixteenths of clean rice, at the average rate of 12 anas for the man, are worth 11 anas nearly; and this does not pay the labour of ploughing, at 2 anas per diem for 8 days. It appears, then, that the peasant, cultivating for half produce, is not so well rewarded for his toil as hired labourers; and it must be farther noticed, that he is under the necessity of anticipating his crop for seed and subsistence; and of borrowing for both, as well as for his cattle and for the implements of husbandry, at the usurious advance of a quarter, if the loan be repaid at the succeeding harvest, and of half, if repaid later: we cannot then wonder at the scenes of distress which this class of cultivators exhibits, nor that they are often compelled, by accumulating debts, to emigrate from province to province.

It is obvious that, where the produce is greater in proportion to the seed and to the quantity of land, the sum of labour remaining the same, this partition of crop may leave to the peasant a sufficient payment for his toil; on the other hand, where it is less, it may be absolutely unequal to afford the simplest necessaries. This is so true, that, in most lands, cultivation for this proportion of the crop is utterly impracticable.

Colebrooke thus found both cultivation by half share and employment as day labourer unremunerative. The beginnings of agricultural indebtedness may definitely be traced back to this period. Even the cultivation of two yearly harvests from each field was found to have yielded insufficient reward. Colebrooke gives an account of a peasant reaping two crops from a field, one of white corn and another of pulse, oilseeds or millet, as follows:[18]

A plough, with the usual yoke of two or three pair of oxen assigned to it is equal in common management to the full cultivation of 15 bighas of land: and the expense, estimated at Rs. 22-8, averages Re 1-8 for the bigha.

Ploughman, at one rupiya p. m.	Rs. 12 0
Allowance to the herdsman (say for 5 oxen, at half an ana each) two anas & a half p.m. or per annum	1 14
Pasture, two anas a head, annually	0 10
Interest in thirty rupiyas, the cost of the cattle, and on two rupiyas, the cost of the plough and other implements, at two per centum per mensem, including the wear and tear of the plough, and the replacing of cattle	8 0
	Rs. 22 8

On the medium assumed of the two crops per annum, the produce may be taken at seven mans of rice in the husk, and 3½ mds. of pulse or other grains gathered at the second harvest.

Seven mans, equal to four mans & 15 sers of clean rice, at 12 anas	Rs. 3 4½
Three & a half mans, at 10 anas	2 3
	5 7½

16 Beveridge, *History of Indic*, Vol. II, 1865, p. 152.
17 Colebrooke, *Husbandry of Bengal*, pp. 63-64.
18 *Ibid*, pp. 65-66.

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Seed repaid, a twelfth ; & expense of reaping etc., a sixth	Re. 1 6
Labour of sowing, weeding etc., equal to two weedings, or forty day-labourers, at two & a half sers 2 ms. 20 srs. at 8 anas	1 4
Labour of cattle for the plough etc.	1 8
Rent, a fourth of the gross produce, including all payments to the land-holder or his officers	1 6
	5 8

The peasant, consequently, does not derive from corn-cultivation the very humble maintenance which we suppose, unless his family share in the labour for which we culcate him to pay, or apply their labour to other occupations, or unless we take into account the profit shown by him from the land which he underlets to his ploughmen at half-produce. *In fact it is not upon the cultivation of grain that the peasant depends for his profit or even for his comfortable maintenance.* (Italics mine.—D. B.)

This was in 1790. Within thirty years of British rule, with one devastating famine in between, the agriculture of a province which seemed to Dow to have been "marked out by hand of nature as the most advantageous region of the earth for agriculture," was reduced to this state.

Cultivation of sugar, tobacco, silk-worms, cotton, indigo and opium continued to be profitable only up to this period when the break came. Tobacco cultivation has been described by Colebrooke as follows :[19]

> The whole expense of the culture, upon an average of the districts where it most prevails, and which are among the cheapest of Bengal, does not exceed four rupees per bigha, although land, appropriated for tobacco, be rated at a high rent. The produce estimated at five and a half mans from a bigha of the standard of four cubits to the pole, and this quantity, valued at one rupiya per man, shews tobacco to be a very profitable culture . . . Though it requires an excellent soil, tobacco might be produced in the greatest abundance to supply the consumption of Europe. Raised, cheaply, it would yeild a considerable profit to the exporter upon moderate freight . . . The best tobacco bears a greater but arbitrary value; the worst, on the contrary, costs much less : we take the usual price of a middle sort, and suppose that it can be shipped at that rate, and that it could support a competition with the ordinary kinds imported into England from North America.

Tobacco was one of the main cash crops of Northern Bengal. Rennel* tells us that it was one of the chief products of Rungpore. Much tobacco was also cultivated in the neighbourhood of Dewanganj, a large village and the limit of Rungpore towards Cooch Behar. The land round Azimpore (a village in the present Faridpore district) also produced tobacco. Tobacco and cotton both had the potentiality of *successfully competing* with the American produce.

Price of corn widely fluctuated. About 1790, in a cheap district, where paddy in one season sold for two annas a maund, in another season it was exp purchased at a price of eight annas. Colebrooke the general agricultural prices as : rice, wheat barley 12 annas a maund, ghee 3 annas per seer the average price of cattle Rs. 5 each. He gives family budget as follows : "2½ ounces of salt, 2 lbs split pulse, 8 lbs. of rice, formed the usual daily sumption of a family of 5 persons in easy circumstan Or according to another estimate 4 maunds of ric maund of split pulse, and 3½ seers of salt sufficed the monthly consumption of a family of 6 pers consisting of 2 men, as many women and the number of children." A family of 5 or 6 could there live on Rs. 3-4 per month. Colebrooke's calculation the profits of husbandry stated above show that cultivation of one, or even two crops, did not b sufficient return to ensure the very modest income Rs. 3-4 per month for a family of six.

The economic condition of the Bengal peasan the first quarter of the nineteenth century has b summed up by Raja Rammohun Roy in the follow words :

> In an abundant season, when the price of was low, the sale of their whole crops was requ to meet the demands of the landholder, leaving or nothing for seed or subsistence to the labour his family.[20]

We must not lose sight of the significant fact about this time, the most important industries Bengal, like cotton and silk textile and sugar, w provided a second source of steady and substa income to the peasant, were being broken up by competing British and foreign industries. The begin of the crash was already there. The Bengal peasant just begun to fall back on agriculture as his sole me of livelihood.

Failure of agriculture as a remunerative emp ment led to the two inevitable evils—subletting at h rent and agricultural indebtedness. Colebrooke state

> "Tenants are in the habit of under-letting lands to other peasants. This class of middlemen numerous. The under-tenants are depressed excessive rent in kind and run into debt from w they can never extricate themselves."

Under-tenants and Bargadars had begun to in number. Although the greater part of tenants still peasant proprietors cultivating their own holdings were becoming small and uneconomic. Bengal not more than one acre of tilled ground available for every person.[21] After more than 150 ye the size of holding remains almost the same, t only ·85 acre is available per head of agricult population.[22] The unprofitability of corn culti had led to an increased plantation of cash crops dairy, but even these additional sources of inc failed to ensure sufficient return. Colebrooke st "It is not upon the cultivation of grain that the pe depends for his profit or even for his comfor maintenance. In the grazing districts, it is the D In others, it is the cultivation of some more valu produce such as Mulberry, Sugarcane, Tob Opium, Indigo, Cotton, and Silk as objects of ex

19 *Ibid*, pp. 75-77.

* Rennel, *Journals*, p. 68.

20 Rammohun Roy, *Questions and Answers on the Ec System of India*, Ans. to Q. 30.

21 Colebrooke, *Husbandry of Bengal*, p. 35.

22 Floud Commission Report, Vol. I, p. 86.

23 Moreland

24 *Ibid*, p.

25 Buchanan

26 Report

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commerce." But the profitability of the cultivation of mulberry, silk-worms, sugarcane and cotton as cash crops declined with the increased imports of finished products from abroad. Within about half a century, they were ousted from the field as objects of external commerce.

The emergence of jute as Bengal's chief cash crop is a nineteenth century affair. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* jute had not been included in the list of valuable crops although it had been casually mentioned. Moreland[23] says:

"So far as I know, this fibre is not named by any contemporary writer, but it was probably grown in Akbar's time, since Abul Fazl tells us that a kind of sack cloth was produced in what is now the district of Rangpur, and we may infer that it was used to make clothes from the fact that jute clothing was the ordinary wear of the poorer classes as lately as the beginning of the nineteenth century."

Buchanan Hamilton had found about 1810 a kind of cloth woven from jute and cotton as an ordinary wear for poorer classes in Northern Bengal. Moreland[24] believed that "a substantial portion of the population may have worn jute clothing in the time of Akbar", although earlier in the book he himself said, "I have found only one single item of information that a kind of sack cloth was produced in the Bengal district of Ghoraghat (Rangpur), and it might be inferred that at this period jute was in Bengal what saun-hemp was further west, a fibre grown for domestic use and of no industrial interest." The very fact that saun-hemp was assessed in all the Mughal provinces for which revenue rates are on record, while jute was not even mentioned as an economic product shows that the latter was considered a commodity of negligible importance. Had sack-cloth been widely worn by a large number of people, jute would certainly have been grown and consumed in large quantities and therefore would have been considered an important article to be assessed for revenue. Buchanan Hamilton states from personal observation that the dress of a common labourer "is usually a coarse cloth called megili."[25] Megili is a kind of cloth woven from jute and cotton. Jute appears as an article of European commerce, for the first time, in 1793 when the Company's officers sent to England 100 bales of the fibre under the name *pat*.[26] From 1804 export of jute gradually increased but the quantity was so small that no separate account of its export was kept at Customs. In 1829 a separate head was assigned to it in the Customs records when it came up to 364 cwts. Milburn's[27] account of jute, about 1810, clearly indicates that even at that period, it was not considered an important crop. He says:

> In Bengal, . . . dressed hemp might be procured at 8 S. Rs. per md. or £28 per ton.
>
> There are many other vegetable substances used by the natives for cordage, etc., such as, murgha, kantala, merty-paut, coir and gumatty; but the principal, and these by far in the greater use, are sunn and paut: these are cultivated at Comercolly, Chittagong, Jungipore, etc.
>
> In Jungipore there are four species of plants cultivated which produce different kinds of raw materials, fit for cordage and other uses. The first is called by the natives Ghore-sunn and approaches very near to the hemp plant. The article next in quality to the Ghore-sunn is the paut; but as it does not grow to the height of above four-feet, and shoots out many lateral branches, which renders the fibre very difficult to be separated from the woody parts, it is not a profitable article to the landholder: it is in general found near the houses of the inhabitants, the leaves and tender shoots being used as an article of food. The third plant producing a species of hemp is called by the natives cooch-murden-paut. The fourth description of plant is called amleeah-paut and this is in the most general use throughout the country for coarse cordage, and other purposes which do not require the fine twine produced from the Ghore-sunn.

The development of international trade created great demand for the gunny bag and hessian as packing material for cotton, sugar, wheat and other articles of commerce. Although Bengal holds a world monopoly in jute, it has not brought wealth into the province to the extent it should have done under a national system of government. The first organised attempt for the commercial utilisation of this fibre was made by Scotch and British Agency Houses in Bengal and gradually the entire control over this product has passed on to them.

Planned and systematic interference directed expressly against our existing industries rapidly lowered the individual income and precluded the people from the acquisition of capital and prevented them from developing new branches of industries. Neither was any step taken to ensure a remunerative price for the crop. The State thus forced the great mass of the population to become competitors for the occupation of land as the sole means of subsistence. They were placed absolutely at the mercy of the landlord. With the increase of the pressure of population on land, subdivision and fragmentation grew, holdings became uneconomic, and large numbers of people were rendered landless. They lost not only their land, but their money and cattle as well. Nothing remained for them to exchange for bread but their bodies and their labour.

23 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 119.
24 *Ibid*, p. 290.
25 Buchanan Hamilton, *History, Antiquities, Topography* and *Statistics of Eastern India*, p. 703.
26 Report on Jute by Hem Chandra Kerr, member of the Commission appointed by Government to investigate the causes of deterioration of the Jute Fibre, 1870.
27 Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 210.

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CAPTURE OF KARACHI

By C. L. MARIWALLA

The city of Karachi bids fair to become the fairest city in the East. Her present position is but the growth of the past hundred years. She has progressed and prospered during the hundred years of British rule. It is indeed a fascinating tale how the British came to acquire this city of destiny.

By the end of the 18th century the British had brought under their sway the best portion of India. They were just consolidating their newly acquired empire when they became conscious of a mortal enemy. Russia became the bugbear of British policy in India for the next hundred years. In order to check Russian advance towards India all British Administrators of the period were untiring in their efforts to keep friendly relationship with the powers bordering on the N. W. Frontier of British India. And Lord Auckland like the rest spared no pains in this direction. It appeared to him that the safety of the British Empire in India lay in the preservation of the independence of Afghanistan and the cementing of a friendly alliance with that state. And when Burnes failed in his overtures to bring round Dost Mohammed—the Afghan Chief—to the British side in 1837, Lord Auckland, being assailed by disturbing hints and dangerous promptings from all quarters urging him to adopt vigorous measures, reluctantly entered upon defensive plans of a dubious character. He was made to feel that the best course under the circumstances[1] was to install a puppet ruler on the Afghan throne—one who would ever be ready to dance to the British tune. And the Governor-General found a ready choice in Shah Shuja—the exiled Afghan ruler living in Ludhiana on British bounty. For erecting a friendly state in Afghanistan three Powers combined to reinstate Shah Shuja on the Kabul throne —the ever-willing but ill-fated and exiled Afghan ruler himself, Maharaja Ranjitsing of the Punjab and the British. Under the final settlement of the Tripartite Treaty signed on 26th June 1838 the Maharaja was to wait and watch the situation, and to march forward only in an absolute emergency while a mighty force under Shah Shuja with the help of a powerful British force was to proceed north for his reinstatement.[2] The Maharaja was fully financed for his aid. He was to receive for his duty of watch and ward Rupees Fifteen Lacs in addition to the recognition of his sovereignty over the tracts of the former Afghan empire which he had conquered.[3] Shah Shuja was expected to foot the bill. But he was a penniless refugee living on British bounty. And under the existing state of their finances, the East India Company could not lend him a helping hand in this respect.[4] The Afghan Chief was a bit disconsolate over this when Lord Auckland came to his rescue. On this occasion he proposed to fleece the Ameers of Sind, his 'eternal' allies. The money payment from the Ameers could be easily obtained, argued Auckland, by reviving the defunct claim of the Sind for the arrears of tribute due to him from the Sind Chiefs as the ruler of the Afghan empire of which the Ameer's territories formed a part—of course formally. Shah Shuja was doubtful of the success of his enterprise but when he was assured by the Governor-General that the British would press his claim, he became sure of his success. Lord Auckland had heard of the hoarded wealth of the Ameers and he felt fully justified in putting to use the shy capital of an 'eternal' ally for the benefit of the whole Indian sub-continent, even if it was to be without their consent. The noble Lord wanted Sind to be a party in this 'big game' without consulting its chiefs. It was assumed that an 'eternal' friend would by right of friendship accept a partnership in an extremely humane expedition. At the same time the British army had to seek a passage from the Indian provinces, through non-Sikh territory, to face the Shah's enemies. And here too Sind came handy. The British force could well pass through Sind, though for this purpose it was necessary to tear to shreds the Treaty of 1832—by which the Indus could not be utilized for military operations by the British.[5] So the British Resident for the Affairs of Sind was intimated to sound the Ameers regarding the price they had to pay for their alliance with the British. The Governor-General was so fully convinced of the justice of his demands that he advised the Resident to coerce the Ameers into an accepting mood. Col. Pottinger, the British Resident for Sind, was informed that those "who display an unwillingness to aid us in the just and necessary undertaking in which we are engaged must be displaced and give way to others on whose friendship and co-operation we may be able implicitly to rely."[6] And to this Kaye offers a fitting rejoinder :—

Earth is sick
And Heaven weary of the hollow words
Which states and kingdoms utter when they talk
Of Truth and Justice.[7]

The 'dragooning' system was to be carried out in Sind too. In 1836 the British vouchsafed an amicable settlement of dispute between the Ameers and Ranjitsing. And now without their asking, the British assured the Ameers that the arrears of tribute due to Shah Shuja by them on account of Shikarpoor would be reasonably settled by the British and the Ameers would have to pay only a paltry sum—which remained undefined—to the defunct monarch. The Ameers were also apprised that as they were the 'eternal' allies of the British and the British were in a great difficulty of sending troops to aid Shah Shuja, it was but fair for them to demand

1. Kaye : *History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. 1. p. 317.
2, 3 & 4. Thompson and Garrat : *Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India*. p. 336.
5. Kaye : *op. cit*, Vol. I. p. 398.
6. *Ibid*. "At one time the Governor-General issued definite instructions to the Resident to occupy Sind with the help of Mir Sobdar or any other chief willing to side the British."...*Parliamentary Papers relating to Sind* 1838-43, p. 27.
7. Kaye : *Ibid*., Vol. I, p. 398.

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a passage for British troops through the Ameers' territories and at the same time, it was reasonable to expect the Sind Chiefs to allow stationing of a British Reserve Force in Sind for any emergency. All these demands were however placed before the Ameers grandiloquently. The British Resident in his Memo of 27th September apprised the Ameers that 'His Lordship is of the opinion that it is now necessary that the real friends of the British Government should unequivocally stand forward to evince their friendly feelings by assisting in the measures which the Governor-General may consider requisite to frustrate and render null the combination which the Government to the Westward of India are known to have formed with the object of disturbing and injuring the possessions of the British Government and with them those of their allies and tributaries.'[8] And then followed the contribution Sind had to make in this great enterprise. On receiving the Resident's Memo, and the demands made on them therein, the Ameers could hardly fathom the responsibilities of friendship—they being mere 'crafty barbarians' in the eyes of the English. They protested against the arbitrary claims of the British on behalf of Shah Shuja, when they held receipts of liquidation of the Shah's dues on the leaves of the Holy Writ. 'That the Ameers should have demurred to the payment of money, claimed by an exile, of 30 years' standing'[9] does not excite any wonder. The Ameers were at the same time left wondering how the British dared to violate their own Treaties whereby they had debarred themselves from carrying any military stores, leaving aside any actual Force, by the Indus. Indeed the 'demands made on the forbearance of the Ameers of Sind were of an oppressive and irritating character.' Their money was to be taken, their country to be occupied, their Treaties to be set aside—all this amidst a shower of hypocritical expressions of friendship and goodwill.[10] All the attempts at procrastination by the Ameers were of no avail. The Sind Chiefs finding themselves in a tight corner did not render any definite reply to the British demands, but remained profuse in their professions of friendship to the British. The Ameers could not appreciate the unwarranted British interference and therefore without the knowledge of the British, entered into correspondence with the Shah of Persia for help. The letters were however intercepted and their contents convinced Pottinger that 'our chief tie on the Ameers hereafter must be through their fears.' He accordingly informed the Governor-General of his plan of placing the Subsidiary Treaty before the Ameers only when the British Force had set foot on the Sindhian soil, as such preparations alone, according to him, "would oblige the Ameers to be amenable to our demands."[11] A system of universal coercion and intimidation was to be resorted to in demanding co-operation which the British could not command in Sind. Accordingly, the British Resident postponed the placing of the new Treaty before the Ameers till the Army of the Indus had landed in Sind.

The British Force arrived at Bunder Vikkur (Ghorabari) in the end of November 1838.[12] The Force however could not move forward for want of pack animals and provisions. The Ameers had not co-operated with the British in spite of their professions of loyalty. Through their officers they made it impossible for the British Agents in Sind, like Seth Naoomal Bhojwani of Karachi, to collect the necessary provisions and pack animals for the Army, though the Ameers had issued 'parwanas' in their (British Agents') favour after much prevarication. The Meer of Meerpur obstructed the passage of camels sent from Cutch for the use of British troops in Sind.[13] However after some protestations at the Ameers' court the British Resident succeeded in making it tolerable for the Army to march forward. But still it was doubtful if the Ameers would remain loyal to the last, as even now rumours of a hostile nature were afloat in the country. To smooth matters for the British, Col. Pottinger felt that the Reserve Force should proceed to Karachi and take possession of that place about the time he presented the Treaty to the Ameers. He accordingly addressed the Bombay Government in this connection so that they could keep the Reserve Force ready.[14] With the passage of time hostile rumours multiplied in number and intensity. Major Outram of the 23rd N.I. and Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Commander of the British Army in Sind writes as follows in his diary bearing date Tatta 19th December 1838:—'The hostile preparations of the Ameers, who whilst they continue to profess the utmost friendship for us, are levying enmasse their fighting men, bringing their guns from Larkana to Hyderabad, render it imperative that the communication of our Army should be maintained by a strong force stationed in Sind."[15] And accordingly Pottinger despatched an express requisition for the Reserve Force to land at Karachi and then be conveniently stationed in lower Sind.[16]

The Bombay Government hearing of the impending active hostility of the Ameers issued orders for the immediate despatch of the Corps de Reserve to Sind which was already ready for service. H. M. S. *Wellesley* under the Flag of H.E. Sir Frederick Maitland, the Captor of Napoleon in 1815, the H.C's. Transport *Hannah* and H.C.S. *Syren* were ordered to carry the Reserve Force to Karachi.[17] The ships left Bombay with the 2nd Bombay N.I. Grenadiers under Major Forbes on board for Mandvie where the rest of the Force was to embark.[18] The main body of the Reserve Force was to consist of H.M. 40th Foot (2nd Somerset).[19] The 40th on their arrival at the Cutch port from Deesa, where they were stationed, on 27th January 1839 found that a Company of European Artillery (Bombay) under the command of Capt. W. Brett from Bhooj had already arrived. The whole Force now came under the command of Col. Valiant, K.H.[20] The commandant of the Reserve had received the latest news of the Sindhian affairs a few marches from Mandvie while leading the 40th to the port from

8. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit.*, p. 23.
9. Kaye : *op. cit*, Vol. I, p. 397.
10. Kaye : *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 400-401.
11. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 14.
He even suggested the occupation of Sind as a last resort and Lord Auckland, the Governor-General accepted his views. P. 22.

12. Kennedy : *Campaign of the Army of the Indus*, Vol. I, p. 20.
13. *Sindhian World*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 34.
14. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 90.
15. *Sindhian World, op. cit*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 34.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 34. Also *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 104.
17 & 18. Neill : *Recollections of Four Years Service in the East*
19 & 20. Neill : *op. cit*, p. 14.

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Deesa, wherefrom it appeared that the landing of the Reserve Force was likely to be contested at Karachi. He was further informed that as the occupation of that port (Karachi) would much facilitate and expedite the operations of the Corps de Armee, he must move the Reserve forward as quickly as possible.[21] So the full Force set sail for Hujamree mouth of the Indus where they soon arrived. Here they were joined by H. M. the *Algerine* and H.C.S. the *Constance* from the Indus port whither they had carried the Bombay Force, now marching through Sind.[22] On 31st January the commandant of the Reserve Force received his instructions short and crisp 'Proceed to Kurrachee and take it.'[23]

It is necessary to know what had compelled the English Resident to open hostilities at Karachi. Rumours of active opposition of the Ameers noticed above had been partly confirmed by the Ameers impeding the advance of the British Army by making foodgrains and camels scarce. News had also been received that the provisions stored at Kotri by Assistant Resident Leckie had been burnt by the Belochees at the instigation of the Ameers.[24] At the same time by 24th January it had become evident that the Ameers had declined to accept the new Treaty. Lt. Eastwick who along with Major Outram and others had been sent to place the Treaty before the Ameers wrote as follows in his letter dated 21st January—"I deem it my duty to report that I consider affairs at this Capital have assumed a decidedly hostile aspect and that there is very little chance of the present negotiations being brought to a favourable conclusion."[25] Finally there were rumours that the Ameers had issued definite instructions to their officers at Karachi to actively oppose the landing of the Reserve Force.[26] The hostile attitude of the Ameers exasperated the British Resident who sought to overawe the Ameers by the immediate capture of Karachi.

The members of the Reserve were all conscious of what was in store for them before they left the Indus mouth on 31st January and the members of the 40th Regiment in particular were overjoyed by the prospect as they had lain inactive for too long. Next evening the Reserve arrived within 700-800 yards of the Fort perched on the Manora Cliff guarding the entrance to the harbour of Karachi.[27] It was indeed a daring feat on the part of the Reserve Force to anchor in such dangerous proximity to a stronghold which was believed to be hostile to them.

The Fort on the promontory at Manora was built about the year 1801 A.D. by the orders of Meer Fateh Ali Khan Talpur.[28] The Fort on the rocky cape, strong stone construction with a round tower near constituted the only defences of the harbour. It square in form with 5 bastions, one at each angle one on the side looking inland. On the land side of Fort was a half circle aided to that face for its protection. It was entered by a gateway with strong double doors between the bastions which into the halfmoon, from which there was another way of the same description leading into the centre a square. In the square was situated a small with an arched roof and a small wooden tank. Fort boasted a parapet running round it with numerous loopholes for musketry. The walls of the square of the Fort were about 16-18 ft. thick and 15 ft. on which rested the parapet of 9-10 ft. On the of the Fort were mounted about 11 guns—six and pounders. The Fort could not effectively command entrance to the harbour, for which purpose it erected, as it was built too far from the edge of cliffs to offer any serious opposition to a vessel the port. The round tower had its separate quota 3-4 guns.[29]

Immediately after anchoring, some of the Force got busy preventing all communication with the as some boats from the port were seen approaching the English ships. While engaged in this self-ordained task shots were fired from the Fort,[30] which English thought were aimed at them though none them. This was taken as a sign of the opening hostilities, but as the day was nearly done the Reserve reserved its opening the campaign for the morrow. therefore eagerly awaited the dawning of the new day. Let one of the Reserve describe the scene of the morning: "Morning at length broke and the sun forth in all that glorious effulgence which can witnessed in the tropics; there was not a breath ripple the sea or disturb the vast uniform of its glassy surface. The white walls of the little perched on its rocky cliff, stood erect, and the city Kurrachee in the far distance, with its long chain bold but sterile hills in the background, all contributed to form a picture of no ordinary grandeur."[31]

Thus all were on the brink of a great expectation. The calmness of the scene had to be broken quite early to prepare for the coming event. The decks of the Flagship were cleared for action. The soldiers marines quietly busied themselves in surveying their flints and ammunition. At about 8 in the morning began the British 'amusements.' A flag of Truce Lt. Jenkins was sent on shore to demand an conditional surrender of the Fort.[32] The killadar refused

21. Neill : *Ibid.*, p. 12.

22. Neill : *Ibid.*, p. 16.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 17. The British Resident in his letter dated Jerruck, January 28th, to the Naval Commander in Chief, now in charge of the Wellesley, after describing the exact state of affairs in Sind wrote as follows : "Under these circumstances a Force must of course go to Kurrachee and take possession of that place which I trust will be effected peaceably, but it is needless to tell you that all opposition must be put down."

24. Kennedy : *op. cit.*

25. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 127.

26. *Selections from the Records of the Commissioner in Sind*, S. File 106 (Letter 93 of 1839, dated 30th January 1839) and *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 129.

27. Neill : *op. cit*, p. 17.

28. *India Office Records relating to Sind.* Agha Abul Hasan a Bushire merchant, in the employ of the E. I. Co. notices the tion of the Manora Fort in his letter to the Hon. Jonathan Governor of Bombay, dated Muscat 9th March, 1801, as follows "From Sind it apppears that Meer Fateh Alykhan has ordered fications to be erected on the hill of Mahoorah for the purpose defending Kerachy."

29. The description of the Manora Fort is gleaned from : *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government relating Sind*, New Series, No. XVII; 2. Neill ; *op. cit*; 3. Baillie : *Kurrachee ---Past, Present and Future*; 4. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p.

30. Neill : *op. cit*, p. 18.

31. Neill : *op. cit*, p. 18.

32. Captain Gray of the 40th Foot accompanied the party interpreter.---Neill : *op. cit*, p. 18.

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'modest' British request and therefore four Com-
of the 40th were ordered to land along with the
on the western side of the Fort under cover
of H.M.S. the *Algerine* and H.C.S. the *Constance*.
again a flag of Truce was sent but this too did not
the object. The killadar admitted the superior
of the British but he could not on that account
over the Fort without the orders of the Governor
Karachi. He however volunteered to send a man
to Karachi and he was sure that the Governor
readily acquiesce.[33] The old Admiral did not
this proposal and allowed fifteen minutes time
the surrender of the Fort. On the expiry of the
the Beloch being still 'adamant', the Fort was
requested with "true British humanity"[34] to open
gates. The killadar reiterated what he had said
upon which the *Wellesley* opened her broad-side
hit the Fort with admirable precision. Soon another
of the 40th, consisting of the rest of the Regi-
(under Major Hibbert) was ordered to land.[35]
by the time they had landed, the British Ensign
seen waving over the breach which had been
in the wall of the Fort, the whole southern face
been blown away. "We had gained a bloodless
", writes an English officer of the Force, "at the
of some 5 to 600 pounds of powder and a
proportionate number of 32 lb. shot."[36] The killadar
his comrades had forsaken their charge after the
or 5th round and hid themselves in the crevices of
rocks from where they were soon secured. In the
of N. M. B. Neill 'the whole affair was a pretty
or to use the expression a brilliant field day'.
Doubtless the garrison would have favoured their guests
many specimens of their prowess in the art of
, but unfortunately this gratification was placed
their attainment by the obstinacy and in-
of their guns—one which had no carriage,
had jumped off from its carriage, which it had
in its violent effort for freedom, while the
remaining one had evidently resisted every
to make it serviceable in the defence of the
and had positively declined going off.[37]

The firing of the *Wellesley* was followed by a dust
. The people of Karachi had been greatly
by the firing resorted to by the Flagship and
begun leaving the town. They felt that the cause
the change of 'daylight into a night' by a thick
of smoke was the result of heavy firing. Under
circumstances, the officers of the Talpur Govern-
at Karachi—Nawab Khair Mahomed, a Nizamani
Haji Allah Rakhia and other minor officials—
waited on Seth Pritamdas, the elder brother of Seth
Naoomal Bhojwani—who was at the time in the
of Col. Pottinger—and represented to
that the smoke had begun to suffocate the
, that they had no power to oppose the English
that steps should be taken to stop the firing of the
.[38] By this time Capt. Gray and Lt. Jenkins
on shore to offer their terms of peace. They were
cordially received at the port by the Ameers' officers
and all proceeded to the Kothi of Seth Naoomal to settle the terms.[39] After informal talks it was decided that a deputation on behalf of the Karachi Officers should wait on Admiral Maitland and Col. Valiant on the morrow and sign the Treaty for the surrender of Karachi. The British Force, it was decided, was not to land till the Treaty had been signed.[40] In the evening the Brigadier and the Admiral visited the scene of their triumph. Next day (3rd February) Hassan Ben Butcha, the commandant of the Manora Fort, on behalf of Khair Mohamed, the Military Governor of Karachi and Sanah Khan on behalf of the Civil Governor, Allah Rakhia, waited on the British Officers and soon drew up the terms of the Treaty which surrendered the town of Karachi on the condition that no molestation or looting of the population was to take place and that the civil administration was to remain in the hands of the Ameers' officers who guaranteed the provision of boats, camels and any other conveyance or any other requirements of the British troops, at the prevailing prices.[41]

The landing of the Force therefore began on the following day at 11 o'clock sharp, after a company of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment had been put in charge of the Manora Fort. The ships moved towards the port into the channel but soon found that the water was shallow. Hence the troops got into *Batelos* and subsequently into the *Machwas*. Finally all were compelled to bestride the damp backs of brawny Sindhis or to walk with legs 'an naturel' and the nether garments slung over the shoulders, through nearly a mile of mud and water, averaging two feet deep and over-lying a strata of sharp shells and aquatic roots, which admirably performed the office of mantraps.[42]

The distant scene of Karachi had bewitched the British soldiers. They thought they were entering a land of promise where plenty reigned supreme. But it could not come up to their vain expectations since Karachi was an oriental city. At the time of the conquest the town occupied roughly an area of 35 acres. It was surrounded by mud fortifications. The Fort evidently had once been a strong one with bastions on all sides so as to command all round. Guns of various sizes which were once mounted on the bastions were now lying on the ground and seemed to have been there for some years past. The walls of the Fort were built on an artificial bank about 16 feet high and were strengthened by a parapet 10 feet above it. At the time of the conquest the Fort was in a ruinous state and at certain points the inhabitants could pass out of or come into the Fort without much inconvenience. The Fort had two gateways—Mitha Darwaza, leading to the sweet waters of the Lyari bed and Khara Darwaza leading to the blackish waters of the sea. The gates were imposing in appearance and were guarded by Belochee guards who were soon replaced by a European non-commissioned officer and a sepoy after the British conquest, to prevent the soldiers from entering the town without due permits.[43] The interior of the town may better be described by an eye-witness of the scene, though his account is unsympathetic. "The town of Kurrachee is exceedingly dirty and the inhabitants generally are a most squalid set of wretches about 10,000

33. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 204.
34 & 35. Neill : *op. cit*, p. 20.
36 & 37. Neill :*Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
38 & 39. *Memoirs of Seth Naoomal Hotchand Bhojwani of Karachi*,

40. Neill : *op. cit*, p. 25.
41. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, pp. 144-145.
42. Burton : *Sind Revisited*, Vol. I, p. 32.
43. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, pp. 141-142.

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in number. The great majority are Hindoos. The houses are generally mud-built and flat-roofed. On the top of them are wicker ventilators facing the sea, which perform the double duty of wind-sail and sky-light. The streets are narrow and incommodious. The bazaar is covered over with matting to prevent the rays of the sun penetrating but which also precluding a free current of air, adds much to the 'desagremens' of those frequenting it. The principal portion of the better description of houses are in the centre of the town, but there are no public buildings worthy of notice. For the preparations of hides Kurrachee has a great celebrity. It carries on an extensive trade with Bombay, Dauman, Mandavie, Malabar Coast, Mascat, etc. Its principal exports are Fleece, Wool, Sharkfins, Dried Fruits, Dyes, Leather, Silk goods; the chief imports being, sugar, spices, British cloths, grains, wood, brass, steel, tin, etc."[44]

The Reserve Force erected its camping ground on the plain now known as the Artillery Maidan. The troops were soon settling down to rest when the British officers proceeded to the Central Police Station and hoisted the British flag. They also put up notices regarding the British conquest of the city and stationed a few non-commissioned officers and sepoys to patrol the streets to prevent any irregularity on the part of the soldiers.[45] The amusements of the day ended with a dinner organised in honour of the victors by Seth Pritamdas Bhojwani. The chief guests came attended by a company of soldiers with the band playing and colours flying and were treated to a sumptuous dinner.[46]

But the above account of the capture of Karachi is hardly creditable to the brave Belochees who fought so fiercely and nearly successfully against Napier and his English Force a few years after the Karachi affair, at Miani and Dubba. None of the accounts of the eye-witnesses ever adduces any preparedness on the part of the Killadar and his men to oppose the entry of the English. From the details of the contest between the British and the Belochees at Karachi, it is evident that the men who manned the Manora Fort were hardly a few—at the most 30 on the most liberal computation[47]—and hence they could neither have had the will nor the orders to oppose the English. In case of definite orders from the Ameers not to allow the British to enter the harbour reinforcements would either have been sent to them from the capital or the Karachi officers would have been instructed to raise an independent Force of their own, the evidence for none of which is forthcoming. It was natural for the Ameers to put up a good show for the defence of a Fortress the non-occupation of which by the British was, according to Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus, a matter of the greatest importance for them.[48] It therefore appears that the Karachi Affair was a one-sided one, and was hardly a glorious victory that it was considered to be. A different version of the Karachi episode was furnished by the Ameers to the British Resident which the latter officer verified by personal investigation to his satisfaction and he was forced to admit that there had been more than a 'sharp practice' at Karachi, on the British side.[49]

To a great extent circumstances conspired to make the 'sharp practice' a necessity at Karachi. The Reserve Force had been excited to the highest pitch and members of the Force were certain of opposition before reaching their destination. So any the least action on the part of the killadar which could by stretch of imagination be conceived as a sign of hostility was enough to commence the campaign. So when a gun was fired immediately after the anchorage of Bombay ships and while some of the English officers were engaged in preventing all communication with the town it was considered more than a signal for a fight by the Admiral of the little English fleet, though it was fired when the day had been done—hardly the hour to (auspiciously) initiate any hostilities. It was in reality a signal apprising the townsmen of Karachi of the arrival of some ships. This was customary. And the prevalence of the custom was known even to the British Resident.[50] A misunderstanding cropped up when the Flag of Truce was sent on shore. The killadar explained to the English officers, 'as well as he could', that he could not surrender the Fort without the knowledge and orders of the Military Governor of Karachi whose subordinate he was. That this assertion of the killadar was correct was ascertained by Pottinger on his independent authority. And yet the English thought that the Commander of the Fort was 'humbugging' them. And when the killadar of his own accord proposed to send a man to the Nawab for orders, which he assured the English officers would be in their favour, the Admiral thought that he was playing the usual Belochee trick. The loud intonation of the Belochee voice, in his best efforts to convince the British officers that he was speaking the truth also wrought its own damage, being misconstrued.

Lastly it is worthwhile to look into the actual state of preparedness in the Manora Fort at the time of the arrival of the Reserve. In this connection the British Resident in Sind, Col. Henry Pottinger cross-examined the Karachi officers independently and they corroborated the statements of each other without knowing if the others had met Pottinger. Hassanben-Butcha, the killadar of the Fort at Manora, assured the Resident that he and his men had no orders whatever to oppose the British and accordingly they were absolutely unprepared. And the Resident believed him for as he put it before the Governor-General, "the young Jam (the killadar) had no wish to disguise or even qualify anything I asked him about."[51] The killadar further informed the Resident that at the time of the arrival of the English Force the garrison consisted of the usual number of men (16) with not even a sword for each one of them and the Fort was practically devoid of ammunition. There was not a single ball in the Fort and the whole supply of gunpowder amounted to about 6 lbs. kept in an earthen pot.[52] What a state of

44. Neill : *op. cit*, pp. 28-29.
45. *Parliamentary Papers, ibid.*, p. 142.
46. Naoomal : *Memoirs*, p. 92.
47. Neill : *op. cit*, p. 21
48. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 139.
49. Baillie : *Kurachee—Past, Present and Future*, p. 2.
50. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 203.
"I had always been aware", writes Pottinger to the G.-G., that it was usual to fire a gun at the mouth of the harbour when a strange rigged vessel came in sight of or approached the place. This I myself witnessed when I went to that port in 1809 and I know that it was done when H. M. Frigate the Challenger [illegible] in 1830."

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...ness! The Nawab of Karachi made a like state-...ment before the English Resident. He affirmed that not ...a single man had been added to the troops either in ...the town or the Fort and that they did not altogether ...number, at the moment, beyond 80 men who were always ...busy for fiscal and political duties.[53] Above all the ...Belochees in charge of the Manora Fort hardly expected ...hearing from the *Wellesley* after they had put their ...case in clear terms before the English officers. Accordingly, after the departure of the British deputation ...they all came out to admire the *Wellesley* when to their horror and surprise the Flagship started emitting ...fire. When the balls came rolling in quick succession ...the only way out of the difficulty for the garrison was ...to fly for life into the crevices of the rocks wherefrom ...they were subsequently secured. It adds absolutely a ...different colour to the whole affair when the Nawab of ...Karachi affirmed before the English Resident that he ...had received last minute advices from the Ameers to ...afford all facility to the English Force.[55] So through a ...number of misvaluations, the Belochees were forced into ...an unequal and one-sided conflict which was in favour ...of the British from the very start. Even the British ...Resident after ascertaining the facts did not hesitate to ...report to the Governor-General that the conflict might ...have been advantageously avoided.[56] But that was not ...to be and so after the accession of Her Gracious ...Majesty Queen Victoria, Karachi, with the exception of Aden added a fortnight before, was the first city or territory ceded to the British Empire.[57]

But this is not all. The British officers seem to have been a bit high-handed in their treatment of the Ameers' officers who surrendered Karachi to them. The members of the Manora garrison were not only deprived of their arms but also of their personal accoutrements which were later sold off.[58] The Ameers' officers at Karachi were made to suffer any amount of humiliation. They were deprived of their attendants and were not allowed to carry even a knife with them when visiting the British Camp.[59] What a fine way of executing the obligations of the recently contracted Treaty! Col. Pottinger was greatly surprised when he interviewed the Nawab of Karachi in the British Camp. "He came like a common menial without arms or attendants," reported Pottinger to the Imperial Government and added, "I refrain from enlarging on the evil and cruelty of degrading men of any class by such a system. It seems to me to be calculated to excite disgust and hatred in not only those towards whom it is immediately practised but in the breast of every chief and man in the Province and to be equally impolitic and dangerous."[60]

Thus Karachi was permanently occupied by the British in spite of the Ameers' frantic efforts at getting the Karachi Treaty annulled and within four years it became the capital of the British Province of Sind.

...52, 53 & 54. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 204.
...55 & 56. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, pp. 203-204.

57. Bailie : *Kurrachee---Past, Present and Future*, p. 31.
58. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 203-204.
59 & 60. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit*, p. 204.

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THE VALUE OF A SCHOOL GARDEN

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

"All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." There seems to be an important element of truth in this saying, which the educationists of the day should by no means lose sight of, while drawing up the school programme. The main defect of the present-day educational system consists in the fact that too much stress is laid upon the literary and academic education of children to the utter neglect of extra-curricular activities, such as scouting, excursions, games, tournaments, gardening and the like, which make for their mental and physical well-being. Our mental powers are likely to get rusty unless those are moderately exercised. But our brain should not therefore be over-taxed. Continuous brain work without periods of relaxation and diversion cannot but be detrimental to the health of our mind. So our brain must have occasional rest and diversion. By rest is meant, not a complete cessation of mental activity, which is hardly possible during the waking consciousness, but a diversion and relaxation from the tension of mind. Thus play affords our brain a little rest and makes the body "a readier and more deliberate servant of the mind." So work and play should go hand in hand in the school as well as in our later life. An important place should therefore be assigned to extra-curricular activities, such as scouting, gardening, tournaments, games, excursions and the like, participation in which should by no means be considered to be a mere waste of time. It is a great pity that very few schools in Bengal possess gardens, although the high educational value of a school garden cannot be stressed too strongly. In the urban areas where land is very expensive, ample grounds may not always be available for the purpose of laying out suitable gardens. But in the rural areas of the Province, land is usually very cheap. Even in rural schools, where there are plenty of grounds, people seldom appreciate the necessity and importance of a school garden. It is a great pity that even in these days of food shortage, the school grounds are not utilized for the purpose of growing vegetables, etc.

Gardening should form an important part of the curriculum of village schools. In the opinion of Welton : "In school gardening the pupils learn to perform in an intelligent manner a class of operations which play a large part in country life, and which may be made both profoundly interesting and of great physical benefit." The bookish instruction that is usually imparted at the average rural school is totally unrelated to the activities of the pupils' everyday life. That is why perhaps the average villager does not believe in school education. His education thus consists in mere schooling, and is entirely divorced from the real and

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practical interests of a child's life, the school fails to fulfil its true function in the community. In a rural school, a co-ordination of the work of the school and the activities of the everyday life of the pupils can be effected by means of gardening. In a school garden the children may be called upon to take part in such activities as the preparation of the soil, manuring, the sowing of seeds, transplanting, weeding, the watering of plants and trees,—the growing of vegetables in different seasons and flower culture. They may also be made to observe the most common diseases that trees, fruit or leaves may be subject to and may be taught the proper remedies too. Thus a good deal of useful, first-hand information can be imparted to the children with regard to plants and trees in a school garden. This may be of immense help to them in their later life. Besides, the dignity of labour may well be inculcated among the pupils through gardening. It is commonly believed that even, the people who have got a smattering of school education get inclined to look down upon manual labour. Probably it is a fact to some extent. Welton has aptly observed :

> "When the work of a school is altogether bookish; it tends to set before the pupils a false idea of the relative values of manual toil and other occupations."

It should be borne in upon the school children that there is nothing degrading in "working with the hands." Such work as the pupils are made to do in a school garden is expected to be of great help in doing away with this sort of prejudice against manual labour, and in changing their entire outlook on it. If their interest in trees and plants can be aroused, they will never think it beneath their dignity to participate in those activities. On the contrary, they will probably derive immense pleasure from the manual labour that they may be called upon to do in a school garden. Besides, such manual labour will be endowed with a dignity of its own, if it is included in the school curriculum.

Gardening constitutes an important manual training, the high educational value of which cannot be overlooked. An important place must be assigned to manual training in the educational programme of the day. To quote a famous Psychologist : "Training in manual skill is an essential factor in bringing the young into true intellectual relations with both his physical and his social surroundings." In school gardening, the children are afforded an opportunity for "self-expression in material forms," the hand being the greatest executive of the mind. They are trained to do things with their own hands and see if those are being done properly. Thus the development of perception goes hand in hand with muscular co-ordination. This training in "real purposeful physical doing" tends to give a practical bias to the education of children, and equip them for an intelligent, practical life. Besides, gardening provides a good open air exercise also. A good deal of physical exercise is involved in the preparation of the soil and the watering of plants and trees. Such activities help to promote the healthy development of the growing bodies of the children. In a school garden, they get plenty of fresh air and oxygen, so indispensable to their health. It is a very good idea to hold open air classes in the school gardens during the cold weather. During the hot weather, of course, the scorching heat of the tropical sun renders it impossible to do so.

Weaned from Mother Nature as the pupils of urban schools are, the school gardens, if properly utilized, may be of immense help in engendering and instilling a love of nature into their mind from their very childhood. Gardening helps to beget a healthy interest in nature among the school children, by bringing them into direct contact with her. Very often we are inured to the beauties of the natural surroundings in which we live, move and have our being. One scene is giving place to another. But we are seldom aware of the advent of the new one, and the changes that it brings about in the face of the earth. Nature with her vast wealth of colour and fragrance seldom touches a responsive chord in our hearts. We cannot say what wonderful operations are going on about us in the world of plants and trees. Nor do we care to fathom and unravel the wonders and mysteries of their lives—how a small seed germinates, how a tiny seedling gradually grows up and develops into a big tree or plant—how it bears fruit and flowers. We are so used to seeing these things in our everyday life that we take them as a matter of course, and do not even notice them. Gardening forges out a closer link between the life of a man and that of a plant. How interesting it is to see a seed grow up into a big plant or tree bearing fruit and flowers. With what anxious care and solicitude we watch the day-to-day growth of a seedling. We develop almost a motherly love for the plants and seeds we sow. Our joy knows no bound when we watch the first flowers and fruit coming out. In the school gardens, small plots of land may well be assigned to groups of children for the purpose of laying out a garden of their own, where they may be encouraged to grow different kinds of flowers and vegetables in different seasons. Occasional exhibitions and flower-shows may also be organised by way of encouragement.

Quite a number of subjects can be taught in school through gardening. The lessons on those subjects may thus be correlated with those on gardening. It is absolutely ridiculous to teach Nature-study in a class-room, when there is a school garden, where the children may be afforded the opportunity of acquiring a first-hand knowledge of plants and trees. The pupils may also be taught the rudiments of agriculture in a school garden. Ideas of the rotation of crops, manuring, the type of soil best suited to each kind of crops and vegetables may be given to the children on practical lines in the course of the gardening lessons. Elementary of Botany can also be taught through gardening, such as, the different species of plants and trees, the different kinds of flowers, roots and leaves, the different parts of a flower, the function of flowers, fruit, roots, and leaves, reproduction or germination. Drawing lessons may occasionally be arranged in a school garden, and the children may be encouraged to copy things from Nature. They may also be asked to design the flower beds after some of the geometrical figures—such as circles, squares, triangles, oblongs, rectangles, and the like. They will thus get to learn the names of these figures, and will, also, know how to draw them. Besides, the pupils can be given correct and accurate ideas of distance and measurements through the gardening lessons.

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever." Gardening admirably lends itself to the training of the aesthetic

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and artistic sense of the children, and as such, its cultural value should not be underestimated. The pupils should be taught to acquire a taste for the beautiful, even from their early childhood. Attempts should thus be made to appeal to their aesthetic instinct, and to inculcate the love of beautiful things among them. In a school garden, the children come in close contact with nature, and learn how to appreciate her beauty. A pretty garden is surely indicative of the artistic taste of its owner, and is a source of immense pleasure to all who look at it. Gardening may be reduced to an art, and may thus help to develop the artistic and aesthetic sense of the children. In a school garden, they may be given ideas of the colour effects, and may also be trained in the sense of symmetry and proportion.

Gardening may be of great help in the training of the pupils' characters. As stated before, the dignity of labour can be borne in upon them in and through the gardening lessons. They are trained in the powers of observation and concentration, as well as initiative. In school gardening, the children learn to be practical as they have to put their plans and projects into execution. Quite a number of moral habits may also be formed in a school garden. The children learn to be patient, industrious and regular in work. They may be taught how to respect life in all forms, and how to take care of tender and helpless things in Nature. Some of them may be in the habit of tearing flowers and plants to pieces. But looking after the tender plants, committed entirely to their care, is likely to beget a sense of responsibility among the pupils, who will seldom feel inclined to destroy them.

Gardening is a delightful recreation, which can be indulged in by the young as well as the old, and is a most agreeable means of occupying our leisure. Many of us have the hobby of gardening. Hobbies serve to divert our mind, at least for the time being, from the troubles and worries that may beset it, and thus brace our energies for the more serious activities of our life. So hobbies should be encouraged among the school children also. If a taste for gardening can be created among them, many of them will probably take to this hobby in their later life.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

BHARATA-KAUMUDI: *Studies in Indology in Honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. Part I. The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 502. Price Rs. 10.*

This is the first part of a volume of studies presented to Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, the well-known scholar, by his pupils, friends and admirers as a token of "the long and distinguished services rendered by him in different spheres of national life." While there is likely to be a general agreement with this estimate of Dr. Mookerji's many-sided activities, one is a little surprised to find in the Introductory portions of this volume a certain departure from the canons of propriety usually observed in similar cases of presentation of *Festschrifts* to distinguished scholars. In the biographical sketch the editors have thought it fit to include not only a list of Dr. Mookerji's publications (also excluding two unpublished ones), but also copious extracts from Press opinions and even personal letters advertising the merits of his writings. Of a piece with the above is the inclusion of a number of messages (ten pages in print) written by distinguished public men commending the acceptance of the scheme for honouring Dr. Mookerji.

These opening remarks must not be taken to detract from our appreciation of the high value of many of the papers which extend over a remarkable variety of topics—Epigraphy, Numismatics and Iconography, Fine Arts, Sanskrit and Sanskritic Literature in its different branches, General History of ancient, medieval and modern India and the History of Greater India. It is not possible to notice even the majority of the papers, but a few may be mentioned. In a closely reasoned paper, Dr. A. S. Altekar disproves the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's theory of the ancestry of the Bharasivas. In another paper Dr. P. C. Bagchi brings forward fresh data in favour of his view of the indefiniteness of the Sanskrit term Chandradvipa which he takes to be the equivalent of the Chinese K'un-lun, through a Prakrit-Malay intermediate form like *Chandar*. Mr. Adris Banerji sanely discusses the identification of three metal images deposited in the Saranath Museum together with the process of their manufacture. Dr. J. N. Banerjea adequately explains the origin and significance of the doctrine of *vibhava* of Vishnu and compares the different lists of *avataras* of this deity. Dr. P. V. Bapat brings forward evidence from Pali and Sanskrit as well as Chinese and Tibetan to explain the obscure term *Saptanga-supratishthita*. Dr. B. M. Barua undertakes in an elaborate paper "to distinguish between the pre-Asokan and post-Asokan elements in the composition of the Arthasastra as a prose-treatise," and ends by concluding that the date of compilation of the extant prose-treatise is "near about the beginning of the Christian era." Mr. M. M. Bhat analyses the contents of an unpublished mathematical work *Vyavahara-ganita* written by a certain Rajaditya in 1197 A.D. to illustrate the scientific knowledge of the Kanarese people at that time. In a very interesting paper Dr.

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S. K. Chatterji after recapitulating current views of the series of linguistic (and racial) migrations into and from India, mentions a number of survivals of Austric culture in modern Hinduism. From a copper-plate inscription recently discovered in Rewa State, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra proves the existence of a line of Pandava kings of Mekala, whom he suggests more doubtfully to have been feudatories of the Vakatakas. The meaning of the Vedic word *Tanukrit* is discussed by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy with his usual thoroughness. An excellent summary of the problems awaiting Indian Archaeology at present is given by Mr. K. N. Dikshit. Mr. O. C. Gangoly traces in a letter written by a Marhatta agent at Delhi to Nana Farnavis, reference to an accomplished artist of the Mughal school called Nidhamal who lived at the Imperial capital about the time of the raids of Ahmed Shah Abdali. One of Nidhamal's paintings is actually identified and reproduced in the course of the same paper. The inconclusive evidence in favour of Endingless Numerals in the Rigveda is brought forward by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh. Mr. S. S. Guleri edits with an introduction, translation and notes an unpublished inscription of a chieftain of the family of the Guhilas of Chatsu belonging to the 8th century. Mr. A. P. Karmakar classifies the Puranic theories of creation and traces their antecedents (somewhat speculatively) to the Mohenjo Daro and Vedic cultures. Dr. S. M. Katre shows by a concrete example the importance of tracing the history of textual transmission of manuscripts by scribes. Dr. A. B. Keith rejects S. P. Chaturvedi's new argument for placing Panini in the tenth century B.C. and reiterates his own date (c. 350 B.C.) for the famous grammarian. Dr. M. H. Krishna traces, with the help of inscriptions and MSS., the remarkable history of a family of chiefs who successively filled between 1610 and 1710 the post of Commander-in-Chief of Mysore and between 1720 and 1761 usurped the whole administrative authority in that State. Mr. Bhavani Churn Law after recapitulating older theories of the origin of the Pahari School of Painting, concludes that it was "a spontaneous art born in the hills probably long before the 17th century." Dr. B. C. Law gives an elaborate account of the Buddhist rules of decorum (*achara*), comparing them with those of the Brahmanical *Grihyasutras* and Jaina *Acharanga-sutra*. Dr. R. C. Majumdar gives a brief survey of the history and culture of the kingdom of Srikshetra (old Prome) which he thinks to be "the earliest Hindu colonial kingdom in Burma known to us."

The printing, paper and get-up are remarkably good, considering the difficulties of the present times. We have, however, noticed some serious mistakes in printing, such as "Dr. Bernhard Bueloer, author of the Kautiliya Studien, I, Das Grudeigentum in Indien (1927) and II. Altindischse Privaterecht bei Megasthenes and Kautilya (1928)" (p. 86), and "Maratus" (p. 202). Still more refreshing is the title "Island of Kunlun and Chandragupta" (p. v) of a paper and that of "F.R.S." appended to the name of a scholar (p. vi) in the list of contents.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ENGLISH POETS ON INDIA AND OTHER ESSAYS: *By Rabindra Kumar Dasgupta. Published by the Book House, Calcutta.*

The learned author attracted the attention of many lovers of literature by his articles on *English Poets of India, Walt Whitman on India, Calcutta and English Literature* and so forth. He demonstrated beyond doubt that even in the domain of recent Indo-Anglian literature and cultural relations there are many knotty problems which can only be cleared up after painstaking research. Carlyle and Landor are now known to be admirers of some British beauties who migrated to Bengal and Prof. Dasgupta has succeeded in infusing a new life to those forgotten chapters of history. His paper on *Walt Whitman on India* throws valuable light on the cultural contact of India with America in the early 19th century; for, as we know, Emerson, a senior contemporary of Whitman, was deeply saturated with Indian thought and spirituality. The author has thrown new light on the life and thought of two eminent British writers: *Byron in the House of Lords* and *Ruskin on India*. The opening paper of the book very characteristically harks back to the age of Aristophanes, who as a pacifist castigated war through his immortal comedies. We agree with Amiya Chakravarty when he wrote in his foreword: 'Sound scholarship and a fine literary skill in transferring experiences make this book a real contribution to modern criticism.' We recommend the book to all sincere lovers of literature.

K. NAG

THREE MYSTIC POETS: *A Study of W. B. Yeats, A.E., and Rabindranath Tagore by Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D., with an Introduction by Dr. J. H. Cousins, D.Litt. Published by School and College Book-stall, Kolhapur. Pages 156. First Edition, 1945. Price Rs. 5.*

The present volume is based upon a larger work of the same author entitled *Mysticism in Poetry* which was accepted as a thesis for Ph.D. degree by the Dublin University. Dr. Bose, the author of this volume, is a professor of English at Rajaram College, Kolhapur and has given ample evidence of scholarship which is beyond dispute. The book is prefaced with an excellent essay from the pen of Dr. J. H. Cousins who expresses appreciation for Dr. Bose's laudable venture. As a matter of fact, a study of these three great spiritually allied poets was long overdue and Dr. Bose has done a valuable service to the lovers of culture by undertaking it with considerable success.

But the word 'mystic' refuses to be fully defined. It is difficult to focuss upon its quintessential points in the midst of its ever widening connotation. Dr. Bose's grasp of the subject is good but the negative stage of mysticism which he has pointed out can, with difficulty, be called mystic. Mysticism is a love-inspired intuition illumination which enables the ecstatic soul to intuit the ultimate reality. It is, as, Underhill says, "a movement of the heart seeking to transcend all limitations of individual stand-point and surrender itself to the ultimate reality." It is essentially a part of the experience of a spiritual temper and is thus different from poetic temper. The poet can at best be an articulate mystic who must objectify, necessarily, not directly, but in terms of symbols,—what is ineffable in case of a religious mystic—his inner intuitions of beauty or divinity, his solitary vision of the burning bush. In final analysis, the poet has to retain as much of individualism as is necessary for communication. Occasional wanton this poetic self-assertion has rendered much of Blake's poetry into luminous but ineffectual prophetic verse. Poetry and mysticism are widely different, in spite of writers like Andre Bremond, who would almost identify the two, and a poet can be called a mystic only in the sense that his approach to the mystery of the universe is intuitional.

Dr. Bose has taken pains to show how Yeats is a mystic in his own original way. "He is mystic more on account of his temper of mind, tone of his feeling and the nuance of his style than for the revelation of a mystic fact or mystic apprehension or declaration of a mystic faith." Dr. Bose fully discusses the mysticism of A. E. which consists in "inner illumination," in a lifting of the veil and points out also the various influences which shape his spiritual history. As Yeat's poems are full

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suggestion of over-powering mystery, A. E.'s poems are instinct with sudden illumination. "Many of A.E.'s poems," says also H. Kabir, "are instinct with the momentary glow that lights up the depths of the human heart from some transcendent sources." Dr. Bose's analysis of Tagore's mysticism is also instructive. He shows how the fountain of his mysticism is the Hindu scripture which wakes him up to the "emancipation of the spirit from the bonds of matter, an emancipation that unites it with the super soul." But Dr. Bose might have more fully explored the *Jivana-Devata* conception which permeates much of his poetry and it would throw light upon the poet's mystic reaction to the fundamental spiritual problems of life.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

THE NEW SOVIET THEATRE : *By Joseph Macleod. George Alllen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1943. Pages 142. Price 12s. 6d.*

The Soviet Theatre has undergone an epoch-making transformation during the last few years. The formalist period has been left behind. Gone are the exciting terseness of the Proletcult, the dynamism of Meierhold and those newly codified theatre laws which sought to guide the aesthetic aspirations of a collectivist crowd. The audience, which is the most important factor in any good theatre, has responded to a new aesthetic consciousness which has been described as Socialist Realism. Since the publication of Norris Houghton's *Moscow Rehearsals* (1938), the sweep and outlook of the Soviet theatre have recorded vitally significant changes. Macleod, who was at one time Director of the Festival Theatre at Cambridge, visited Russia during these transitional years and has recorded his experiences in this volume which gives a faithful picture of the new trends in Soviet theatre and his judgment on the artistic and cultural worth of the new attitude that guides the dramatists, producers and directors of today.

Like any other philosophy of art, Socialist Realism is hard to define. Broadly speaking, it represents a cultural reaction against the collectivist abstractions of the formalist period and a revival of interest in Western European culture and art forms. A Soviet writer thus describes it : "Socialist Realism does not boil down to an art-creation in style. Style is a secondary phenomenon, a particular moment of Socialist Realism. In Socialist Realism as a method an endless quantity of styles, idioms, forms, modes and so on, is permissible on principle." Socialist Realism is the basic method of literary art in Soviet Russia and demands of the artist a truthful and concrete representation of actuality in its revolutionary development. It is true of all the arts in the Soviet Union, but it is vital to the theatre, and Socialist Realism in the theatre is only possible with a Socialist audience. The Revolutionary theatre with its blood and passions, love and hatred is dead.

As a result of this new movement, cultural autonomy of national units is expanding steadily. Each of the many countries in the U.S.S.R. has now its own theatres, with native playwrights and native companies. A few figures that have appeared in their own right as Socialist-realists have been discussed by the author at considerable length, notably Alexey Popov of the Central Theatre of the Red Army, who has a chapter to himself. The popularity of Shakespeare is illustrated both in the Central theatres and in remoter and unexpected places. Dramatists of today are studied, the titles of many new plays being given in summaries. The day is past when a sophisticated and cynical Central theatre had nothing in common with the primitive and simple regional theatres. The popularity of Shakespeare as seen through Socialist Realism is described by the author as follows : "And all through his studies of study and understanding of Marx. cowards, too trusting hearts or too soft ones, runs like a steel wire his practical affection, and regard, and understanding towards the ordinary man. The ordinary man in his weakness and strength, as Lenin saw and worked for him ; in his infinite variety and his modest desire to be himself in the time in which he is born ; we scarcely know whether it is Shakespeare or the Soviet Union that we are describing."

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

THE RACIAL HISTORY OF INDIA : *By Chandra Chakrabarty. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 81, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. 360. Price Rs. 5.*

Mr. Chakrabarty is a prolific writer. He has already got to his credit about two dozens of books on so serious and such diverse subjects as medicine, religion, biology, politics, philosophy and what not ! We wonder how one can handle so many subjects and deal with them so profoundly. In his latest production, which is the volume under review, the learned author discusses the puzzling problems of Indian races and attempts to "discover the integral components of our racial complex with their historical background." The chapter on peoples contains a scholastic discussion about the original home of the Aryans. The author thinks that Central Asia, the Caucasus, Macedonia and Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Aryavarta, Polar region or the Baltic Shore cannot be the Aryan cradle as held by some scholars but to him the Valdai plateau appears to be that blessed region. He adduces for his conclusion arguments which are mostly linguistic. He holds that a branch of the Aryans following the Saraju and the Saraswati entered India through Gandhara. It is left to the scholars to solve this complicated question of our racial history and offer constructive criticisms invited by the author in the preface. Racial components of India are described in the twelfth chapter in which the author creditably explains how the present Indian race is a curious admixture of numerous alien and indigenous races. He says for instance the Monkhmer offshoots belong to the lower classes of Bengal and Southern India, and the buffalo culture of Monkhmers is represented by the Mahishya, Kaivarta agricultural classes of Bengal. The book is a scholarly study and will be welcome only by the scholars. The style is bombastic and the treatment throughout abounds in technicalities. There is a very short index of important words but a list of contents is badly wanting.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

LETTERS TO KUGELMANN : *By Karl Marx. Price Rs. 2.*

MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM : *By V. I. Lenin. Published in the People's Library Series by Burman Publishing House, 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-4.*

These are the first Indian editions of two of the most outstanding works in the International Socialist literature. Marx devoted a good deal of space in the correspondence to personal matters. For the general public and for the working class, the theoretical and political matter in his letters are of infinite interest. In these letters we not only have very lucid expositions of his own theories, such as his labour theory of value, but we also have his estimate of various writers such as Duhring, Buchner, Dietzgen, etc.

The latter book is Lenin's study on the philosophy of Materialism. It is also an indispensable work for the understanding of Marx.

D. BURMAN

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NEW LIFE IN NEW CHINA: *By Mao Tse-Tung and others. Purabi Publishers, Calcutta. Pages 163. Price 2-4.*

New China is having her pangs of re-birth and the present book gives particulars of the political and economic struggle of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border and other Border regions of the Communistic China. China has enemies both internal and external. Age-long conservatism and a feudal system at home and Japanese aggression from outside make young Communist China's problems difficult to solve. But her leaders inspired by the example of Lenin and Russia are determined to work up the economic and political salvation of the country. The book gives correct and thrilling pictures of the dumb millions of China, her "Labour Heroes", her struggle for food and clothing, reforms in agriculture and taxation, and of her fighters who fight for political freedom and economic emancipation of the country. The book is recommended to those who are anxious to know about China on her way to Communism.

BANKERS' ADVANCES AGAINST GOODS: *By D. S. Sastri, M.A., Cert. A.I.B. (Lond.). Published by Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Pages 310. Price Rs. 12-8.*

The book discusses various aspects of Bankers' advances against goods in India. On account of defective nature of Indian market the conditions in different parts of the country are widely different, yet this branch of the Banking business is on the increase. The author is an experienced Banker and as such has a thorough grasp of the subject, so the book will be of great help to practical bankers, as well as, to students of Banking. The legal aspect of the advances against goods has been ably dealt with. Subjects like produce under pledge and hypothecation, documents of title to goods, safeguarding of the securities, insurance of the goods, etc., have been discussed in a practical and useful manner. Various commodities from raw produce to finished articles that come to Banks as security for advances have found place in this volume. Reprints of various specimen forms used by the Bankers at the end of this book, will be of help to men in banking profession. The book deserves to be widely circulated among bankers and students of Banking.

GUIDE TO PRECIS WRITING AND DRAFTING: *By L. M. Mitra. Published by Prabartak Publishing House, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Pages 192. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The book is intended to help departmental candidates from various Accounts offices of the Government of India to prepare for S.A.S. examinations. The author has taken pains to make the book useful by constructive hints and helpful exercises collected from the examination papers spread over a number of years. The book will be helpful to those for whom it has been written.

A. B. DUTTA

SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE: HIS MIND AND ART: *By I. N. Madan, M.A., Ph.D., Dayal Singh College, Lahore. Published by Minerva Book Shop, Anarkali, Lahore. Price Rs. 6.*

This is a carefully written critical study of Sarat Chandra's literary works. In the introduction the author has described the general trend of the Bengali novel before the advent of Sarat Chandra and indicated the significance of his contribution. In the following chapters he has discussed in details the novels and stories of that great writer and commented on his characterisation and technique. In spite of limitations and handicaps acknowledged in the preface—the foremost among them being the author's want of acquaintance with the original works—he has fairly succeeded in explaining the mind and art of the famous Bengali novelist. The bibliography appended to the book contains a complete list of Sarat Chandra's original works and their translations in Hindi and Gujarati. The fact that all his works have been translated in the two above mentioned languages is a clear proof of his wide popularity all over India. The present volume is expected to receive general appreciation and be particularly helpful to foreigners, interested in modern Bengali literature.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL: *By Mm. Haraprasad Sastri. Revised and edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti. Vol. VIII. Parts I and II. Calcutta. 1939-40.*

This catalogue, which contains notices of over one thousand Tantric manuscripts, bears witness to the widespread popularity of the Tantric cult for many centuries in Bengal. This is the eighth of the fifteen volumes of Catalogue projected by the late Mm. Haraprasad Sastri; but since it could not be completed during his life-time, the work of checking, arranging, revising and editing of the unfinished volumes from the materials left by him was entrusted to Professor Chintaharan Chakravarti, who has not only discharged his task with great care and scholarship, but who has also given an additional account of some fifty more recently acquired manuscripts. Most of the MSS. are connected with Bengal and are mostly written in the Bengali script. They reflect, therefore, a phase of belief and worship which became deep-rooted and peculiar to Bengal. The collection is fairly extensive and representative, and includes works of divergent interest, although works on the philosophical aspects of Tantra as such are not many in number. There are original general works, as well as digests and separate treatises on the different cults of Siva, Sakti, Visnu and other deities of the Tantric pantheon, Stotras and Kavachas, works on rites, mudras and yantras, and on Yoga practice. The editor has added a learned introduction in which he gives an account of the characteristic features of the more important works, their scripts, material and date, and calls attention to such individual works and authors as possess a special interest. We look forward to the publication of the remaining volumes of the Catalogue, which is the fruit of many years' devoted labour, and which, together with the volumes already published, would stand as a monument to the memory of the great scholar, who did not unfortunately live to see the completion of his cherished project of great learning and importance.

S. K. DE

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDASAMHITA: *Edited by Shripad Damodar Santabalekar with the help of a number of Vedic Pandits of Marhatta. Crown 8 vo., pp. 72+[illegible]. Swadhyaya Mandal, Aundh, Dt. Satara. Price Rs. 6.*

This is a beautiful edition of the text of the Rigveda with various indices and appendices. Of these the index of the Rishis and the index of the first lines of the verses are the most useful. In the latter reference is also made to other Vedic works where particular verses of the Rigveda are known to occur as well. If the book passes through a second edition testing the

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popularity. The Swadhyaya Mandal deserves to be congratulated for their admirable enterprise in bringing out handsome, useful and cheap editions of different sections of the vast Vedic literature.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

JAN-MRITYU (Life and Death) : *By Sri Nanda Mukhopadhyay. Published by A. Mukherji & Bros., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

As a journalist and poet the author has won distinction. Fortunately for us, he does not mix up his journalism with poetry. The poems included in this neat volume evince an imaginative soul, an aesthetic temperament. Both in respect of their matter and manner of composition, they present a variety—serious and light, original and translation, rhyming verse and prose-poem, historical and personal. 'Cleopatrar Mrityu' (The Death of Cleopatra) and 'Samudra Saikate' (On the Sea-Beach) are particularly delicate and impressive.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

AKHIL BHARAT CHARKHA SANGH : *Karyavarana, July, 1942 to June 1944. Published by Akhil Bharat Charkha Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha.*

This report is a concise survey of the production, distribution and sale of Khadi through the various centres and branches of the A. I. S. A. during the period under review. The facts and figures contained in the report, though insufficient and even incomplete in some cases for obvious reasons, are rather helpful in explaining to how during the stormy days of August, 1942, many of its centres were closed down by the authorities concerned and hundreds of its trained workers were put behind prison-bars thereby causing unemployment to thousands of its skilled workers and thus thereby cutting down the scope and growth of the development of Khadi in the face of a deepening world-crisis. Thus, the various figures of this report do not merit a favourable comparison with the previous annual figures. But compared with the production-figures of 1942-43, the figures for 1943-44 clearly show that Khadi has made a steady headway towards recovery.

M. S. SENGAR

HINDI GITA : *By Haribhan Upadhya. Hindi Mandir, Allahabad. Price eight annas.*

SUBODH GITA : *By Dr. K. N. Dorley. Published by P. G. Mudki B.A., Nutan Vidyalaya, Hinganghat, Price six annas.*

Both are translations in Hindi of the *Bhagavad-Gita*—the scripture which has held the centre of Hindu spiritual thought for centuries. The former is in verse, rendered by *sloka* and in *Anushtupa chhanda*. Each chapter is preceded by a short summary, in prose of its content. Both commentations in syntax have been adopted for the purpose of simplifying the recitation of the version so that it may be as pleasing to the ear, as it may be effective in impressing one easily with the "ideology", of the session. *Hindi-Gita* is a unique metrical translation of the scripture and as such, is sure to appeal to a wider range of the unsophisticated, eager and aspiring seeker after the essence of age-old faith and philosophy of the religion.

The latter is a prose translation of the same scripture. It is in bold print and the style is suited to the purpose of propagating the teaching thereof.

MARATHAS AND RAJPUTS (UNION) AIKYA, MARATHAS AND JATS (UNION) AIKYA, MARATHAS AND SIKHS (UNION) AIKYA : *By S. N. Supekar. Maratha-Rajput Union Office, Dewas Junior, C. I. Pp. 175, 68, 123 respectively. Price not mentioned.*

About three years back a movement was set afoot to bring about unity among the various warlike sections of the Hindu community. For this purpose a Conference was held subsequently. And it is in connection with its work of implementing the above-mentioned objective that the present three books, under review, have been published. The spirit of the project, which is laudable in every respect, is evident from the following words : "There are times when people with common ideal, common history, common profession should flock together for the service of humanity at large and of the motherland."

The publications provide an interesting study of the growth of the various warlike communities among the Hindus that dwell in India. They suggest measures like interdining and intermarrying in order to break down the barriers which now separate them. They are incidentally an attack on the age-old citadel of caste and its undesirable isolationism. But will the fortress capitulate ? Perhaps the war may hasten this.

G. M.

GUJARATI

RASHTRABHASHA BISHE VICHAR : *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 186. 1945. Price twelve annas.*

Mahatma Gandhi has put forward the spread of Rashtrabhasha as an important item of national reconstruction, and the book under notice contains his pronuncements on the question of the national language for India. Even now the importance of the subject has not received the attention it deserves, and some confusion has been created already by people, no doubt well-meaning, who have tried and are still trying to equate the 'Rashtrabhasha' to Hindi only ; whereas it is an amalgam, a living reality reflecting the national unity in terms of the language, and the nationalist worker has to learn the two scripts, the Nagri and the Urdu, so far as he may. Mahatmaji has been thinking aloud ever since 1917 on the subject, and the publisher has done well in bringing together all that he has written or said in this connection in one bunch. The volume has Gandhiji's foreword, dated 21-5-1945 and an index, both of which will no doubt be appreciated by the reader. It is time that such a book was translated into the other languages of modern India.

P. R. SEN

JIVANNAN VAMAL : *By G. G. Dhru, B.A. Printed at the Navprabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1-4.*

The title of this book means "Whirlpools of Life" and it contains a reprint of twenty articles from a fortnightly journal edited by Mr. Dhru and devoted to the uplift of society, "Truth is stranger than Fiction" is a hackneyed saying, but it loses none of its force when applied to the facts related in these stories. Taking advantage of the necessitous circumstances under which widows and unprotected women have to live in our society, unscrupulous men never fail first to ruin and then to desert them. Each tale narrated in this collection is vouchsafed to be true and the facts are stated to have happened and the Anathashram at Ahmedabad in charge of Mr. Dhru has, as a matter of fact, rescued and helped these unfortunates to be set on their feet again. It is a most heart-rending collection of facts and an indelible stigma on our social habits; the sooner it is removed the better.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Labour Wins

The Labour victory in Britain is a great event in this war-ridden world. K. M. Munshi writes in *The Social Welfare* :

It is a triumph of principles over personalities; of socialistic outlook against reactionary Imperialism. It is a triumph which the British alone of all peoples of the world are capable of achieving. In the midst of a great world war, with problems affecting the life and death of Britain remaining unsolved, the people decided to remove the one strong man who had led them to victory, from the helm of affairs. They were tired of his outlook on life and world affairs. They replaced him by a man very much smaller in stature but more devoted to democracy.

The Labour triumph is largely a triumph of the common man in England. It showed, more than anything else, that the Common Man in England has both the courage and the instincts of a free man.

The British people now face world problems with a clear conscience. They can be now relied upon to vindicate those principles for which Britain has claimed to stand but which during the last seven years have been considerably obscured.

One of the principal motives which worked on the collective mind of Britain was the fear that Churchill and his friends might adopt the methods of pre-war Imperialistic diplomacy and thus queer the pitch for a happy world reconstruction. There was also a fear, not unexpressed, that Churchill in power might undermine Anglo-Russian amity. Even in America there was a revulsion of feeling against the Churchill regime. Stalin was decidedly hostile. The English people, therefore, rightly chose to drop him.

The Labour group which has now come to power is an infinite improvement on Ramsay MacDonald's Labour Government of the past.

Attlee may not be very brilliant or very effective. But brilliance and effectiveness in a Prime Minister are handicaps in a democracy at peace. The average democratic party loves to see at its helm some sober man with whom the average member has more things in common than the dashing, the versatile or the effective man. Attlee, therefore, is likely to make a very successful Prime Minister.

Bevin, Morrison, Dalton, Jowitt, and Cripps are all first-rate men who have fought for their principles, for the liberty of England and for the Common Man. And behind them all is Laski the conscience keeper of the average democrat all the world over.

To the principal problem which faces the British Commonwealth, *viz.*, its relations with Russia, the Labour Government will be able to bring to bear a more unbiassed attitude. In the world to come, a conflict between U.S.S.R. and the British Commonwealth in more spheres than one appears inevitable. But between men who understand each other's point of view the conflict is bound to be less acrimonious and not so destructive.

The Labour Government will be able to hit off with the Truman administration in U.S.A.

The Labour victory has destroyed the Munich and the Reactionaries hip and thigh. Mr. Amery the very image of Tory Reactionaryism. And his has been greeted with jubilation half the world

The British statesmen are often inclined to sanctimonious and are now delivering sympathe funeral speeeches over the burial of Mr. Amery parliamentary career.

But India has with one voice expressed its gl fication. Mr. Amery has been in office for five ye now. During these five years again and again he op his mouth either to hurl an insult at India, to defe the indefensible, or to sacrifice truth. He inaugura a regime of persecution which has few parallels even the annals of British Imperialism. His conduct at time of Gandhiji's fast in 1943 was characterised by callousness of Roman emperors two thousand years a Under his regime, millions were allowed to die of st vation. There are many other sins of omission commission which one can catalogue against him. disappearance, therefore, marks the end of an era w Britain cannot remember without shame and Ind without indignation.

The Labour Party is bound to be sympathe towards nations aspiring to be free. It is not likely rush into hysterical exhibitions of generosity; nor is likely to drop Imperialism. Its capacity for transla its pledges into action is bound to be tempered by vigour of Conservative opposition which is sure to in every liberal move a fresh crack in its much empire. But Labour is bound to be more sympathe and sympathy even in politics is known to w wonders.

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Is Nationalization Possible Without National Government ?

If Government took the initiative to get half a dozen key industries started and placed them on the road to successful operation, the confidence of the public in Government measures may be expected to revive. An ounce of practice is better than tons of investigation and promises. Sir M. Visvesvaraya observes in *The Hindustan Review* :

According to the statement on Industrial Policy issued by the Government of India on 22nd April, 1945, the Central Government have decided to avail themselves of the provisions of the (1935) Government of India Act and to take over 20 key industries from provincial control under their own direct supervision with a view "to encourage and promote the rapid industrialisation of the country to the fullest extent possible."

The transfer of responsibility for key industries to the Centre is not in itself an event to rouse enthusiasm. Experience shows that under present political conditions not much co-operation or sympathy can be expected from the Central Government.

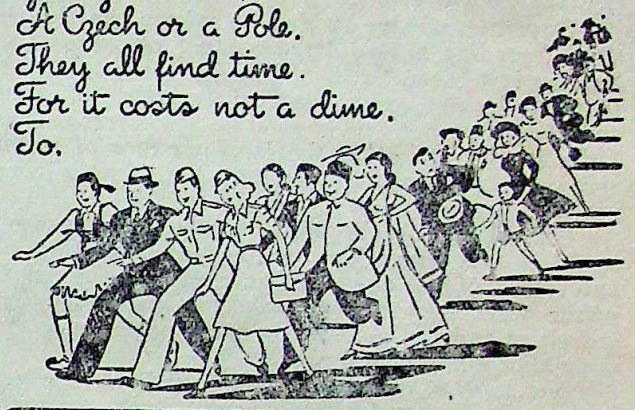
To give one notable instance, during the early period of the war, the Bombay Provincial Government had guaranteed interest on the capital required for an automobile industry, but it was the Central Government which not only declined to grant facilities but actually killed the project. An immense number of motor trucks and cars were wanted for the war, and business leaders were keen on developing the industry. Had the Indian public been allowed to participate in the manufacture of trucks, the country would have made money, its engineers and technicians would have acquired experience and skill of special value for the country's industrial future. A rare opportunity for utilising the country's vast material resources and talent under the stimulus of war was lost, due to the disinclination of Government to encourage Indian industries.

This failure to get the Government order for motor trucks was not due to want of capacity either. An aeroplane factory, suggested by the same group of Indian businessmen that had sponsored the automobile scheme, was allowed to be proceeded with on account of war exigencies. It was successfully constructed and brought into operation by an Indian company with foreign technical aid. Later, when the particular exigency which necessitated the step had passed away the Company was relieved of its control and the factory converted into a jobbing shop. But that is, however, another story.

It was the Central Government again which while discouraging an Indian firm from ship-building, cabled congratulations to an Australian firm for supplying ships to the Government of India.

Furthermore, the industrial picture in the Government statement is fragmentary and incomplete. No proper industrial structure is set up. There is no Department of Industries, no independent Member of the Viceroy's Council in charge, no statutory economic council or other corporated body to represent public opinion in the counsels of Government. No outlay of capital is mentioned in the Government statement.

A liberal expenditure, say, an annual grant of Rs. 6 crores for five years for associating both urban and rural populations with the investigation and prepara-



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tions required for starting industries would have roused tremendous interest and helped industrialisation such as no other measure could have done. This need also has been overlooked.

Government have suddenly awakened to the necessity of sending abroad large number of students for training in technical and professional subjects. If we are to profit by the experience and example of America and Russia, such training could be best arranged for in India itself by starting the large number of technical and vocational institutions required within the country itself.

The absence of attention to the maintenance of statistics is a grave blot on the administration. The only effect of the omission has been to keep out from public view the extraordinarily low production from industries and the abnormally great dependence of the population on agriculture.

No statistics of unemployment are kept. For lack of estimates of 'per capita' income, vast regions are shrouded in darkness.

If instead of bringing into existence 25 panels for the purpose of mere investigation, Government had appointed, say, even 5 panels each charged with the responsibility to work up estimates and make preparations for starting one key industry at least, they would have done something to put hope into the people.

Tennessee Valley Authority

India's future will depend in a large measure upon what will be done with its undeveloped river valleys. W. L. Voorduin, formerly Head Planning Engineer, T.V.A., writes in *Science and Culture* :

Fundamentally, the T.V.A. was set up as a "Pilot plant" to throw the light of actual experience on the development of *all* the resources in a river valley, and not just one or two of the resources, and the T.V.A. was to serve *all* the inhabitants of the valley and not just a few special interests.

Modern engineering methods are used as the means to obtain the end result, *i.e.*, engineering skill is utilized to construct and operate the works which make *an improvement* in the general welfare of the people possible.

The management of all the interrelated tasks of the various departments is vested in a three-man Board of Directors assisted by a General Manager and General Counsel, a budget staff and an information service.

During the now almost exactly twelve years of its existence, the T.V.A. has completed the construction of seven dams on the main Tennessee River and nine dams on the tributaries as well as one large thermal electric station.

Together with two main river dams, four tributary dams and five thermal stations already in operation in the region at the time of the creation of the T.V.A., the system now consists of twentyeight major plants and an additional thirteen small plants also owned and operated by the T.V.A. The largest single project of the T.V.A. is the Kentucky Dam at the mouth of the Tennessee River recently completed at a total cost of about 35 crores of rupees. This dam is about 8,500 ft. long and has a maximum height of 165 ft. The lake formed by the dam has a shore line of 2,200 miles, covers an area of approximately 160,000 acres, and has a total storage capacity of roughly 6,100,000 acre ft. The largest dam on the tributaries is the Fontana Dam on the Little Tennessee River now practically completed at a cost of perhaps some 2[illegible] crores of rupees. The dam is 2,300 ft. long, its maximum height is 460 ft. The lake covers an area of about 11,000 acres and its total storage capacity is almost 1,500,000 acre ft.

The system of T.V.A. reservoirs, with a total storage capacity of 22,000,000 acre ft., controls the floods and regulates the flow of a large and turbulent river with a drainage area of 40,000 sq. miles. A navigable channel for river craft with a 9 ft. draught is provided for a distance of 650 miles from the mouth of the Tennessee River to Knoxville, Tennessee. The total generating capacity authorized for installation at the dams and thermal electric stations is about 2,850,000 KW of which more than 2,000,000 KW is now installed. The total length of transmission lines is about 6,000 miles of which more than 90 per cent carries a voltage of 44 kV or over. The highest transmission line voltage is 154 kV. The area covered by the transmission lines extends for a distance of 400 miles from east to west and about 200 miles from north to south. The generating stations are scattered throughout this area, the longest 154 kV line between stations is approximately 150 miles. The net generation has grown from 400,000,000 kilowatt-hours during the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1944 to more than 10,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours during the year ended June 30th 1944, a growth of twenty-five times the original load in 10 years.

The T.V.A. delivers energy to industries, neighbouring utilities, and to municipalities and co-operatives, who distribute the energy to residential and rural customers in the T.V.A. area.

In the operation of the system of power plants the guiding factor is the requirement of flood control, i.e.,

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prior to the winter season from December to March, when the major floods occur, the reservoirs are emptied to pre-determined levels and as the danger of floods becomes less during this season, they are partially refilled. After the danger of large floods has passed the refilling of the reservoirs is continued depending upon the amount of stream flow available for this purpose. During the following dry period of the year the amount stored in the reservoirs is released for minimum flow regulation for power and navigation purposes.

The T.V.A. obtains its funds for the construction of the works by appropriations from the Federal Treasury and it is expected that the total investment will be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 250 crores. I believe that it would be fair to say that the financial returns of the undertaking are quite favourable. At the end of the fiscal year 1943 when the program was roughly two-thirds completed, the total investment in completed plant amounted to approximately 165 crores of rupees. Of this amount roughly Rs. 25 crores were allocated to navigation, Rs. 13 crores to flood control, Rs. 7 crores to fertilizer and general plant, and the remainder of Rs. 120 crores to the power development. The gross power revenue for this fiscal year amounted to Rs. 10½ crores. After deduction for operating expenses, depreciation and amortization, the net revenue amounted to approximately Rs. 4·4 crores and this corresponds roughly to a return of 5 per cent on the average net book value of the power plant during the fiscal year. If the computations were to be based on the net book value of the entire plant at the end of the fiscal year (including investment in navigation and flood control facilities) the computed return would be approximately 3 per cent.

In taking a broad view of the possibilities of development of this nature in India, there are two points which stand out.

These are the requirements for irrigation, and the greater density of population in this country. In the T.V.A. area no irrigation is required, while in this country irrigation would be one of the major purposes of water control projects. This added function would make a multi-purpose development much more valuable. The density of population is many times greater in this country than it is in the United States and this generally also holds true for the river valleys in each country.

Edward Carpenter

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Hugh Harris writes of a bridge-builder in a figurative but very real sense; of Edward Carpenter, whose individual efforts have contributed significantly to democracy, to human brotherhood and especially to bettter mutual understanding between East and West :

On the Sussex coast, within easy access of London, in the pleasant seaside resort of Brighton. It was here that on August 29, 1844, Edward Carpenter was born in a family of wealth and social influence. In his parents' home at Brighton the boy was brought up in an atmosphere of ease and comfort. But he early revolted against the narrow conventions and artificialities of Victorian society. One of the liberating influences that helped to expand his horizon was his discovery of the poetry of Shelley—another native of Sussex who renounced home and worldly position in his search for the ideal. His vision was also enlarged by spiritual communion with Nature on the Downs outside the town. He wrote his earliest poems among those open grassy slopes strewn with "that sweet yellow lotus or bird's-foot trefoil, which runs all over the world, in Siberia and Alps and Himalayas the same, one of the commonest and friendliest of all the flowers that grow." When he moved among the elegant promenaders on the fashionable esplanade, his thoughts turned more and more to the poor and the lonely who dwelt throughout the earth.

At the age of twenty Carpenter went from Brighton to Cambridge University, where he had a distinguished academic career. He became a Fellow and lecturer of his College and a priest and curate of the Church of England. But he felt ever-increasing dissatisfaction with an environment that seemed to him remote from the life of the masses.

After much spiritual conflict, Carpenter resigned his Orders and Fellowship, and left Cambridge in 1874.

For the next few years Carpenter devoted himself to lecturing for the newly-established University Extension Movement, sharing his knowledge with the inhabitants of the industrial towns of Northern England. Then he found final contentment by closer association with Nature and the working masses. At Millthorpe in Derbyshire, he combined the open-air manual work of a market-gardener with the literary activities of a social reformer. For over forty years—until his death in 1929—he published books and pamphlets (many of them translated into foreign languages) which carried his message far and wide.

The most famous of Carpenter's books, the one which contains the essence of his teaching, is his volume of poems in free verse entitled *Towards Democracy*. Perhaps his most notable prose work is *Civilization*:

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Its Cause and Cure, a chapter of which on "Modern Science" was published in Russian with a preface by Leo Tolstoy. His autobiography, *My Days and Dreams*, is a fascinating account of his spiritual pilgrimage.

Carpenter wrote with insight and authority on a great variety of questions, including art and music, religion and socialism, sex and marriage, animal welfare, prison reform, and many other subjects.

Carpenter's interest in Eastern thought was first aroused by a fellow-student at Cambridge University, P. Arunachalam of Colombo.

At College the young men had many long and intimate discussions about the philosophy of the East. Some years later, about 1880, Carpenter received from his friend a translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, which was then little known in England. The reading of this book induced Carpenter to write his masterpiece. "So it was that *Towards Democracy* came to birth."

In 1890 Carpenter accepted an invitation from his Tamil friend to visit Ceylon and meet a saintly representative of the ancient Wisdom-Religion of India, the Gnani Ramaswamy. His impressions were published in a notable book *From Adam's Peak to Elephanta*, and part of this work was later reissued separately as *A Visit to a Gnani, or Wise Man of the East*.

The impression made on Carpenter by this visit to the Eastern Sage in Ceylon was never forgotten.

Thirty years later, in his *Pagan and Christian Creeds* he again referred to the conviction which had then seized him that East and West were both destined to make their own distinctive—and complementary—contributions to the World-Religion of the future. He included in this book two lectures on "The Teaching of the Upanishads" (later reprinted separately under that title).

In 1927, at the age of eighty-three, Carpenter published his last work *Light from the East : Being Letters on Gnanam, the Divine Knowledge*. This contained extracts from the correspondence of his deceased friend, P. Arunachalam, together with several essays and articles by Carpenter on cognate subjects.

The centenary of Carpenter's birth has recently called forth several notable tributes to his life's work and teaching. A proposal has now been made by some of his friends and admirers for a public commemoration.

—

The Unconscious

The concept of the unconscious mind plays a peculiarly important part in the development of modern psychology. Prof. M. S. Srinivasa Sarma writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

The mind of a man is a highly complicated thing. It has rightly been compared to a vast sea in which the glittering surface represents what we commonly call the conscious mind, while the unseen and much larger body of water beneath represents the unconscious. As the under-layers of water are constantly mingling with the surface water, and changing its content and temperature, so the under-layers of the unconscious are for ever altering and modifying our conscious thoughts and actions.

Psycho-analysis is the study of man's unconscious motives and drives as shown in various nervous disturbances, and in certain manifestations of everyday life in normal individuals. It has been demonstrated that the manifold symptoms of the neurosis result from unfulfilled desires often extending back to the earliest years of childhood. These desires not only influence the formation of character-traits, but likewise are responsible for many forms of nervous illness. Psycho-analysis as a psychological theory originated with Sigmund Freud, a doctor of Vienna, whose classic investigations were first published in 1895. The greatest service rendered by Freud has been to demonstrate irrefutably the unity and continuity of all mental life. Psychic life is a continuity in the sense that at any given moment it is determined by all that has previously happened and all that is happening. Nothing is accidental in the psychic realm. 'There is no chance', says Freud, 'in the psychic world any more than in the

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...ersonal. The human mind is a single, organic, unitary ...ity. The unconscious and the conscious are but its ...wo aspects both acting and reacting uninterruptedly ...throughout life.

That all conduct is motivated is the ...fundamental principle of psychology.

...cause in psychology must be a psychic cause; ...psychic cause must be a wish or motive. For us ...ve means a vast range of activity. We wish to do ...thousand things that we can never do. Physical in...acity, mental incapacity, limitations of our environ...ent, mutual conflict between one wish and another, ...position from other people, incompatibility with the ...prevailing moral standards—all these compel us to give ...up many of our wishes. Consequently innumerable ...wishes must be laid aside; and some, resisting, have to ...be suppressed. Renunciation thus becomes the order of ...the day! But what becomes of the unfulfilled wishes ...and rejected motives? Do they tamely submit to the ...decision and efface themselves altogether? How happy ...life would be if that were the case!

The mind attempts to find a refuge and free itself ...from mental conflicts through repression. Experiences ...which are distasteful to the individual are often put out ...of the mind. Refusal to consider rejected wishes and ...attitudes, and openly to face humiliating experiences ...leads to a kind of forgetting in which conscious recall ...becomes impossible. The repressed system of expe...riences, or *complex*, continues to exist and manifest ...itself in various ways. Since the sex instinct, and, to a ...lesser extent, others also are repressed by the customs and ...conventionalities of civilization, these unconscious ...wishes find expression in subtle and symbolic ways. ...Oddities of behaviour, automatisms of action, un...expected slips and turns of speech, misplacements of ...objects, forgetting of names, places, and obligations, ...hallucinations, phobias, and especially dreams have an ...inestimable significance as evidence of repressed wishes. ...These 'Freudian wishes' constantly strive to thrust ...themselves up above the threshold and to obtain ...normal satisfaction; but the effort fails because in the ...whole form they run counter to the normal standards ...of social life and civilization. Social disapproval, moral ...teaching, religion, and other environmental forces pro...duce in the individual a censorship which is ever alert ...to prevent the wish from manifesting itself.

—

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India at San Francisco

India Today published monthly by the ...ia League of America sends the following ...:

The four hundred million people of India, one-fifth ...the human race have no official representation at ...Francisco. The official delegation consisting of ...e Indians with British titles, represents only the ...ish Government of India. But the voice of the ...le of India, though not heard in the meetings of ...Conference, has not been silent in San Francisco. Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit has acted as spokes... for the people of India, and for two organizations ...this country, The India League of America, New ...k City, and the National Committee for India's ...dom, Washington, D.C. At every opportune mo...nt Mrs. Pandit has warned the delegates to the ...ference that India will not be bound by any agree...ts that the official Indian delegation may enter into. ...has stressed that the Conference cannot achieve its ...ed purpose of establishing peace and security while ...a and other colonial areas continue in subjection ...imperialist powers. Indian freedom, she said, is the ...test of the Conference for the six hundred million ...ject peoples of Asia.

On behalf of the people of India, the India League ...America, and the National Committee for India's ...dom, Mrs. Pandit submitted a memorandum to the ...tary-General of the Conference, setting forth ...'s case.

The occasion for issuing the memorandum was a ...ence to "the voice of independent India" by ...eslaff M. Molotoff, Foreign Commissar of the ...S.R. Opposing the admission of Argentina to the ...ference, Mr. Molotoff said: "We have among us ...Indian delegation. As it is well-known, India is not ...independent nation. But we all know that the time ...come when the voice of independent India will be ...d, too. Nevertheless we share the view held by the ...ish Government which suggested that representa...e of India should be granted a seat at this con...ence, imperfect though her status is."

At the reference to the voice of an "independent ...," there was loud applause according to Sirdar J. J. ...h, President of the India League of America, who ...been at San Francisco as the representative of three ...a newspapers, among them the influential *Hindu...* ...*Times* of New Delhi. "Eden who was presiding, ...ed most uncomfortable and his face flushed," Mr. ...h said in a dispatch to the *Hindusthan Standard*, ...tta.

The memorandum submitted by Mrs. Pandit after ...ring to Commissar Molotoff's words, said that ...se of her size, population, and civilization, India ...a right to her freedom. India was a geographical, ...ural and economic unit. Yet India was represented ...agents of her Imperial rulers. The memorandum ...ted that "such a state of affairs is not only a grave ...al and political wrong to India but a travesty of ...claims that the United Nations Conference consists ...representatives of sovereign nations." Why, ...Pandit demanded, was not the voice of an ...ndent India not heard now instead of at some ...e date? She concluded by asserting that the Indian ...onal Congress had always been opposed to Nazism, Fascism, and Imperialism, of which the last mentioned still survived, and which should be liquidated all over the world, not only in India. As evidence of the "dawn of a new and better day for an all but crucified humanity," the recognition of India's independence now was urged in the memorandum.

According to Sirdar J. J. Singh, the Secretary-General of the Conference, will probably reply to the memorandum that the question of India's freedom does not come within the terms of reference of the Conference.

In a statement issued on May 10, Mrs. Pandit denied the validity of two statements made by British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, leader of the British delegation, in a press conference given by him that day at the Mark Hopkins Hotel.

Mr. Eden said: "Great Britain believes in national independence for dependent countries. So far as India is concerned we have already made the Cripps offer, and I don't stand here in a white sheet." Commenting on this Mrs. Pandit declared that it was "a repetition of the standard British alibi which we have heard *ad nauseam*." She said that there must have been something radically wrong with the Cripps offer since all parties in India, including the Moslem League had refused it. She charged that the British Government by its policy of arresting and holding thousands of Indian leaders in jail made any agreement among the Indians impossible. This was in reference to Mr. Eden's statement that Indian disagreement stood in the way of the implemenation of the Cripps offer.

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Better Economic Condition Will Guarantee Future World Peace

Henry A. Wallace, U. S. Secretary of Commerce, observes in a Newsfeature of the *USOWI* :

The War from which we are now emerging might also be called a 30 years' war. It began in 1914 and has, in the main, continued in one form or another for more than 30 years. Only for a brief time in the 1920's was the world really at peace. When we dip deeply into the economic and scientific causes of these 30 years of terrible struggle we find the outstanding factor to be the unequal rate of industrialisation and the consequent unequal growth of population and political power among the nations. England, the first to industrialize, dominated world commerce from 1830 to 1900. Germany, beginning in 1870 overtook and challenged England. Animated by Feudal warlike tradition and a false philosophy, she decided she could out-compete England faster on the field of battle than in peaceful, commercial competition. Japan emulated the German example and, beginning in 1895, determined to use every effort of a docile, low-wage, well-educated, highly industrialized people to dominate first the Orient and finally the world.

The differing speed in industrialization and population growth produced tensions which were used by ambitious, ruthless nations to create international earthquakes. As a result of these earthquakes the United States and Russia now emerge as the two most powerful nations in the world The United States has nearly half the world's industry and Russia is on the way to developing a large share of the remainder. Since 1928 Russia has changed from an overwhelmingly agricultural nation to a powerful industrial nation. Moreover, her population is growing faster than that of any other great industrial nation.

Technology and war have destroyed western Europe as the centre of world power. The two powers which now come to the top have no colonies and do not believe in colonies. They both claim to have great respect for the rights of small peoples but both have occasionally stepped over the line when the principle of national defense is involved. The two nations are so geographically placed that they have never had conflicting basic interests. The Russian and the American people instinctively like each other. Neither the Russian nor the American people wishes to use modern technology as an instrument of war. We want to raise the standard of living of our peoples and we do not want to exploit other people.

Both the Russians and Americans in their different ways are groping for a way of life which will enable the common man everywhere in the world to get the most good out of modern technology.

This does not mean there is anything irreconcilable in our aims and purposes. Those who so proclaim are wittingly or unwittingly looking for war and that, in my opinion, is criminal. We in the United States are certain our methods will bring more liberty and a higher standard of living. The Russians are equally certain that if they are given the opportunity of peaceful development, their system will eventually deliver the most satisfaction to their people. Both of us believe in the maximum use of technology and both of us believe in peace. Both of us want to see the so-called backward nations industrialized so that the standard of living may be more uniform over the entire world.

Recent developments in electronics and chemistry tend more and more to free all nations from dependence on specific resources. Idealistic reformers who have long tried to raise the standard of living of the poor and the backward peoples now receive unexpected help from a technology which in the lifetime of some in this room will make it possible for nearly all industrious people in the world to enjoy a good standard of living. The irresistible trend of the modern industrial system is toward world-wide equalization of technology.

This trend toward equalization reverses the trend of world trade which grew up in the 19th century. A few hundred years ago a few hundred million people in western Europe and eastern United States owned the world workshop. Out of it they drew great profits and egotism to proclaim cultural and political leadership. This overlordship of the western nations has passed. We now know that no one world region can long claim exclusive economic leadership. In the years immediately ahead we see the United States, Russia, and the British Empire producing perhaps 85 per cent of the world industrial output. But we also see the stirrings of a rapidly expanding industrial consciousness in Latin America, China, India, and the Near East. Shall we minister to that consciousness with the service of experts and the sale of goods? Or should we consider endeavor to prevent the industrialization of the so-called backward nations by withdrawing from the world market?

Everywhere, for our own sake and the world's sake we must do our utmost to help the devastated and so-called backward nations to produce, transport and distribute goods in an ever-increasing flow to the starving, sick and underprivileged people. We cannot do the work for these peoples but we can point the way and we can furnish the "seed" capital and the knowledge of how to use "seed" capital to produce a "high standard of living" crop.

The so-called backward areas of the world have a total population of more than 1,000,000,000 persons.

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probably will be impossible for these areas rapidly to bring about widespread education, the building of dams, the construction of highways and airports, and the building of factories without help from the United States or England. In some cases, the smaller nations of western Europe may be able to help. As we look back over the history of the world, we see only three nations which were able suddenly without extensive foreign capital to change from a primitive to an industrialized economy. These three were Germany after 1870, Japan after 1890, and Russia after 1920. The most spectacular of the three was Russia's progress especially after 1928.

Islám Led the World in Science and Art

Emeric Sala writes in *World Order*:

Six centuries before Columbus could prove the earth to be round, Muslim mathematicians of Kufa established its circumference at twenty-four thousand miles. It can no longer be disputed that the Crusaders who went East to punish the "heathen" Muslims returned with a course of instruction in civilization. The first university of Europe was established by the Muslims. Indeed, how often do we recall the origin of our university professors' black gown in the Arabic Kaftan? From the eighth to the tenth century Baghdad was the world's most civilized city. Its streets were paved and illuminated, and owned elaborate waterworks; while pigs were still roaming the dark and muddy streets of London and Paris. The university of Baghdad was endowed with over three million dollars and had an attendance of six thousand students.

For four centuries Arabic was the international language of knowledge. Many Christians studied this language between the eighth and eleventh centuries and attended Muslim universities. Aristotle and Plato were re-discovered by Muslim scholars who translated many Greek manuscripts into Arabic. Algebra and astronomy were expanded by the Muslims. They are the originators of modern chemistry, meteorology and geography. One Muslim travelled for forty years collecting mineralogical specimens, while another scholar made botanical observations over the entire Muslim world. They had a passion for intellectual pursuits. The first known telescope was built for a Muslim caliph. Without the Arabic decimal system modern science and business would be impossible. Muslim surgeons were the first to dissect the human body, which was forbidden to Christians by the Church.

Many of our finest cotton fabrics like muslin, damask, and cambric were originated by the Muslims. Damascus swords and Toledo blades are still renowned. Sugar, coffee, rice, cherries and other fruits, reached the European table because of the Arabs. One of the greatest contributions of Islam to the Western World is the art of papermaking, which they transmitted from China, and without which printing and universal education would have been impossible.

"The ninth century was essentially a Muslim century. To be sure, intellectual work did not cease in other countries; far from it; but the activity of the Muslim scholars and men of science was overwhelmingly superior. They were the real standard bearers of civilization in those days. . . . The overwhelming superiority of Muslim culture continued to be felt throughout the tenth century. Indeed, it was felt more strongly than ever, not only because the foremost men of science were Muslims, but also because cultural influences are essentially cumulative. . . . To be sure, other languages, such as Latin, Greek, or Hebrew were also used by scholars, but the works written in those languages contained nothing new. All the new discoveries and the new thoughts were published in Arabic. Strangely enough, the language of the Qur'an had thus become the international vehicle of scientific progress." (George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I.) Arabic, which before Muhammad had only a tribal significance, became a world language. The desire of every Muslim to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca brought together scholars from the most distant countries, and thus scientific knowledge rapidly spread and new discoveries were easily exchanged in all parts of Islam.

While Christian Europe was enveloped in darkness and gloom, overshadowed by ecclesiastical intolerance, Muhammad, the founder of an independent religion, established a civilization which our historians have as yet not satisfactorily explained. Sarton, referring to Islam, admits that "The creation of a new civilization of international and encyclopaedic magnitude within less than two centuries is something that we can describe, but not completely explain. . . . It was the most creative movement of the Middle Ages down to the thirteenth century." While the Christian world was burning alive those who dared to question established dogmas, Islam encouraged free thought and developed the experimental method, which is the foundation of modern science. Before Muhammad men dared not experiment, for fear of "evil" spirits. By destroying the ikons Muhammad dealt a mortal blow to many superstitions and elemental fears of his time, and prepared the field for scientific inquiry. He said: "Science is the remedy for the infirmities of ignorance, a comforting beacon in the light of injustice." Further historians might, by implication, recognize as an essential foundation stone of our modern world the famous statement of Muhammad: "The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr". Knowledge of reading

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and writing became a universal accomplishment. All Muhammadans read in the Qur'an that ignorance is the greatest poverty, that a mind without education is like a brave man without arms, and that knowledge increases the honor of princes and brings men of low degree into the palaces of kings. "The day on which I have learned nothing is no part of my life" is an oft-quoted Arab saying.

The Muslims were kind and tolerant to their non-Muslim subjects. Under their patronage many important works in Arabic were published by Christians, Jews and Sabaeans. Down to the twelfth century Arabic was the philosophic and scientific language of the Jews. The greatest Jewish treatise of the Middle Ages was written by Maimonides in Arabic.

Christianity was slow in recognizing Islam as the source of the Renaissance. Through the impact of Islamic scholarship, mainly in Sicily and in Spain, Europe became civilized. "Let us compare the two civilizations," said Seignobos in his *Histoire de la Civilisation au Moyan Age*, which in the eleventh century divided the Ancient World. "In the West—miserable little cities, peasants' huts and great fortresses—a country always troubled by war, where one could not travel ten leagues without running the risk of being robbed; and in the Orient—Constantinople, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad—all cities of the 'Arabian Nights,' with their marble palaces, their workshops, their schools, their bazaars, their villages and with the incessant movement of merchants who travelled in peace from Spain to Persia. There is no doubt that the Mussulman and Byzantine worlds were richer, better policed, better lighted than the western world. In the eleventh century these two worlds began to become acquainted; the barbarous Christians came into contact with the civilized Mussalmans in two ways—by war and by commerce. And by contact with the Orientals the Occidentals became civilized."

The Havoc of War

In the editorial comments in *Unity* our attention is drawn to the mockery of the devil that war is :

It is curious that we know more about the destruction of Cologne than we do about the devastation of London. We know that English capital has been horribly hurt, but the details that we have had of the German cathedral town are lacking. And the amazing thing is that as the story has come to us of the ruin of German cities and even villages, together with the wholesale death or scattering of their populations, we Americans seem not to be in any way disturbed. A kind of anaesthesia has seized us, or, worse still, a moral complacency. We can actually witness the destruction of all that is precious in Europe, and go easily and happily about our business. This is partly because, of course, our enemies are suffering. It is startling to realize how atrocities committed upon the enemy stir up no such emotional reaction as atrocities committed by the enemy. When Plymouth was wiped out, and a large part of Rotterdam, a shudder went through our bones and a wild cry of protest leaped from our lips. But we stood the annihilation of Cologne and Aachen and Berlin very well, thank you. After all, the enemy was only getting what he deserved—the women rushing madly about the streets, for example, and the little babies lying dead in the bombed-out shelters ! But there is a second and more terrible reason why this destruction of Germany has not upset us. I refer to the fact that we have gotten used to this sort of thing. At the beginning of the war, the thought of wholesale bombing anywhere was intolerable. The Nazis proved themselves utter barbarians by doing what was simply not done by civilized human beings. They had put themselves beyond the pale by dropping bombs on London piers and warehouses. Then the English took it up—from "necessity" of course ! The great port of Hamburg was bombed as the great port of London had been bombed. Then began "precision" bombing—factories and railroad terminals and bridges, picked out of crowded areas and selectively destroyed. This was followed by "obliteration" bombing—whole neighborhoods wiped out in a single assault. Now anything goes—whole cities are doomed to destruction, and all the people who may be in them. And we never turn a hair ! We hear of flaming Tokyo or shattered Munich as though some little anthill had been overturned. Nay, we would probably pity the ants ! Thus have we deteriorated morally, become ourselves barbarians, under the impact of war. Thus does war work its havoc. Victory ravages the victor inwardly as it ravages the vanquished outwardly. Which is the more dire evil ? It might be well to estimate before we go to war again.

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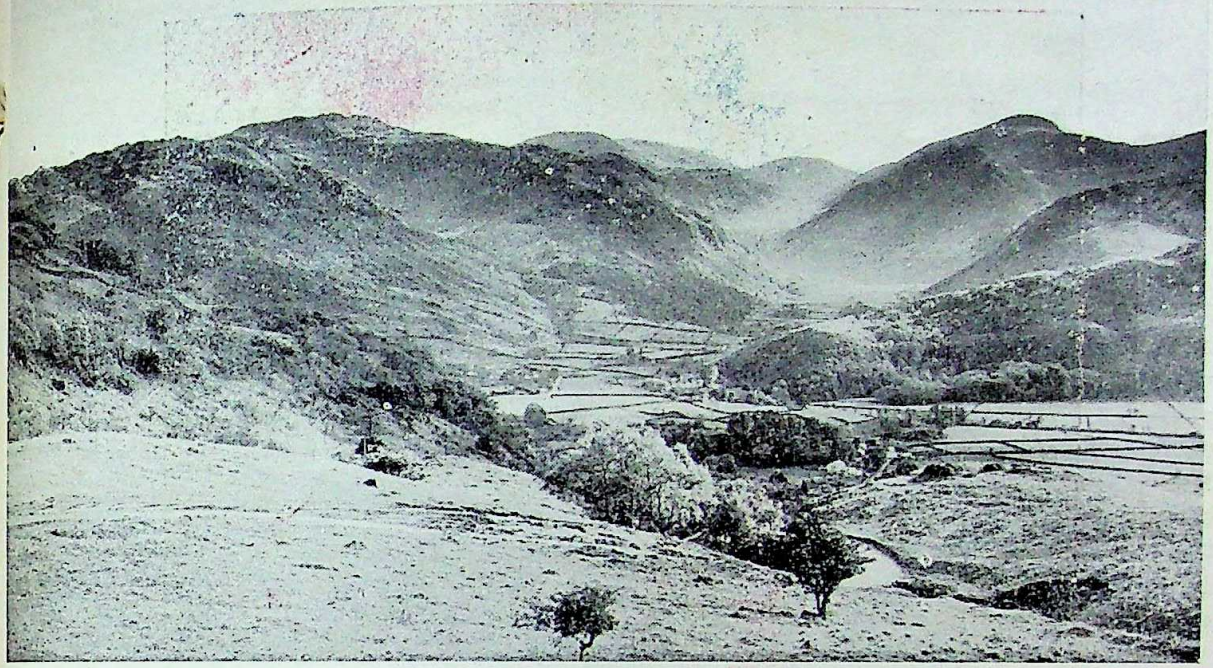

A general view of Borrowdale, a charming valley in the Lake District of England. This beauty spot has for many years attracted artists and painters from all over the world

Honister Pass in the Lake District. This pass leads to Buttermere and Crummock

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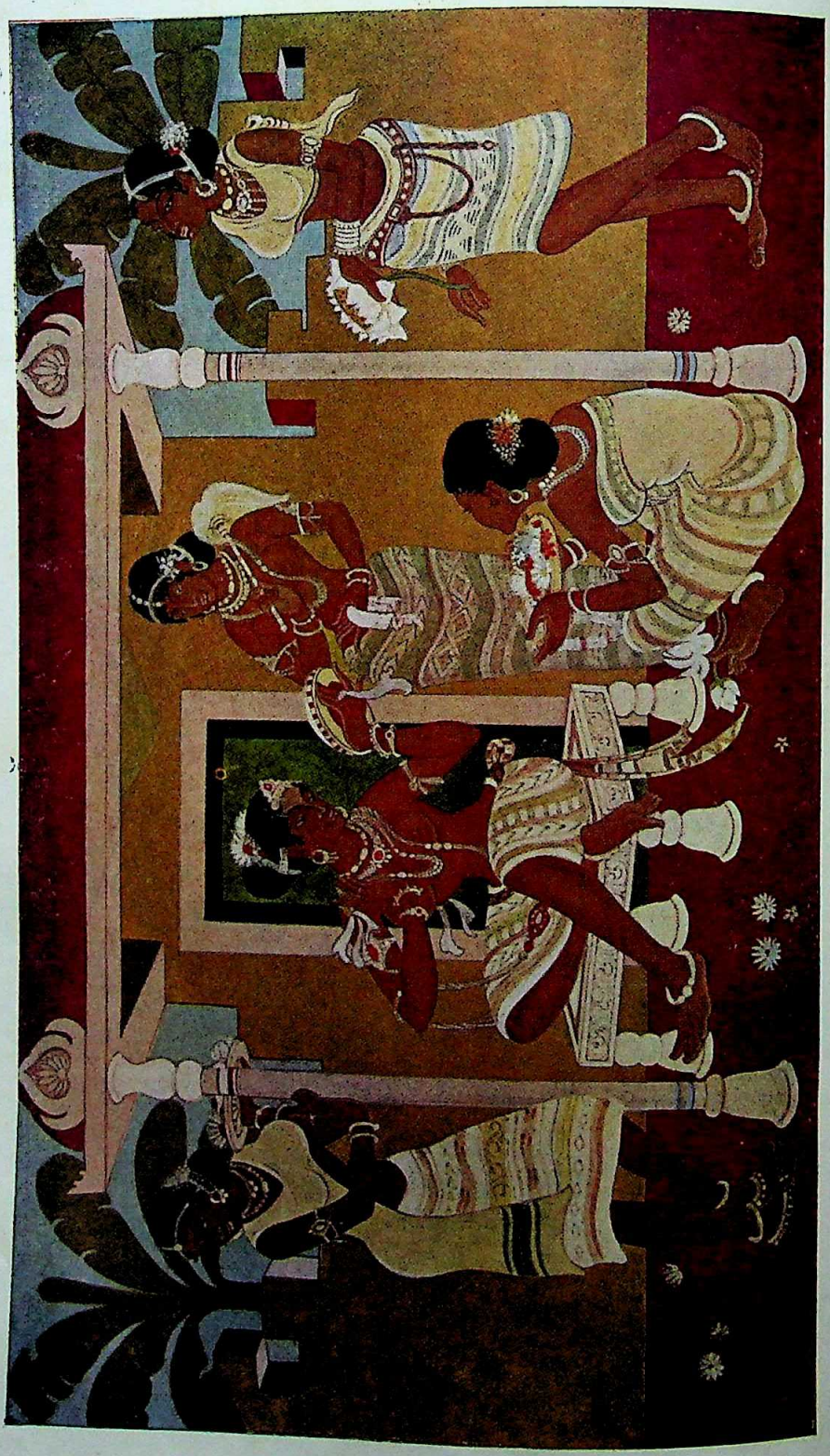

THE QUEEN AND HER ATTENDANTS
By Priyaprasad Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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NOTES

Freedom or Slavery for Asia

Under the caption "American Imperialism in the Making", Pearl Buck writes in *Asia*, August :

> A free world means simply a world whose atmosphere is congenial to the development of free peoples. A free people is simply a group of people who, having been bound together by history and geography and association until they have developed their own way of living, can go on living in their own way within the circle of the world's life, without being dominated by others.
>
> Some will say that exactly such a plan for a free world was made at San Francisco. But to that we must reply, if we want to face the truth, that what went on at San Francisco was a struggle between two plans, one certainly for a world in which peoples can be free, but the other a world in which our victorious powers will rule.
>
> The young dead of our nation, the many dead of other nations, are scarcely cold upon the earth of Europe. But we know already that even their death has not won the victory. Only a military war has been won in Europe. The great victory lies ahead.
>
> *The inexorable truth now faces us—it is upon the earth of Asia that our future is to be decided.* That we shall most certainly win the military war there, too, has nothing to do with our future. Everything depends upon what we are planning to do with that military victory.

This was written before the surrender of Japan. The events in Asia, particularly the struggle in Indonesia against Dutch Imperialism and in Annam against the French, unmistakably shows what was really agreed on at San Francisco. The corpses of the dead millions of Europe and Asia were hardly cold when the scramble for the re-establishment of old Imperialism in Asia has begun. All the talk about abolition of war and of war weapons like the atom bombs seem not only futile but cynical when judged in the light of reality. Every lover of peace and freedom will agree with Miss Buck when she says, "If we are planning to use our power to compel subject peoples to remain subject, in order to compel them to yield us their territory for military bases, or for any other reason, we must prepare indeed for yet more terrible wars to come, and to come quickly." Unless this inexorable truth—that it is upon the earth of Asia that world's future is to be decided—enters the head of the leaders of the nations who have earned the military victory, and the selling of the peoples of Asia into slavery is immediately halted, a third and a far more devastating world war will soon be upon us.

New Wavell Proposals

On his return to India, Lord Wavell has announced the second instalment of his proposals. As expected earlier, the Cripps proposals in a modified form have been repeated. The gist is this :

> It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body and as a preliminary step they have authorised me to undertake, immediately after the elections, discussions with representatives of the Legislative assemblies in the provinces, to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable. Discussions will also be undertaken with the representatives of the Indian states with a view to ascertaining in what way they can best take their part in the constitution-making body.
>
> His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India.
>
> During these preparatory stages the Government of India must be carried and urgent economic and social problems must be dealt with. Furthermore, India has to play her full part in working out the new world order. His Majesty's Government have, therefore, further authorised me as soon as the results of the provincial elections are published, to take steps to bring into being an Executive which will have the support of the main Indian parties.
>
> The task of making and implementing a new constitution for India is a complex and difficult one, which will require goodwill, co-operation and patience on the part of all concerned. We must first hold elections so that the will of the Indian electorate may be known. After the elections, I propose to hold discussions with representatives of those elected, and of the Indian States to determine the form of the constitution-making body but His Majesty's Government recognise that, in view of the great issues involved and the delicacy of the minority problems,

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consultation with the people's representatives is necessary before the form of the constitution-making body is finally determined.

The Congress reaction to the proposals has been prompt. The A.-I.C.C. has passed the following resolution on it :

> The A.-I.C.C. has carefully considered Lord Wavell's and the British Prime Minister's broadcasts on the steps proposed to be taken by British authority in India. These proposals repeat, with unimportant variations, the offer made in March, 1942, by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government, an offer which was not accepted by the Congress.
>
> Neither the end of the war nor the change of Government in Great Britain appears to have resulted in any real change in British policy towards India, which seems to be based on delaying every advance and attempting to create new problems and fresh complications.
>
> It is significant that there is no mention in these broadcasts of the Independence of India. Nothing short of Independence can be acceptable to the Congress and the country. The proposals now made are, in the opinion of the A.-I.C.C. vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The proposals are certainly vague and inadequate. Three important features are noticeable, first, the whole thing has been left purposely vague. They may be acted upon or avoided according to the situation prevailing at the time of the proposed new conference. Second, for the first time the British Government has said that the Indian constitution will be drawn up on the basis of an Indo-British Treaty. The use of the word "Independence" has however been carefully avoided. Third, Lord Wavell says that the proposed Central Executive will be composed in such a manner that it will have the support of the main Indian parties. He has not mentioned communities. This omission has however been rectified by Mr. Attlee in his simultaneous broadcast in which he said, "I would ask all Indians to join together in a united effort to work out a constitution which the majority and minority communities will accept as just and fair."

With Indian experience of British politics and professions, these three features are sufficient to damp all enthusiasm to accept the fresh proposals as basis for future discussions. Nowhere in this world, in any age has there been agreement among different elements in a nation, where that difference has been founded on religion. The British politicians were clever enough to perceive this and to work out this canker of religious schism for dividing political parties. Protection of religious or social minority groups has no doubt been an important feature in modern democratic constitutions, but such protection has always been accorded where such minorities have acted in a manner consistent with the safety and integrity of the nation. In their minority protection matters, the League of Nations had always followed the sound principle that no minority can claim protection which acts against the larger interests of the country within whose borders they live. In India, under "democratic" British rule, the contrary has been the case and a bolstered up minority group has been given the power to veto all proposals of constitutional advance. Lord Wavell has mentioned parties and not communities. The significance of this change in phraseology will be known before long.

The sincerity of Labour Party's proposals will be tested only after the elections. We refrain from making any comment in the mean time, but we cannot help noticing a very significant omission. After the Simla debacle, the people had a right to expect a clear unequivocal statement that no veto to any party or community would in future be given and failing general agreement, action will be taken on majority decision. This vital omission together with Mr. Attlee's innocent looking Churchillian proviso will certainly make people suspect Britain's latest move. Complete agreement of major parties or communities have never been demanded by Britain in any other case.

Congress And The Elections

The Congress has decided to contest the coming elections. This is a wise decision. The A.-I.C.C. resolutions on elections state :

> The announcement that general elections will be held for the Central and Provincial Assemblies has been made in a manner and in circumstances which arouse suspicion. The sudden dissolution of the legislatures in some provinces has emphasised the hostility of the present governmental authorities to even the possibility of popular government in the mean time and is totally indefensible. The Central Assembly is still governed by the Act of 1919. To continue such an impotent and undemocratic Central Legislature, constituted on a franchise of less than one per cent of the population, can have no justification in the context of Indian freedom.
>
> If elections for the Central Legislature are to be held they must at least be on a properly revised register, even though this might involve some little delay. In spite of assurances, the electoral rolls for the Central and Provincial Assemblies are not being properly revised.
>
> Further, free and fair elections are hardly possible when several organisations, like the Congress Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc and Kisan organisations are still under ban, when thousands are still held in detention without trial, or are undergoing sentences of imprisonment in connection with political activities ; when in places public meetings cannot be held without previous permission of the authorities, and when many persons are labouring under disqualifications arising out of their convictions for political offences.
>
> It has become notorious that the present Government in India is responsible for the widespread corruption that prevails in the country, for the gross mismanagement of the food and cloth problem and for the supreme tragedy of the Bengal famine. Yet it is declared that, pending elections and for many months at least, this incompetent and corrupt administration shall continue its misrule. The proposals of the British Government become in this context still more significant indications of their desire to hold on to power in India as long as they possibly can with all the means and methods at their disposal.
>
> In spite of the handicaps that the Congress will labour under as related above, and in order to demonstrate the will of the people, especially on the issue of the immediate transfer of power, the A.-I.C.C. resolves that the forthcoming elections be contested, and directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.
>
> The Committee is confident not only that the people will respond to the call of the Congress on this vital and urgent issue, but will also, with added strength and assurance that the past years

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have given them, carry the struggle for the Independence of India to a successful issue in the near future.

Government's part in the coming elections has been the subject of strong criticism all over the country. The Provincial Legislatures have been hurriedly dissolved, preventing the formation of any progressive Ministry at this crucial period. Sardar Patel, moving the resolution in the A.-I.C.C. said that the Bombay Governor, Sir John Colville was anxious for the resumption of responsible Ministry in the province but the powers that be had willed otherwise. The Sardar's only explanation for this was that the authorities did not want the Congress in power in the provinces during this vital period. The precipitate dissolution of the Legislatures, the refusal to revise the electoral rolls, the continuation of Sec. 93 rule in the provinces are all indicative of this. Explaining the Congress stand, Sardar Patel said, "But because of this, the Congress could not sit idle. If they kept back from the elections—unsatisfactory as the conditions were—opportunists would get in and entrench themselves in places of power. There are sufficient number of Fifth Columnists to fill these places if the Congress stays away." We are glad to find wisdom dawning upon this leader who had done incalculable harm to the country by advising a boycott of the Census of 1931.

Sardar Patel has assured the country that the Congress would pursue its own programme and policy and at the same time participate in the election. The two programmes should go parallel to each other. He was confident that the Congress would capture every one of the general constituency seats. With regard to the communal constituencies—a plan devised by the British to entrench themselves in India—the Sardar hoped the influence of the Congress would be increasingly felt there also. The Congress had made one of their greatest blunders during the last elections by not setting up Congress candidates in each one of the Muslim constituencies. Neither had they allied themselves seriously with progressive Muslim parties. The same blunder was repeated after the elections at the time of the formation of Ministries. Refusal to permit all progressive elements in a Legislature, where the Congress was not in absolute majority, to form coalitions against the reactionaries and communalists, had disrupted progressive forces and entrenched communalists in power, the very thing that Sardar Patel now laments. We hope such shortsightedness will no longer misguide the leaders.

There is no doubt that the Congress will sweep the polls at the general constituencies in spite of severe difficulties placed in its way by the present provincial governments run by the Civil Service. We consider it the duty of every Indian to let the Congress candidates go uncontested even if there be a few bad selections. No attempt should be made to keep the Congress busy in general constituencies. Let the Congress throw all its strength in fighting the Muslim seats. The progressive Muslim parties have all rallied themselves against the League. Congress must do everything in its power to help them to fight the League. The Congress must not forget that the present strength of the League is mainly—we may even say solely—due to Congress delay. And the Congress must see that its candidates, in all constituencies are real Congressmen and not merely "yes-men" of the leaders, or careerists in disguise.

Special attention must be paid to Bengal. Attention of the leaders must have been drawn to a statement made by Sj. Kiran Sankar Roy to the special correspondent of the *Bharat Jyoti*. This is not his personal view but he has given expression to the general sentiment prevailing in his home province. He said that in the last elections Congress secured 90 per cent of the Hindu votes and this time might get many more seats from Muslim and Scheduled Caste constituencies. But he warned that if the policy of appeasement were not changed, Congress might find it difficult to secure candidates to contest the elections in Bengal, and even he himself might not be willing to accept Congress ticket. Bengal might even desert the Congress, said Mr. Roy.

Bengal can never forget that the shortsightedness of the Congress High Command had prevented her from forming a progressive Ministry with the inevitable result that power was handed over to the League under whose misrule half a crore of people died of famine and pestilence. Just as we condemn all attempts to divide and weaken the Congress, we consider it our duty to offer constructive criticism of their policy specially when that body is going to take vital decisions.

Congress Protests Against Scaling Down

The A.-I.C.C. has passed a resolution protesting against any attempt to scale down sterling balances and demanding an early settlement of the question so that these funds may be utilised for the planned economic development of the country. The text of the resolution reads :

> The A.-I. C. C. has noted that enormous credit balances due to India have accumulated and are kept in London in sterling. These balances are not available for utilisation for India's own immediate needs of industrialisation and general economic development. They have arisen out of the supply of goods and services provided by this country for Britain's war effort. The goods and services, which these balances represent, were obtained from India mostly at controlled prices and the suggestions made in certain British quarters, that the amount of these balances is inflated, is contradicted by the actual facts, as recorded and admitted by a British Parliamentary Committee which recently investigated the subject. The British demand, therefore, for a scaling down of the amount is wholly unwarranted, and India cannot submit to any settlement of this problem which involves a sacrifice of her just claims and great injury to the future development. The A.-I. C. C. is of opinion that every effort must be made for an early settlement of the question of India's sterling balances so that they may be utilised for the planned economic development of the country.

Various proposals for scaling down the sterling debts have been mooted. The main argument put forward as a justification for such action is that the war-time purchases had been made at enormously high rates which are claimed to have been far in excess of value received. Some British financial experts have expressed the opinion that it would not be unjust to India if these debts are reduced by half. But the fact is just the reverse. All Government purchases in India, which have led to the accumulation of sterling balances had been

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made at controlled rates. These rates were always below the prevailing market price and in many cases just exceeded the cost of production. The producers and dealers supplying Government orders were indirectly encouraged to make their war-time profit by fleecing the people. The controlled rates were always enforced at the time of Government purchases but where the public were concerned they failed to function. The sterling balances represent an enormous amount of suffering undergone by the Indian peasant. They had to die of starvation and go without clothing and medicine in order to supply them. Scaling down of the sterling balances will be greatly resented in India. The most mysterious and inexplicable problem in this controversy is the American support in Britain's suggestions for a scaling down of the balances. These U.S.A. proponents of "scaling down" should be asked for a definition of the U.S.A. term "double-cross".

Nehru's Blue Print for Free India

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru unfolded his blue print for a free and independent India at a conference of Indian and foreign editors at Bombay. His plan includes State ownership of key industries, State control of other important industries, reorganisation of the land system by the abolition of zemindars and introduction of large-scale co-operative farms. Pandit Nehru said that there was no conflict between large-scale industrialisation and cottage industries. If the wealth of India is to be raised, large-scale industrialisation is necessary but there will be sufficient scope for the full development of India's village industries. State control of the textile industry, in his opinion, would be necessary in the interests of the handloom industry. These were the subjects raised and the Pandit's observations :

> In India we want rapid progress. I do not know what will happen to India unless there is rapid progress in her economic development. There must be a planned development. I have come to the conclusion that there must be socialistic planning. It seems to me that there will be a socialistic tendency in any programme.
>
> They have been referred to as the key industries —together with mineral resources should be owned by the State. In regard to other industries, it was likely that they would be left to private enterprise but there could be a measure of control to prevent any excess. The only problem of conflict would be between heavy industries and cottage industries. It is true to say there is a difference in the philosophical attitude between the view-points of the cottage and the heavy industries. I do not see how we can raise the standard of life on a big scale and big-scale industrialisation is necessary—without control to avoid over-lapping of these two industries and a conflict of industries. I think, for example, that the textile industry should be controlled by the State to prevent it coming into conflict with the policy of the State in relation to cottage industries. I should certainly have the textile industry controlled for that purpose.
>
> The abolition of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Zemindari system is necessary. Compensation in some form will have to be paid. It is going to be difficlut for us in one sense to have co-operative farms all over India as they are necessary but the problem is very different from that of establishment of such farms in Russia as the conditions are absolutely different. We shall naturally have to use a great deal of persuasion to establish such farms. Remember that one-third of India's land is not cultivated and while some of it cannot be cultivated, a great deal of it can be. We can have co-operative farms and cultivation of much land that is at present waste with a little effort.

Any Indian large-scale plan, in order to be successful, must be based on the village. Industrialisation should only be a secondary factor in the general plan for the provision of employment for every able-bodied man *at his hearth* as far as possible.

Import of Capital Goods into India

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning and Development Member of the Government of India, who recently returned from a mission to the United Kingdom and United States mainly for securing capital goods and expert assistance and to have talks with the British Government on the question of elimination of the commercial safeguard clauses in the Government of India Act, 1935, told Press correspondents at New Delhi, on August 21, that it would take ten years more before India could get imports of capital goods from the United Kingdom. In regard to commercial safeguards, Sir Ardeshir said that organised bodies of British imperialists were not prepared for any radical change in the safeguards provided for in the Act at present. He said that his visit to those countries had four objects, viz., (1) to inquire into the possibility of getting capital goods from these countries for our industrial development, (2) to see if it was possible to get any modifications at least such as to allow Indian control over basic industries, (3) to consider what facilities were available in those countries for our students in various educational institutions and for our technicians in factories abroad, and (4) to inquire into the availability of experts who are required for industrial development. Needless to mention that this mission in all its objects has been a complete failure. As regards the supply of experts from foreign lands, Mr. Birla has suggested the import of German technicians. Germany is now politically and militarily crushed, and there is no reason to stand against this suggestion.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal said :

> In regard to the import of capital goods Great Britain was very anxious to help India as it was very important for her to have exports in the post-war period. But first she had to place her own economy on post-war footing and rehabilitate her own industries. Naturally, it would take sometime before capital goods were available from that country. There might be exceptions, such as machine tools, but in the case of major capital goods, two years and sometimes even longer might be required. Nearly one-third of India's requirements in capital goods was for textile machinery, the delivery of which would take considerable time. There was the question of prices and a good many of Indian industrialists were inclined to hold back in view the high prices. Sir Ardeshir said he discussed the question in England but the *British authorities were not prepared to control or regulate their export prices in the post-war period.* In fact they were inclined to relax control so as to secure maximum exports. Sir Ardeshir pressed for some kind of formal price control because at the present moment there was so much of fluctuation and orders were booked without any fixed price. They were now discussing a formula but no decision had been arrived at.
>
> Sir Ardeshir said that question of priorities for sending goods to India was also raised but the

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Majesty's Government *were not prepared to agree to any special priority* but assured that if India experienced any actual difficulties and if it was brought to their notice they would take suitable action.

Conditions were similar in the United States but Sir Ardeshir said it was likely in the case of U.S.A. deliveries might be earlier. At the same time prices were likely to be higher except in case of goods produced on mass scale such as automobiles. Now that the war was over there was likely to be considerable amount of material which was *surplus* in the United States. The *value of such materials was computed to be 90 billion dollars of which industrial plants alone would be ten billion dollars.* How much of that was suitable for India remained to be considered.

Sir Ardeshir's statement shows that neither Britain nor America is going to do anything in the near future to help Indian industrial development. Full advantage of the present vacuum in the consumer goods market is sought to be taken by them. He points out that there will be a huge surplus of industrial machinery in the United States, but Britain is not going to permit their export into this country. Sir Ardeshir definitely says that the British Government is not going to control or regulate their export prices in the post-war period. It is quite likely that exorbitantly high prices will be exacted from India, taking full advantage of her inability to make purchases in alternative markets.

We must not forget that a Labour Government has come into power in England. It is a pity that this Labour Government will permit itself to be utilised by the Tory reactionaries in this most shameless exploitation of the Indian people. Throughout the six years of war, rigid price controls were maintained in India in respect of Government purchases and that at tremendous cost to the people in blood and money. Now the war, when India asks for a reciprocal courtesy, it is this Labour Cabinet which has flatly refused to regulate export prices to India.

About dollar exchange difficulties, Sir Ardeshir discussed the question with the surplus disposal board and had requested them to send us catalogues from time to time of the goods. He had also asked the Indian trade mission there to keep in touch with the board and it was proposed to strengthen the Indian mission there. Dollar exchange was a difficulty but he thinks it is likely that it would be removed later on. Certain negotiations were now taking place between Britain and America and the negotiations were expected to result in easing the dollar situation and enable international trade flow more easily. He thinks dollar difficulties are not formidable and there was the possibility of our industrialists getting credits from the export and import banks in the United States of America.

We do not share Sir Ardeshir's optimism regarding dollar exchange difficulties which may well prove insurmountable at least for the next two years because they will clash directly with British vested interests. Sir Ardeshir Chinoy, a member of the Industrial mission to U.K. and U.S.A., after his return remarked about the dollar exchange that from what he had gathered in Washington, trade balance even during the war was 90 million dollars per year in favour of India, but this trade balance in favour of India went to the British side with the result that India could not take advantage of this favourable balance of trade without getting sanction from Britain. This sanction has so far been persistently refused. We are unable to forecast as Sir Ardeshir does, that good sense will soon dawn on Britain and this most shameless exploitation of Indian credit for the benefit of Britain will stop in the near future.

No Capital Equipment from U.K. and U.S.A.

The Indian Industrialists Mission, in a report on their visit to U.K. and U.S.A., say that prospects are anything but bright about the availability of capital equipment in the immediate future. In both the countries the market is primarily a sellers' market and buyers will have to take their turn. The position, they say, is probably the least satisfactory in regard to textile machinery for which India's need is perhaps the most urgent. There appears to be no near prospect of imports from America while deliveries from England cannot be expected under two years. The report says :

> The position is probably the least satisfactory in regard to textile machinery, for which India's need is perhaps the most urgent. There appears to be no chance of getting any for a long time from America, while deliveries from England cannot be expected under two years.
>
> American prices are generally higher than British prices. American manufacturers, however, are prepared to quote firm prices, whereas British quotations are usually subject to changes in costs of material and labour between the time the order is placed and the date of delivery.
>
> We believe that in a couple of years or so prices as well as deliveries will become easier and that machinery then available will be of a more advanced type. If our judgment is correct, it would be inadvisable for industrialists in India to be in a hurry to purchase capital equipment under present conditions except, of course, where requirements are so urgent.
>
> In this connection we should like to impress upon Government and the business community in India the necessity and urgency of constituting in both countries an organization which would locate available equipment, inspect and report on it when necessary, canalize all enquiries from India, and furnish machinery for their procurement from surplus disposal boards.

Whatever may be the views of the delegates to the Mission, the fact remains that both U.K. and U.S.A. are taking their chance to sell consumer goods in India. Supply of capital goods runs directly counter to this immediate interest and thus may naturally be discountenanced. The cloth market is the best example. A vacuum in this market has been carefully created and maintained with the help of the Defence of India Rules. Now that the war is over and the godowns of the Mills bulging with stocks, rationing of cloth has been introduced. With the war demands off, the Indian mills are in a position to supply normal market demands as they have so far done. Instead of allowing them to resume normal activities with the return of normal times, they have been chained up with the rationing orders, the most significant portion of which is that rationing applies only to the Indian mill-made and not imported cloth. The vacuum in the cloth market is thus still maintained for the reception of imported cloth. The following report by the special New Delhi correspondent of the *Tribune* (Sept. 11) is extremely significant :

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Cotton cloth and yarn control order was promulgated in June, 1943. There seems to be no prospect of removing this order for at least two years. Though the war is over the shortage of textile is still world-wide. In India people flushing with paper currency want to buy superior quality cloth. During the last two years and more as a result of the control order, prices were fixed for about 20,000 varieties produced in 400 mills. These prices and varieties may undergo some change but the control, it is said, could not be relaxed until India not only clothes herself but is able to capture the market in the neighbouring countries. Already rationing of cloth has begun in about forty towns of the Punjab, a province which is usually against rationing of any commodity.

Indian National Army ?

Reuter reported from Singapore on 25th September :

> Major-General Kiani, who was in charge of I.N.A. men in Singapore, has been arrested and lodged in Pearl Hill prison, while over 29,000 I.N.A. men have been segregated at Bidadari camp. Reports from Penang state that Mr. N. Raghavan, stated to be one of the original founders of the movement, has also been arrested.

Again, on 27th September :

> About 2,000 men of the Japanese-raised Indian National Army are now in Bangkok, awaiting orders from the Government of India. They are remnants of the two divisions, which fought in Burma against the British and made their trek from Burma to Siam and have now disarmed themselves under Allied orders. Also under arrest here is Major-General J. K. Bhonsle, formerly Chief of Staff, I.N.A.

What do H. M.'s Government at Whitehall intend to do with these Indian sepoys and their shepherds ? It is unnecessary to discuss their strictly *legal position* under the ancient law of treason, as every schoolboy knows it,—but what *policy* will Britain see fit to follow in India is our concern. Here past history may give us some help.

For treason under arms against the Sovereign the legal penalty was to "draw, hang and quarter" the offender. The law remained on the Statute book till 1828. Readers of Scott's *Waverley* know that the chivalrous Scottish chief in the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 expected this barbarous punishment after his failure and capture. Only thirty years afterwards, on 19th April, 1775, colonial subjects of His Britannic Majesty fired on the royal troops at Lexington. No question it was treason under arms. But suppose that the American rising had failed, as the I.N.A. has failed, and the British colonial who had fired the first shot at Lexington had been captured by General Gage and "drawn, hanged and quartered,"—would a British-U.S.A. entente have been possible for four centuries afterwards, and the comradeship in arms in the struggles of 1914 and 1940, as well as the economic co-operation regardless of cost by the U.S.A., which alone made British victory possible in World War No. II ?

In Ireland, in the upheaval of 1848, a rebel leader, named, O'Connor was captured, tried, and sentenced to death ; but he was reprieved and sent to Australia, where as a free man he worked his way up to eminence in the local legislature and was finally made a Privy Councillor of Great Britain !!! Contrast this act of Liberal statesmanship with Tory vindictiveness only 45 years before. In July, 1803, Robert Emmett of the United Irishmen party caused an abortive rising in Dublin ; he was caught and hanged. What has the result of it ? The "traitor" has been canonized national martyr all over Ireland and his name tears wherever the English language is understood Thomas Moore's *Pro Patria Mori* is read :

However my foes may condemn,
Thy tears shall efface their decree,
For heaven can witness, though guilty to them,
I have been but too faithful to thee.
. . . O, blest are the friends and lovers who shall live
The days of thy glory to see,
But the next dearest blessing that heaven can give
Is the pride of thus dying for thee.

A Statesmanly Approach

Therefore, the question should be settled not yielding to the howlings of the white Jingoes in the columns of the *Statesman*, nor to the counter-slogans of their counter-parts in our streets and popular press but by an act of far-sighted statesmanship,—not by the strict rules of military discipline, nor by the rigid code of legality, but with coolness of head and wise vision as to the future of the British Federation of Free Communities, in which India will be enrolled some day unless the two centuries of England's venture in India is to prove an unrelieved failure.

Need it be pointed out that after the last six years of death devastation and financial exhaustion of England, the props of the British Federation require some *moral* strengthening ? As the London *Times* has again and again remarked, the Japanese advance in the Far East in 1942 has destroyed the prestige of the European races for generations to come. Is it the surest means of restoring that prestige to wreak vengeance on the prisoners after the scales had been turned by the atom bomb ?

Suppose for the sake of argument, that India turned into another Ireland. Mark the points of difference. Eire has a population of less than four millions. India has a hundred times as large a population. The Irish are kin to the English in language, religion, and race, the Indians (even in Pakistan) will be aliens to the Britishers in all these respects. What then will the future be ? The fighting is over ; the threat to England's life by bombs is over. But how quickly to restore her war-exhausted soil, the depleted treasury, the silent factories, the utter alienation of sterling and dollar assets ? Here a responsive India will prove of inestimable help.

Lord Wavell rules India not as a soldier, not as a jurist, but as a statesman. He has in his writings, no less than in his famous campaigns, given proof of his supreme common sense and far-seeing statesmanship vision. Let us see whether these great gifts bear fruit in India.

Police Partisanship in Criminal Investigation

Dismissing the criminal appeal filed by the United Provinces Government against the order of the Additional Sessions Judge, Benares, who acquitted Kumar Ahir and 20 others charged with murder and other crimes, the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Sen of the Allahabad High Court observed, "This case unfortunately furnishes a sad comment on the conduct of the police, the manner in which the investigation was conducted, on the utter lack of all sense

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responsibility and veracity—of responsibility on the part of the superior staff and of both on the part of those in immediate charge of the case."

The incident which gave rise to the case, took place on March, 1943. According to the first information report made by Kalka Pathak, 44 Ahirs were mentioned as having killed Ramnaresh Pathak and Narain Pathak and also having fatally wounded Kalka Pathak who later succumbed to his injuries. On the other side, three Ahirs were killed as a result of gunshots fired by the Pathaks.

There was a Kisan Sangh in the village, the object of which according to the caste Hindus, was to incite the tenantry against the zemindars, but according to the other party it existed for the uplift of the depressed classes. The case for the Pathaks, who were the complainants in this case, was that this Kisan Sangh created a great deal of bad blood between the two classes.

In their judgment, their Lordships remarked that a pronounced bias was displayed by the police in favour of the Brahmins and against the Ahirs and others as disclosed by the evidence. Their Lordships treated the first information report as a piece of forgery by which the prosecution had sought to reinforce their tainted case and consequently dismissed the appeal.

"Before parting the case", their Lordships said, "we must express our strong disapproval of the conduct of Thakur Bhagirathi Singh and Thakur Sirtaj Singh, Sub-Inspectors of Police who investigated the case. Instead of maintaining an attitude of strict impartiality, they were guilty of a most unfair and pronounced leaning in favour of the Pathaks and to the detriment of the Ahirs and Korees. Bhagirathi Singh is also responsible for disfiguring the prosecution by introducing into the case documents which have been found forged.

"We confess we feel astonished that the Head of the Police in the District did not visit the spot even though it was the scene of six murders and so many unfortunate accidents."

"We hope the Government will order a refund to the accused of the sum realised from them on account of punitive tax."

The tacit support which the present Provincial Administrations persistently provide towards all sorts of derelections of duty of the police, even in such cases of harassment and oppression of the people, has become alarming and widespread. In the present case, one wonders how the provincial authorities went forward with such a palpably illegal case even after the judgment of the Additional Sessions Judge of Benares. The entire police machinery is becoming more and more corrupt due to the refusal of the Government even to investigate allegations of oppression levelled against them. Whitewashing of a palpable case of police excess is not infrequent. It is a pity that even hard remarks by High Court Judges have failed to make the Government understand the supreme need for the maintenance of discipline in the police force.

Liquidation of Bengal Zemindaries

The Civil Service plan for Bengal, mentioned above, envisages liquidation of the Bengal zemindaries. This has drawn forth a vehement reply from the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan. In a statement to the press, the Maharaja says:

The decision of the Government to liquidate the Permanent Settlement of Bengal is unaccompanied by any scheme to improve the land-tenure policy in the interests of agricultural development. Maharajadhiraj also wonders what credentials the Government of Bengal, unaided by a popular Ministry, possess in coming to a decision of such momentous significance which seeks to transform the given class relations and rural economy of the province. The announcement of the decision to extirpate the large body of rent-receivers based on the Permanent Settlement without "the advice of the Ministry" and without "the approval" of the British Cabinet is against the very spirit of the Constitution Act, he adds.

Proceeding the Maharajadhiraj says: "In Bengal the land-owning community includes not a few big zemindars but practically the entire middle classes of the province. The Permanent Settlement has for social and historical reasons led to the broadening of the base of ownership. If it goes, it prejudices the middle classes of Bengal who are to-day in the vanguard of political, cultural and social movements. It should not have been declared without evaluation of the alternative scheme which will be fruitful for the entire nation.

At present, we do not propose to discuss the social and economic implications of the liquidation of the Permanent Settlement. If it is the desire of the nation in its collective wisdom to scrap the Permanent Settlement and to substitute an alternative system, that is a different matter. We urge that the the picture must be drawn up by our National Government and that the Plan must be laid before the country in its complete and organic unity.

The Maharaja's stand, we have to remark, is on wrong premises. The momentous decision to liquidate the permanent settlement was taken by the first popular Ministry in Bengal. It has been one of the election promises of the Krishak Proja Party and one of the main items of the programmes of the coalition parties which have come into power in the province. The Floud Commission, which has given its verdict in favour of the liquidation of the permanent settlement, was the product of a sustained popular agitation. There may be some alterations in details as regards the process of liquidation of the zemindaries or the amount of compensation to be paid, but there is no escape from the inevitable decision. All the progressive parties in the country, including the Congress, have declared their unmistakable opinion on this question.

India's Historical Archives

A post-war plan for the reorganisation of historical archives in India has been drawn up and approved by the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Commission have recommended that the plan should be forwarded to the Government of India, the Provincial Governments and the Indian States for necessary action.

The Imperial Record Department has a five-year publication programme. While no printing work could be undertaken owing to paper scarcity, the typescripts were made ready according to the schedule. It is proposed to publish in extenso the correspondence of the East Indian Company with their servants in Bengal between 1748 and 1800. The series is being edited under the general supervision of the Director of Archives, Dr. S. N. Sen, and the progress of the work has been satisfactory. Many other important historical docu-

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ments are expected to be published. A number of universities and other learned bodies have undertaken to publish records in Oriental languages.

An *ad hoc* Regional Committee was set up for the province of Delhi to conduct a survey at the historical records in private possession with the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission in Delhi. The University of Delhi has informally agreed to take custody of such manuscripts as private owners may like to part with.

The move no doubt is in the right direction. We think that a much better utilisation of the archives may be made if the Central Archives be located in Calcutta.

Indian Christians Condemn Communalism

At a joint meeting of representative Indian Christians of Nagpur both Protestant and Catholic, certain conclusions were reached on what should be the attitude of the Christian community towards the communal problem in special relation to itself. It was felt that everything was to be gained by facing the issue squarely and giving publicity to what should be the clear-cut attitude of the Christian community in regard to this very important matter. After deliberations, a statement was issued from which the salient points are given below:

> We believe in the destiny of the Indian people and the goal of India is *Purna Swaraj*, and the emergence of a strong and united people who will take their rightful place in the comity of nations.
>
> All separatist and fissiparous tendencies, unfortunately too prevalent in Indian political life today, deserve our strongest condemnation. Any compromise in this regard, such as entering into pacts with other communities and parties, or political bargaining of any kind will be fatal to the achievement of the goal set before us for our country.
>
> We believe that the future Indian state must necessarily be one which will allow the fullest freedom to all its subjects in matters of conscience and religious observance, subject only to public order and morality.
>
> The Indian National Congress by its programme and authoritative pronouncements is irrevocably committed to the ideals enunciated above. As the largest and most representative national organization in the country which places the national good above all communal considerations, it merits the whole-hearted sympathy and full support of all nationally-minded Indian Christians.
>
> Except for the right to worship and the right to propagate our faith as we like—a privilege we claim not only for ourselves but for all other communities which go to make up the Indian Nation—we should ask for no special favours, nor desire any preferential treatment on the ground that we are a minority, but should be prepared to merge our interests in the larger interests of our motherland. To that extent any demand or agitation launched on mere communal grounds should be openly condemned and disavowed by Indian Christians everywhere.
>
> Whatever political reasons might have necessitated the system of communal electorates and representation, we are emphatically of opinion that it is an unmitigated evil and as such a negation of all true nationalism. The recent history of India provides overwhelming evidence of the disastrous consequences that have followed in the wake of the communal award. We therefore unhesitatingly condemn and oppose the system of communal electorates and all that pertains to them. We suggest that our policy should be one of complete lining up with the forces of Indian Nationalism as envisaged in the Congress programme in the cause of the country's freedom.

The statement concludes by saying that the Indian Christians as a community should not arrogate to themselves any special political rights except the right to serve the motherland, and that their claim to their proper place in the affairs of the nation must be based solely and entirely on the ground of their merit and efficiency. The Nagpur Christians have taken the right course. They have brought India a step nearer to freedom.

Jinnah—A Creation of Congress Shortsightedness

Mr. D. F. Karaka, special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* and former President of the Oxford Union, in a letter to the *New York Times*, says:

> My countrymen pleading India's cause in this country, have harped on the theme that India has a right to freedom. The issue to-day is no longer whether India is entitled to independence.
>
> The point is rather, should this transference of power take effect subject to Mr. Jinnah's demands which would mean that India would cease to exist as anything more than her geographical expression being replaced under the Jinnah scheme by two new units—Hindustan and Pakistan, Hindu India and Moslem India.

Mr. Jinnah's demand is not one which can be accepted by any thinking Indian, but the fact remains that because of Britain's India policy since the days of the Round Table Conferences, Mr. Jinnah to-day is in the position of calling the trumps. Mr. Jinnah has come to the present position in India partly because Britain built him up as a foil to the growing power of the Indian National Congress and partly because of the shortsightedness of the Congress in India which underestimated his strength and his danger.

The result is that while Britain is still, despite the paramount power, ironically because of their own Indian policy, Mr. Jinnah has the *de facto* control of India's destiny. Britain always said that no transference of power could take place in India without the concensus of opinion in India.

Mr. Karaka, in conclusion, says:

> Like Nelson the Congress have looked for Mr. Jinnah's rise to power with their blind eye. Therefore, I feel it pointless to speak in this country about our right to our freedom without telling the American people of the mistakes our own Indian leaders have made in making this freedom difficult to achieve.

Hitherto the fact could never be proved that there was a Hindu-Moslem problem. The Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, however, provided exhibit "A" for Britain and provided British imperialism with a new lease of life in India.

The deadlock in India is the triumph of British Tory policy and will continue until the influence of Mr. Jinnah is obliterated and there is a reorientation of the Congress policy.

Congress attitude towards Mr. Jinnah and the League has been fully clarified during the last A.I.C.C. session. Sardar Patel admitted the folly of the Congress in attempting to bring Mr. Jinnah to his senses and Pandit Jawaharlal has plainly told the country that any further endeavour to appease Mr. Jinnah will ever be

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...ing Propaganda about India

The kind and amount of lies indulged in anti-...ian propaganda in Britain has just been revealed in ... article published in the Tory monthly *National ...view*, July, 1945. In an article, *Shifting Indian Sands*, ... J. C. French, an ex-I.C.S., "proves" that Hindu ...s administration is rotten to the core, Moslem ...s administration is good and direct Civil Service rule is ...stration is good. Here are some samples—

Let us see what some of the Indians do when ...ey practise self-government, and let us start with ...Bengal and the Calcutta Corporation whose collapse ...ring the famine was so vividly portrayed by the ...*ational Review*. In December, Mr. Casey, Governor ... Bengal, inspected the extensive Calcutta slums. He said, "I have been horrified by what I have seen. Human beings cannot allow other human beings to ...ist under these conditions." In February a Government inspection of the Calcutta Corporation's vaccine laboratory showed that the lymph produced was not safe for vaccination, and this while small-pox was prevalent. In March, the Moslem Ministry of Bengal threatened the Calcutta Corporation with supersession unless they aimed out some urgent sanitary improvements. The immediate reaction of the Corporation, while protesting at being "held at bay" was to hold (in the words of the Congress Press) "an animated debate" objecting to the Government's acquisition of some houses containing brothels. The Corporation objected to the brothels being removed. At the next meeting "City Fathers Make a Firm Stand, Government Ultimatum Thrown Out" (Congress Press headlines). The Corporation firmly refused the Government's demands for improvements in sanitation. But an outbreak of cholera added itself to the prevailing small-pox. The Corporation gave way and agreed "under protest" to carry out the Government measures. In the province of Bengal there is a Moslem majority, and therefore a Moslem Ministry governs it. But in its capital, Calcutta, Hindus predominate, and so the Calcutta Corporation is a Hindu Congress stronghold. Bitterly it felt its defeat at the hands of the Moslem Ministry. But the revenge came soon.

We make no apology quoting this fairly long ex-...t. This clearly shows how British flies have stuck to ...ute dirt in order to pick up propaganda material. ...e whole thing is a tissue of lies. During the famine, ...only the Corporation, but the whole Civil Administration had collapsed. There are slums not only in ...cutta under the Corporation, but in every village ...ver Bengal under the Civil Administration. Horrible ...Mr. Casey had promised improvement of the ...cutta slums within six months. Those six months ...expired and nothing has yet been done. Mr. ...y most certainly is not a Hindu Congressman at the ...of the Calcutta Corporation. Why, pray, did he ...his duty to fulfil his promise? The brothel ...tion is a deliberate and unmitigated lie. When the ...ters of Mr. French's race began to pour into India ...the beginning of the war, the Government had ...out civilians from their homes to make room ...brothels. The Calcutta Corporation had objected to ...removal of brothels from the age-old areas without ...ing for alternative places. Nobody in Calcutta ...that the segregated brothel areas should be ...dispersed so that the public women mix them-...up in residential quarters spreading disease and ...ality there. The vaccine controversy had brought ...least one thing—that the main issue involved ...politics and not sanitation.

Mr. French on Bengal Politics

Mr. French then proceeds to depict Bengal politics in his own light. He says:

> The Moslems, who are the main support of the Ministry in Bengal, are mostly poor peasants. Big business, and therefore money, is in the hands of Hindus, chiefly Congress men . . . While the Moslems have numbers, the Hindus have wealth, a precarious situation in Indian politics. In 1943, there was a food famine in Bengal. This year opened with a cloth famine. The Central Government gave Bengal its allotted share, but it disappeared, no one knew where. The Congress *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published a cartoon of a Bengali lady being stripped by a blackhand marked "Profiteer". On March 25, the Government started a sudden drive against stocks of hoarded cloth. Much was discovered. "The wolf at last" cried the press. The cloth business of Calcutta is in the hands of Hindus, mostly Marwaris, as the *banias* (traders and money-lenders, Gandhi belongs to this class) of Rajputana are called. The Government drive hurt them. The return blow was prompt.

The ex-Civilian then narrates the events that led to the breakdown of the constitution on the ruling of the Speaker and the assumption of direct administration by the Governor under Sec. 93. He next piles up further lies to support his original and sinister interpretation. Here are samples:

> Sir Nazimuddin charged the Speaker with forcing it (Sec. 93) on the Province, and indeed the Speaker in his ruling mentioned the Governor's assumption of power as a likely contingency, a most peculiar reversal of English constitutional history. The Hindu Congress Press accepted it with alacrity. No one suggested the Opposition taking office, for this would have meant a Hindu Cabinet, which would have united the Moslem majority against it. So if the Hindu minority cannot control parliament, then get on without one. Such are the sentiments in Bengal, the richest and best educated province in India. For long envious glances have been cast at provinces as Bombay, which, under the direct administration of the Governor and the Indian Civil Service, and free from the "privilege" of such "parliamentary" government as Bengal has possessed, has enjoyed a singular immunity from the food and cloth famines which have afflicted Bengal.

We have seldom come across such a brazen and deliberate tissue of lies. In the Bengal Legislature, Moslems and Hindus have never divided on a community basis. Every Government Party and every Opposition had Hindu and Moslem members in it. The Opposition which had thrown out the Nazimuddin Ministry, had a large number of Moslems wthin its fold and the entire Opposition Party was led by a Moslem, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. The Opposition leader had expressed on several occasions his readiness to form a Government and had actually submitted a list of names of members on his side which clearly showed that he commanded a comfortable majority irrespective of the support of the European Group and the Muslim League. Mr. Casey, apparently acting on the advice of his Civil Service who were mortally afraid of any progressive Ministry being formed in Bengal, refused to give Mr. Huq any chance to form an alternative Ministry.

Mr. French on Congress

At the end of his article, Mr. French has poured all his venom on the Congress. He writes:

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Congress leaders are still in detention and so the party is quiet. But in the outrages of 1942, which were also a threat to military communications in the war, it had a full-dress rehearsal for the part it may play in the future. Jai Prakash Narain, Secretary of the Socialist Branch of the Congress Party, had advised the adoption of Terrorist Revolutionary methods. This is exactly what was done by Congress in August, 1942. The point of the advice was that since the secret Terrorist Revolutionary Murder Societies, such as the Yugantar and Anusilan in Bengal, were being kept down during the war with an iron hand, their work had to be done by other branches of Congress. Congress-Socialists were suspected of the Punjab mail train disaster in Bihar last November. There is a vague dividing line between the ordinary Congressman and the Terrorist, it is a question of degree and timing. They tend to shade and merge. Where all this may lead, the warning is Japan, where terrorism is systematised into government by assassination.

Mr. French then invokes his own authority for supporting these falsehoods and writes: "Sir Feroz Khan Noon, an Indian delegate at the San Francisco Conference has said, *If the Indian National Congress is represented at San Francisco, Japan may as well be represented.*"

Here again we come across another tissue of lies. The Congress has no Socialist branch. Jai Prakash Narain's party is a separate organisation whose members are also members of the Congress and for that matter they call themselves Congress-Socialist Party. There are other similar parties, for example, the Congress Nationalist Party. The allegation that Jai Prakash Narain had advised Revolutionary methods in August, 1942 movement has not yet been proved. It has been alleged by the Government on the strength of a secret letter purported to have been seized by the police from the person of Jai Prakash Narain under circumstances which appear to be very unreal. This letter was printed and extensively circulated by the Government without giving Jai Prakash Narain any opportunity to reply. The dividing line between the Congressman and the Revolutionary worker is perfectly clear, and not a vague one as Mr. French suggests. The Congressman takes his stand on perfect nonviolence abjuring anything that may lead to violence. As regards the position of Congress *vis-a-vis* Japan, its leaders like Gandhiji, Nehru and Patel have made the position absolutely clear. The lying propaganda of the British Imperialists to paint the Congress as pro-Japanese now stands fully exposed. It does not suit Mr. French to tell the truth in this matter, as in everything else, and that is all there is to it.

We take such a serious view of this article for the fact that it appears in the *National Review* which is the monthly organ of the Conservative Party in Britain and specially because of the editorial note appended to it. We quote this note without comment:

Since Mr. French wrote this article on the hopeless misgovernment of Calcutta, which is entirely under Indian rule, Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, has announced that Indians may have their independence for the asking and may leave the Empire altogether if they wish.

We are sorry to see the great name of Field-Marshall Wavell used as a cover for this sorry business which, if it is carried through, puts an end to our influence in India and at once plunges that country into chaos and misery. The announcement was made in all the hurly-burly of the beginning of the election. Only the enemies of India, Britain and of order will rejoice.

British Officers Prefer to Quit India?

The special correspondent of the *Leader* understands that the U.P. Government recently inquired from each of the British officials of the I.C.S. and I.P.S. in the province, if, in view of the changed political environment in the province in the near future with the possible coming into office of the Congress Ministries, they intended to avail themselves of the option of premature retirement from the service from which the change in regime takes place. The correspondent writes:

I understand, replies to this inquiry indicated that about 50 per cent of the British officers would rather retire than adapt themselves to the new popular regime. I gather, the Chief Secretaries of the various provinces had this disturbing information in hand when they last met at New Delhi in Conference and one of the questions which the Conference was called to thrash out was as to how the provincial Government should reinforce their depleted cadres in the event of that contingency arising. Finally, it is reported to have been agreed upon that the situation would be met by increasing the number of the so-called listed posts by which senior officers of the provincial services are promoted to posts normally held by members of the Imperial services, and letting many of the provincial service officers at present officiating on superior posts continue to officiate on them. It is also reported to have been decided to speed up release of officers from the Army to fill vacancies in the I.C.S. and the I.P.S. which have been reserved for war service candidates during the war years. But even after the Provincial Governments get all the officers they want from that quarter, the deterioration in the effeciency and competence of the Imperial services will be unavoidable and the Chief Secretaries Conference is reported to have been keenly conscious of this danger. It is reported to have been pointed out that while they needed experienced officers to hold charge of districts in place of those who would be quitting India with the coming of the Congress Ministries, most of the officers they would be getting would be young and inexperienced and only fit for appointment as joint magistrates and assistant superintendents of police.

The problem of grafting 'war babies' to the service frame is also baffling solution. Two likely results of such a development have been perceived. Firstly, the 'war babies' in the I.C.S. and the I.P.S. are recruited on lower standards from the Army and they will further lower the efficiency of the service. Such a deterioration will have its unwholesome repercussions for decades. In any case, the service in its entity has proved its hopeless inability to cope with any abnormal situation and we do not see any reason to believe that those who floundered and muddled during the War period would prove any better during the strenuous times of the Post-War. Indeed the quitting of India by "shirts" might be a blessing in disguise.

Pakistan Propaganda in London Press

Conservative Sunday newspaper, *Observer*, London has featured its New Delhi correspondent's observations that "India is coming round to Mr. Jinnah's plan." The correspondent writes, "Whatever plan Lord Wa

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...ders will have to tackle boldly the communal ...lem or it will fail as dismally as did its forerunners. ...and more is the conviction taking root that vivi-...tion is the only remedy for the country's communal ...ity. This view is now being openly if rather fear-...ly expressed for the first time even by many of those ...who have been the most persistent critics of Mr. ...'s Pakistan policy since its inception. There is no ...many in the Congress rank and file are beginning ...despair of the prospects of attaining the Congress ...al of a united free India."

We would like to know the reaction of die-hard ...ers now that the Congress has officially declared its ...ndered views on Pakistan. The correspondent says, ...e Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League following appears to ...e increased rather than decreased after the breakdown ...the Simla parleys, realists in Congress inner cabinet ..., it is believed, endeavouring to convert their ...ues to the idea of accepting Mr. Jinnah's demand ...mant and distasteful though it is in the hope that ...ain will sooner be disposed to give India indepen-...ce." We do not know through what source this ...ous piece of information about the inner Congress ...inet's views has been gathered. The country, on ...contrary, has seen two of the foremost leaders of ...Congress declare openly that no further approach ...Jinnah will be made and that the Congress stands ...a United India.

•

...uslim Nationalists to Fight League

Muslim Nationalists have decided to contest the ...coming general elections to the Central and ...vincial Legislatures. The decision was taken at a ...t meeting of the various nationalist Muslim parties ...ch held its deliberations at New Delhi under the ...identship of Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani. The ...esentatives of the All-India Muslim Majlis, All-India ...min Conference, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Khudai Khid-...gars, Bihar Independent Party and Krishak Praja ...y were present.

A section of the Muslim Nationalists, while willing ...contest the elections to the Provincial Legislatures, ...violently opposed to fighting the elections to the ...ral Legislature. The supporters of this view argued ...firstly, the election to the Central Legislatures ...ld be a farce as they would be fought on the ...hise conceded in 1919, and secondly, the limited ...ces of Nationalists, in men and money did not ...any divergence from the Provincial Elections. ...y believed that Provincial Elections were more ...rtant than elections to the Central Legislature ...use the Constituent Assembly would consist of the ...esentatives of the provinces. But this view was not ...ed by the majority of the Muslim Nationalist ...ers, and it was decided by an overwhelming majo-...y to contest the elections to the Central Legislature. ...ose who wanted to contest the elections argued that ...would be bad strategy to allow the League to have ...walk over in the first round of the elections. They ...ed that a majority of voters would be robbed of ...ir right to vote but circumstances demanded that ...y should make the best of the present opportunity. ...y feared that if they abstained from participating ...the elections to the Central Legislature, Mr. Jinnah ...ld persuade the world to believe in the sole re-...sentative capacity of the Muslim League.

Usually well-informed quarters suggest that this anti-League fight will be fought jointly by these nationalist Muslim organisations. A Board consisting of the representatives of the five Nationalist organistions, *viz.*, Muslim Majlis, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Momin Conference, Khudai Khidmatgars and Krishak Praja Party—will be formed to select the candidates and conduct the elections. We consider both these decisions, *i.e.*, to set up a United Parliamentary Board and to fight the League on the Central as well as Provincial, fronts, wise.

It is understood that this election will be contested on two main issues, firstly, the immediate attainment of freedom for India, which they contend is indispensable not only to the welfare of the Indian Muslims but also the happiness and freedom of the Islamic countries, and secondly, on the claim of the League to be the sole representative organisation of the Muslims, which the Nationalist organisations consider to be false.

The decision of the Ahrars, taken after a four-day session of their Working Committee held at Lahore, has also been announced. They have decided to fight the elections against the League but without entering into alliance with any other political party. Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, General Secretary of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar, has already started the election campaign in the Punjab and in a public meeting at Lahore severely criticised the Muslim League leadership.

The Khaksars are also trying to form an anti-League combine. The Ahrars have accepted the Khaksars' offer of help during the election to form an anti-League front. Maulana Mazhar Ali accused (as reported in *Bombay Chronicle*, Sept. 19) Mr. Jinnah of being guilty of committing "un-Islamic acts" and said that as Mr. Jinnah himself had declared at the time of his marriage in 1918 that he was not a Muslim he could not be accepted as a leader for the Mussalmans. He also declared that the Ahrars were putting up candidates against the President of the Punjab Muslim League and many other prominent League leaders.

Muslim Rights in Minority Areas

The rights and privileges of the Muslims would not in any way be affected if they remained in a united India, said Mr. Muhammad Abdur Rahaman, former President of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, addressing a largely attended public meeting near Calicut. He said that the Muslims living in minority provinces need not be afraid that their rights and privileges would be affected in the future. He cited the example of the Cochin State, ruled by a Hindu Prince, where the Muslims, who formed a minority, enjoyed more rights and privileges than even under the British Government in India. As the Muslims of Malabar formed one-third of the total population in the district, they need not at all be afraid that their rights and privileges would be affected. Those who were now fighting for freedom from British domination would certainly be capable of fighting to preserve their own rights and privileges. It would not be in the interests of the Muslim community, to entertain that fear complex as it would lead to hatred.

Mr. Abdur Rahman then referred to the hint recently given by Mr. Jinnah stating that the minority community in Sind would have to migrate and go to Hindustan areas after Pakistan was established. But the Muslims who formed a minority in the Madras

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Presidency were not prepared to leave this province to go and settle in the Pakistan areas. There would therefore be no meaning in their associating themselves with the demand for Pakistan made by the League. He would request them not to be carried away by the cries that their interests were in danger at the hands of the Hindus, but to remain united and work for the freedom of Hindustan.

No minority has anything to fear from a majority where that majority act in the interest of the country and respect the well-defined rights of the minority. Difficulties arise only when, in the usual Muslim League fashion, a vociferous minority group wants to arrogate all powers to itself. As soon as our Mussalman brethren shed their fear, suspicion and inferiority complex, and come forward to share in the sacrifices for winning the freedom of the country, the minority problem will vanish like smoke.

League Arithmetic

Hard pressed at a press conference, Mr. Jinnah refused to define Pakistan. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali has done it. He wants to include the present boundaries of Bengal and Assam within the League's Pakistan. Commenting editorially on this announcement, the *Nationalist* has analysed the League arithmetic in the following creeds :

> Areas within the "present" boundaries of Bengal and Assam are claimed by the League. Why ? Because 16 of the 28 districts in the former have majority Muslim populations. In Assam, 14 districts have majority Hindu populations ; one, the district of Sylhet, has a Muslim majority. In Bengal, according to the League araithmetic, 16 can outvote the 12 Hindu districts ; in Assam, according to the same brand of arithmetic, 1 must be allowed to outvote 14. In the Punjab, 17 districts, generally in the west and north, are Muslim majority ; they can outvote the 13 Hindu majority districts of the province and claim even the areas where they are in a minority, just as in Bengal and Assam 16 and 1 propose to do the trick. Remember, all this is being done either in the name of self-determination or in the name of a Muslim "nation" to be born whose soul is seeking a local habitation and a home !
>
> Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan or his fellow Leaguers were in no mood to come to grips with facts in the pursuit of their Pakistan. Now that he has elected to land on hard reality, he has to ask himself how does he propose by democratic means to induce 45 per cent of the population of Bengal which happens to be Hindu, 62 per cent of Hindus in Assam and 43 per cent Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab to agree to go into his Pakistan.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee has pointed out on several occasions the irrelevancy of this fantastic claim. He asked the League leaders to explain how a minority of 25 per cent who refused to live with a 75 per cent majority claim to subject a 45 or 43 per cent minority under their communal rule ? In the case of Assam, the claim illustrates the length to which a demand can go. Taking advantage of the British trick of showing Hindus and Tribals divided almost half and half in the Census Report for 1941, a 37 per cent Muslim minority has set up a demand to rule the province. A special League logic and League arithmetic is now being evolved to support the mirage of an undefined Pakistan.

No Arab Support for Pakistan

Mr. Attiya, who is in charge of the Arab office in Britain, in an interview with the *United Press* of India said :

> We have complete sympathy with the Indian struggle for liberation. We recognise the Indian National Congress as the leader of the Indian people representing both Hindus and Muslims.
>
> Of course, the Muslims in Arab countries have spiritual affinity with the Muslims in India. But this does not mean any support for Pakistan or Pan-Islamism. We in the Arab world are deeply interested in the idea of a federation of near and middle eastern countries and India as formulated in the Congress resolution of August 1942. We have been inspirel by the ideas of Mr. Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad. And we are deeply touched that soon after their release from prison, though the Congress leaders were preoccupied with urgent Indian problem, they found time to express unequivocal support for Arab aspirations. We will not forget this fraternal gesture of friendship.
>
> I profoundly regret that a certain private personal letter written by a colleague of mine—Nishashibi—has been twisted by Muslim League circles in India signifying the Arab League's support for Pakistan. The Arab liberation movement is not religious in character, nor it is Muslim. It is truly communal and secular in conception. It contains Muslims as well as Christians, all united on a platform of freedom of the Arab world.

We have not seen any League reaction to this outspoken Arab statement which has received wide publicity in this country. This also gives us an impression of what the Arabs think of the Muslim League political methods.

Post-War Development Schemes

Steps have been taken by Central and Provincial Governments to accelerate the absorption of men released from the army and from war factories and workshops and to help in the conversion of industry to meet peace-time requirements. This is the information given by the Government departments concerned.

Provincial Governments and departments of the Central Government, it is stated, were asked several months ago to select and plan in detail schemes which would create employment. They were also asked to place orders for machinery, to send in estimates of materials required and to take steps for land acquisition where necessary. These measures are now in hand.

Schemes for improvement of existing roads are in an advanced state of preparation. Other large schemes include irrigation and hydro-electric works, some of which have already started, besides schemes being prepared by War Transport, Labour and other departments. These will create opportunities for employment directly and through demands made on industry.

It is stated that a majority of the provinces, particularly those who have provided large numbers of recruits for the defence forces, have large funds in hand for post-war development. Other provinces will, it is believed, get limited assistance from central funds.

Civil industries which have schemes for expansion well under way include cement, chemicals and vanaspati, while other industries are awaiting definite news of availability of machinery and materials before firming expansion plans.

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Opportunities of increased employment in cottage industries are restricted by shortage of raw materials, such as leather, brass, iron, etc.

Central and Provincial Governments will require a larger number than at present of gazetted, subordinate and inferior staff to fill war vacancies and carry out post-war development schemes.

Other avenues of employment will be provided by building, repair and maintenance of houses and Government offices, for which cement, timber, steel and coal (for brick burning) are to be released. There is also shortage of agricultural and other labour waiting to be made good in certain areas.

Efforts are being made to obtain from the army and elsewhere technical personnel on whom post-war development plans largely depend. At the same time training of technical personnel is to be expedited. Schemes in this connection include the sending of trainees overseas, expansion of training institutions and establishment of new ones. Labour exchanges, recently set up under directors of resettlement and employment in each province, will help in furthering the scheme of absorbing discharged men.

Post-war schemes of this nature look good on paper but are extremely difficult of attainment. Unskilled and untrained men cannot just be forced into industries which have immense difficulties of their own. Similarly the already glutted field of agriculture cannot readily absorb a million or so of tenant farmers without there being serious repurcussions. So far as we remember, such plans had been put into operation after the first Great War but with little success. The proposal to graft these demobilised personnel on existing industries is also rather doubtful. The difficulty in obtaining machinery and spare parts will be a sufficient deterrent for factory owners and managers for declining them access to the machines. The planners seem to be very optimistic about their employment in cement, chemical and vanaspati industries. But here also grave doubt exists. The first two of them are fair fields where U.K. and U.S.A. are interested as suppliers of cement and chemicals. Under such circumstances, the planning experts in the Development Department of the Government of India may not find it possible to induce the Industries Department to permit import of machineries for these industries to expand. The departmental officers, it must be admitted, have done their job; they have produced their report and earned their salary.

Damodar Valley Multipurpose Project

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, held a conference in Calcutta on August 23 last with representatives of the Bengal and Bihar Governments on the Damodar Valley multipurpose project. In the course of his address to the conference, Dr. Ambedkar described the project as serving to promote directly the welfare of five million people and indirectly of many more millions. He added that the project was a welcome one to the Government of India and that it was a matter of grave urgency also. In January last, another conference on this subject had been held. It was decided there that the scheme for harnessing the waters of the river Damodar should take the shape of a multipurpose project so as to cover the generation of electricity and to supply water for irrigation and inland navigation. In accordance with that decision, experts have drawn up preliminary memorandum on the unified development of the Damodar Valley which came up for consideration at the second conference.

The memorandum envisages measures of flood protection as would ensure full safety to the vulnerable area of the Damodar basin against even the most adverse combination of foreseeable natural circumstances. The scheme drawn up does provide for that full measure of safety. The project shows a fine prospect of the control of the river, a prospect of controlling floods.

In concrete terms, the project would give Bengal and Bihar (1) an aggregate controlled reservoir capacity of 4,700,000 acre-feet ; (2) sufficient water, for perennial irrigation of about 760,000 acres besides water for navigation purposes ; (3) electrical energy amounting to 300,000 kilowatt ; and (4) it would serve to promote directly the welfare of five million people and indirectly of many more millions.

Dr. Ambedkar emphasised the need for a quick decision on questions of method and procedure. Although the scheme is drawn up primarily for the establishment of safety and the development of a multipurpose river basin project, it should also be remembered that it will provide a large volume of employment after the war. That is all the more reason why the plan should immediately be brought into operation. Dr. Ambedkar emphasised this point when he said, "As the war was now over on all fronts, the Government were faced with the problems of peace, one of which was to prevent unemployment which, with the sudden cancellation and reduction of war employment and expenditure was going to be one of the gravest problems in our domestic economy. From this point of view the Damodar project was a matter of grave urgency and it would be criminal folly not to come to an early decision." We quite appreciate Dr. Ambedkar's desire to see the project through. But our knowledge about the inter-departmental relations at the New Delhi Secretariat, does not encourage us to share the Labour Member's optimism. During the last session of the Central Legislature, indications of friction and disagreement between the Labour and the Development departments were quite clear. We do not know how far Dr. Ambedkar will be able to surmount them but we sincerely wish him success.

Inter-Provincial Food Council

Addressing the Central Food Advisory Council, Sir J. P. Srivastava said that the monsoon had not been quite satisfactory this year in the North-Eastern region, particularly Western Bengal, Northern Bihar and some districts of Orissa and the output of rice in this region in the year 1945-46, it was feared, would be below normal. Sir Jwala Prasad warned against an early relaxation of food control measures as "the food situation in India in 1946 will need the utmost vigilance on the part of several administrators."

He also said that the formation of a Committee composed of representatives of the Provinces, States, producers, consumers and traders to examine the whole question of relaxation of controls and to formulate a programme of action which could be the basis of the Government's policy in the immediate post-war period, was engaging his attention.

Notice should be taken of one major factor which very largely contributed to the chaos in the food administration during the last famine, *viz.*, inter-

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provincial rivalry. Inter-provincial jealousy and selfishness during the 1943 crisis could not be overcome by voluntary persuasion. To safeguard against similar contingencies, Sec. 135 of the Government of India Act, 1935, provides the setting up of a statutory inter-provincial Council. Here is that section :

> Sec. 135. If at any time it appears to His Majesty upon consideration of representations addressed to him by the Governor-General that the public interest would be served by the establishment of an Inter-Provincial Council charged with the duty of—
>
> (*a*) inquiring into and advising upon disputes which may have arisen between Provinces ;
>
> (*b*) investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the Provinces, or the Federation and one or more of the Provinces, have a common interest ; or
>
> (*c*) making recommendations upon any such subject and, in particular, recommendation for the better co-ordination of policy and action with respect to that subject,
>
> it shall be careful for His Majesty in Council to establish such a council, and to define the nature of the duties to be performed by it and its organisation and procedure.
>
> An order establishing any such Council may make provision for representatives of Indian States to participate in the work of the Council.

It was Lord Linlithgow's duty to move His Majesty's Government for the establishment of such an Inter-Provincial Council. Not only did he fail to do so, he permitted the Provinces, in flagrant breach of Sec. 297 of the Government of India Act, to set up trade barriers against one another. Sec. 297 states that no Provincial Legislature or Government shall by virtue of the entry in the Provincial Legislative List relating to trade and commerce within the province or the entry in that list relating to the production, supply and distribution of commodities, have power to pass any law or take any executive action prohibiting or restricting the entry into or export from the province of goods of any class or description.

There is every likelihood of a repetition of the same type of provincial rivalry at the threatened 1946 famine. We think that an Inter-Provincial Council should be set up at the earliest possible moment. Advisory Councils can never solve problems of the order of 1943. A statutory body with full powers and responsibilities is needed for that purpose.

Rice Position in Bengal

The Food Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. B. R. Sen, interviewed in Calcutta on the eve of his return to Delhi, said that there was no purpose behind the Bengal Government's rice export policy other than to turn over stocks which would, otherwise, have gone bad, and by getting fresh stocks in their place. From that point of view, Mr. Sen thought it would be more correct to describe the transaction as one of turn-over than of export. The difficulty the Bengal Government is feeling to preserve the stock from deterioration is understandable. Large quantities of rice have already been lost due to decay and surely a considerably large stock will be totally lost unless they are quickly used up. From this standpoint we are prepared to agree to this turn-over on condition that proper arrangements are made to see that only the intended quality of rice go out. Decay in Bengal godowns means huge loss to the Bengal exchequer. The people have already borne a loss of Rs. 18 crores in two years in the Bengal Government's food transactions and any further loss must be avoided. If replacements in time are assured, we see no harm in this deal with the safe proviso mentioned above.

What we do not understand is this : the Famine Commission has strongly expressed itself against rice purchase through Agents. The Bengal Government has so long done it and is still clinging to this procedure. The evil of this process is that the entire amount of profit goes to the Agents and the whole of the loss is borne by the tax-payer. The Agents may make purchases from the cultivators at ridiculously low prices and by a continuous sale and purchase among a chain of fictitious middlemen may raise the price to a prepposterous high level and finally discharge the stock to the Government at a fabulous price. The persistent refusal of the Bengal Government to disclose their stock position and the rates of purchase and sale of rice throw strong suspicions in the public mind. The rice deals in the Budgets have been kept beautifully vague. In the Budget estimate for 1944-45, in the rice deal a surplus of Rs. 16 crores was expected which, after a few months in the Revised Budget, was converted into a loss of Rs. 31 crores ! This fact has ever since remained unexplained. The Government have suffered a loss of Rs. 5 crores in 1943-44 and have provided for a loss of Rs. 13 crores in the Revised Budget for 1944-45. But we do not know of a single rice-purchasing agent who has suffered any loss during the last few years. On the contrary, it is common knowledge that they have fattened to a very considerable extent. The Famine Commission has calculated that the net aggregate profit made by these people was at least Rs. 150 crores. But the tax-payers of Bengal have so far been compelled to make up for a loss of Rs. 18 crores, and nobody knows to what extent the amount would go on mounting. We expected Mr. Sen to investigate this very important fact and have been disappointed. Where the Government themselves are carrying the stock, providing money for purchase and bearing the entire risk of loss, why should they not dismiss their agents at once and take upon themselves the task of making purchases ?

The Coming Famine

The crop prospects in Bengal, to say the least, are gloomy. A 25 per cent overall shortage is the Government's own estimate, the people think it will be more. The last disastrous famine was caused by a shortage of 30 per cent. There is, therefore, no room for complacency. It was revealed during 1943 that Government's statistical figures are hopelssly inaccurate. This year also the trend is the same. On August 27, a Government press note stated that the total outturn of aus crop over the whole province was estimated to be 75 per cent of the normal. On September 27, Mr. B. R. Sen says it will be 70 per cent.

Dealing with the rice crop prospects in Bengal, the Food Secretary said that he had discussed the matter with the Government of Bengal who were now of the view that it would not be unreasonable to estimate 70 per cent of the normal for *aus* and 80 per cent of normal for *amon*, provided October rains were adequate.

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Mr. Sen has emphatically declared that if circumstances made it necessary, the Government of India were prepared, as in 1944, to guarantee Bengal further supplies equivalent to Calcutta's requirements in 1946. This is important because with Calcutta out of the Bengal market, the upward trend of prices in the mofussil will be definitely slow. Instead of waiting for the circumstances this categorical declaration may and should be made. Press reports of hunger marches in Bankura have already intimated what is coming in no distant future.

Need for Irrigation in Bengal

Reading a paper to the East India Association at Caxton Hall, London, Sir William Stampe, British Government's Irrigation Adviser for India expressed the view that "the appalling spectacle" of the Bengal famine must soon recur in catastrophic form unless systematic measures are promptly taken to increase food production in conformity with the rising population. He said :

> One result of the human overload on the land has been a steady diminution in the standard of nutrition of a large proportion of the people. It is reliably computed that 150 millions are at present existing on less than two-thirds of the minimum diet necessary to maintain a healthy life.
>
> The palliative adopted in 1943 of importing wheat on a large scale cannot continue as a long-term solution to the problem, especially in times of post-war shortages. The ready remedy lies in the early exploitation of India's vast water resources—both on the surface and underground—the bulk of which remains largely undeveloped in spite of all that has been done to expand irrigation to various parts of the country.

Sir William estimates that an additional area of two million acres must be added yearly if the production of food is to compete with the rising population, and in addition a further increase of 12 million acres of productive land must be secured immediately.

Since the British occupation of India the indigenous industries have been crushed and the second sure source of income of the Indian peasant has been completely eliminated. The inevitable result has been an intense and ever increasing pressure on land. Agriculture is now the only source of income and even a cursory glance at the occupational tables of the Census Reports will show how steadily the potters, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., are crowding on land as their primary means of income. Unscientific agriculture has aggravated the problem. The cultivators lack all the three essentials of agriculture—a sure and steady supply of water, cheap means of credit and organised marketing facilities ensuring a remunerative price for the crop. During the one and half century of their rule, the British authorities have not only omitted to do anything to provide these facilities which any civilised national government would have done, but have created conditions under the permanent settlement which have encouraged a complete decay of these facilities that obtained before the rise of Christian power in India. Sir William Wilcox has conclusively proved that before the introduction of permanent settlement, it was the zemindar's duty to have rivers, canals and tanks cleansed and repaired. The people volunteered to do all these and the system was known as the *pulbandi*. Since the permanent settlement, zemindars were reduced to mere rent collectors on behalf of the government, they were no longer responsible to the people and all their powers of maintaining law and order and doing justice were transferred to British police stations and courts. Large-scale improvements on land, specially irrigation had always been the duty of the rulers, it was faithfully and successfully discharged by the Indian Rulers, no matter whether they were Hindus or Muslims.

Sir Tarak Nath Palit's Bequest

We have heard with dismay about a proposal on the part of the University of Calcutta authorities to sell the lands and premises at Ballygunge which form part of the Sir Tarak Nath Palit bequest. We do hope that we are misinformed, as this step in our opinion will cause irreparable harm to the cause of Biological Science. If this very thoughtless step be taken, the University will lose an invaluable site for future development, the equal of which they will never be able to acquire in future. Such an extensive plot and so ideally situated near tram and bus routes, will never be available again, unless Calcutta degenerates into insignificance. We have heard that this proposal has been considered because the authorities want to centralise the Science departments at the Upper Circular Road site and to use the proceeds of the sale for the construction of new buildings and the renovation of the old buildings at the above site.

We cannot by any stretch of imagination enthuse about this latter scheme. Quite apart from the unsuitability of the Upper Circular Road site, which is cramped for space as it is and will remain so even after the acquirement of 4 or 5 bighas of land, this measure will go against the very fundamental ideas about the bequest. It would perhaps be better to recount the history of this trust.

By his second trust deed executed on the 14th October, 1912, Sir Tarak Nath Palit bequeathed to the Calcutta University his residential quarters being premises No. 35, Ballygunj Circular Road, Calcutta, covering an area measuring about 24 bighas. The Calcutta University came in possession of the aforesaid properties when Sir Tarak Nath passed away in 1914.

On the 8th August, 1913, Sir Rash Behary Ghosh placed at the disposal of the University a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for the purpose of founding four professorships, including one in Botany with special reference to Agriculture.

The general policy of the University in respect of the University College of Science, in so far as it relates to the establishment of the Biological departments were communicated to the Government of India in a memorandum on the 26th June, 1915, as follows :

> The scope of the University College of Science will be—
>
> (1) to provide facilities for research work in Applied Mathematics, Physics, Inorganic, Organic, and Physical Chemistry—Pure as well as Applied—, Botany, and as soon as ways and means can be found in Zoology and other branches of Natural Science.
>
> (2) to provide a limited number of students for the M.A. and M.Sc. examination in the branches of science enumerated above.
>
> As regards Botany especially, many ecological, mutational, and plant physiological problems can be most advantageously worked out in the tropics, as is shown by the results of the highly useful and successful work done in these directions in the Botanical

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Gardens of Peradeniya (Ceylon) and Buitenzorg (Java), and it is a cause for regret that comparatively little of this class of work has been done in India in general and in Bengal in particular. Although a large amount of work of a very high order of excellence has been done in Bengal and in other parts of India in connection with the systematic Botany of the Phanerogams and the Higher Cryptogams and valuable additions have been made to our knowledge of members of the class of fungi, especially of such as are noxious to crops, an immense field of work lies yet open to botanists who are ready to devote themselves to a systematic study of the lower indigenous cryptogams.

The residence of Sir Tarak Nath Palit at Ballygunj, which conists of two large houses and has a large compound, a jhil, may be utilized for the purposes of higher Botanical and Zoological teaching when adequate funds are forthcoming for fitting up suitable laboratories.

Class rooms and residence for students and professors will be found in the existing houses with necessary additions and modifications.

The residential quarters of the late Sir Tarak Nath were accordingly later repaired and converted into a Biological Laboratory in 1918 and the outhouses converted into students' quarters. Post-graduate teaching and research in Botany commenced from the beginning of the sessions 1918-19. The department of Zoology was opened in 1919-20 and housed in the Palit buildings.

The Khaira fund enabled the University to create a chair in Agriculture in 1920 and the Agricultural Research department was also located at the Palit buildings.

The Anthropology department was shifted to the Palit buildings in 1935 and today the departments of Botany, Zoology and Anthropology are located here,—the Agricultural department being closed in 1931.

The scheme for a botanical garden in the Palit grounds and laying out of the grounds commenced in 1920 has since then shown very remarkable progress. The *jheel* provides facilities for research in Pisciculture, and Algology. It also aids the irrigation of the experimental fields that provides facilities for investigations in Mango, Banana, Rice, Cotton, etc., financed by I.C.A.R. and others. For all these schemes facilities for field work in the compound of the laboratory are indispensable. All these will be lost by shifting the departments to another site, and would mean a retrograde step and a reversal of the policy laid down by the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee.

Eminent scientists of India and different parts of the world have expressed their great appreciation of the site selected for the Biological laboratories of the Calcutta University. Recently, Mr. L. J. F. Brimble, Editor of *Nature* and a botanist, visited these laboratories and he says, "I think, of all the places which I visited in India and Burma, the biological laboratories of the University College of Science were outstanding. You are indeed fortunate in the splendid site on which your department is built and in having such genial surroundings."

We know that the Palit buildings are now old and need thorough overhaul. The departments also are in need of increased accommodation. We are of the opinion that instead of selling the present site together with the buildings thereon, the University should construct new buildings for the Departments of Botany, Zoology and Agriculture in place of the existing ones. An appeal for funds to provide these should be issued and is bound to have immediate response. If this is done we shall have in our midst an active centre of research in biological sciences comparable to the one in Physical sciences at 92, Upper Circular Road. We hope the University authorities will devote due consideration to this aspect of the question carefully and refrain from taking a step likely to cause very great harm to the development of biological sciences in Bengal.

Anti-American Propaganda in India

In a special article to the *Leader*, Sept. 13, 1945, Drew Pearson narrates an interesting story of how anti-American propaganda is carried on in India. Pearson writes :

> Last year Wallace Murray, then Political Adviser to the Secretary of State, now U.S. Minister to Iran, addressed a memo to Secretary Hull to the effect that the British were spending money on an anti-American campaign in India. Basing this on high-ranking Indian official sources, Murray reported :
>
> "The British are spending 100,000 rupees this year in India for anti-American propaganda and are spending Rs. 200,000 for anti-Indian propaganda in the United States."
>
> One manifestation of the anti-American propaganda indulged in by the Government of India is the official attitude towards certain questions asked by the British soldiers at lectures.
>
> One question that often crops up is Lend-Lease and how does it work. This was referred to New Delhi and although nothing was written down as the standard stock answer, the word was sent around to everybody that the stock answer was to be to the effect that Land-Lease is a means thought up by President Roosevelt whereby, after this war, the Americans would control all markets in countries where lend-lease existed. A great deal of emphasis was to be placed on the effect of American control of trade in India.
>
> In conclusion, Mr. Murray commented: "It is recognized that the British feel that the American influence is prejudicial to their interests and that anti-American propaganda in one form or another is encouraged by the British."

Finally, Drew Pearson writes that State Department experts say that Roosevelt never got really tough with Churchill over better co-operation in India or over what went on in the British spheres of influence. So this leaves almost a virgin field for Mr. Truman to tackle. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's visit to the U.S.A. has virtually brought down the entire anti-Indian propaganda structure built there by the British at a high cost. This good work should be continued with special regard to the promotion of Indo-American amity.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office and Prabasi Press will remain closed from the 12th to the 25th October, 1945, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedar Nath Chatterji
Editor.

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BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION IN INDIA

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

ely-advertised argument in favour of the retention majority of British officers in the higher branches the different services is that this brings about a "slow steady improvement in the probity in the Indian personnel which forms so large a proportion of the ic services." It is contended that complete or almost plete Indianisation will result in placing the masses der the heel of an officialdom almost as corrupt as of any purely Oriental administration."

One of the first things to be remembered in this nection is that the East India Company was, at one e, confronted with corruption and bribery among its -Indian agents of such magnitude that it had to e special steps to combat it. Apart from other asures to which no reference will be made here, the which produced immediate effect was offering them h salaries as made the taking of bribes unnecessary. it not therefore be said that bribery and corruption to be found among Indians only.

But let us hear what an English observer has to on this matter and his explanation of it :

"When he (the Indian) is in a position to exact bribes and gifts he does not miss his chance. The anal and irrigation services, the pettier public works, the personal offices filled by bearers, chuprassies and the like, are dishonestly held. This is partly due to Indian traditions because these officers have always been as accustomed to bribes as waiters in English restaurants have been to tips. In fact, what we call bribes, the Indian regards as tips, and when servants of the sahib go to his visitors and in a barefaced way ask for gifts, they are, in their own eyes, doing nothing more than a waiter does who touches his forelock hair and whines, 'Remember the waiter, sir' . . . .

"Bribery, however, will never disappear until proper wages are paid. The servants who attend collectors are paid Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per month ; village accountants, who keep the records on which assessments are made, receive Rs. 10, Rs. 12 and Rs. 14; field superintendents who check these accountants, get Rs. 20 to Rs. 30. The ordinary police, the most corrupt of all the public servants of India, are paid from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per month, and head constables, whose dishonesties and impositions can hardly be surpassed, are only paid Rs. 15 to Rs. 20."

That the payment of low salaries is one of the strongest incentives to corruption is proved by the fact that its elimination from the public administration in the West has been rendered possible only from the time when the necessity of paying living wages was realised. This process had not been completed and consequently corruption had not utterly disappeared even as late as 1928 when Mr. G. T. Garratt, joint author with Prof. Edward Thompson of the well-known *Indian Commentary*. Dealing with this question he has said on page 224 of this book :

"The years which followed the War were marked by a considerable increase in speculation amongst minor officials in England and France, while the rapidity with which the formerly impeccable German civil service began to take bribes during the *Valuta* crisis proved that the general standard of honesty is partly dependent upon a decent rate of wages. The world has yet to see a country in which indirect bribery is unknown, or in which the urban police force is above taking money from the purveyors of illicit delight."

The Indian contention is that corrupt practices cannot be stamped out till we pay the lower staff in Government service more generously than we are doing at present. It is true that there has been some improvement in this direction, but this has been nominal owing to increased cost of living.

This ease with which petty Indian employees of Government can extract bribes from those who seek such small favours as lie in their power to grant is explained by the fact that the generality of those who approach them are illiterate and are, at the same time, aware how difficult it is to prove that they have paid bribes under compulsion. It is generally held that no highly placed official likes to think that his subordinates have been throwing dust systematically into his eyes without his being able to detect it. There is also the further fact that he is ordinarily not accessible to poor and ignorant people who, if they dare approach him at all, must do so through his Indian subordinates who generally have his ear. Such facilities as they seek are a matter of life and death with them and they think, and almost in every case think rightly, that it is wisdom's part to submit to exactions rather than add to their existing troubles by accusing their oppressors of corrupt practices and then finding themselves unable to prove the charges brought against them. Indians have invariably felt that much of the petty exactions of the subordinate Indian staff can be eliminated if only their superiors take a little extra trouble—a fact referred to by the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald when he said :

> "One cannot help feeling that had the Anglo-Indian been determined to eradicate this evil he could have done so, intricate though its ramifications undoubtedly are. I was the guest of highly placed officials who have insisted upon honesty and got it."

The slow and steady improvement in Indian standards of probity, according to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others who think like him, is due to the presence of European officers who "maintain by their example and vigilant control those standards of honour and integrity in the public service which are almost unknown in purely Oriental administrations." It is not, however, correct to hold that all officials, as a matter of fact, do maintain these standards. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald who paid a visit to India before he became Premier, said :

> "When our officials spend public money extravagantly on matters which affect themselves—for instance, when a certain official of ours spends thousands of rupees from the public purse in moving

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a tree from one corner of his house to another—the acute Indian sees in that precisely the same thing which, when practised by himself, we call appropriation of public revenues to personal use. But his most frequently quoted parallel is our system of travelling allowances. Every one knows that officers, from school inspectors to chaplains, put large sums of money into their pocket by charging travelling allowances which they never spend. I heard of a Church dignitary who was attending a Diocesan Conference at Government expense and who was to make a profit from his allowance at the end of the meetings. I heard of a school inspector who insisted upon billeting himself in private houses whilst drawing hotel expenses. And the smiling Babu in the office knows all about it, and when you say to him, 'Now tell me about T.A.', he grins a knowing grin. There is not a man in the whole service who does not know about T.A. It is referred to by its initials like a close personal friend. This is an example of how in India the moral preceptor must be as pure as Caesar's wife, and must keep examining his own habits with a mind constantly freshened by intimate contact with its unfamiliar surroundings. The West must ask no excuses for its own bad habits which it is not prepared to give to the East for its bad habits."

Those who, like the present writer, have had opportunities of acquiring first-hand knowledge of the working of the machinery for the distribution of goods and services, the securing of business and of priorities in certain directions, and the like, after the outbreak of the present war have been grieved by the almost universal prevalence of corruption. Here the majority of the guilty have been our own countrymen. Nevertheless it is an undeniable fact that unless such reports as have appeared in the papers from time to time are utterly untrustworthy, and if the numerous suits filed on behalf of the Crown to punish those who are suspected of having committed these offences are any indication of their wide prevalence, for it is hardly necessary to point out that every case of dishonesty can neither be detected or brought to book, there is some justification for the view that at least some Britons in India cannot claim to be exempt from that weakness of the moral fibre which, it is admitted, is more generally noticed among our countrymen.

The explanation for this is that the number of Indians, who are in a position to indulge in these reprehensible practices is more numerous than the Britons. The weakness referred to is there, only the instances where Indians are concerned attract public attention because of the largeness of their number and because filling, as nearly always most of them do, the less responsible positions, they are more easily detected and, many Indians add, perhaps uncharitably, are less shielded than those equally guilty but occupying higher positions in the official hierarchy.

It must also be emphasised that any attempt to suggest that the usual forms of corruption in India such as bribery and the taking of commissions are characteristically Oriental is ridiculous. Against this we have the following statement of a very prominent English businessman who, in his time, is said to have made large contributions to the funds of the Conservative Party which brought him its usual reward, a place in the birthday honour list :

"Throughout the world these practices are the dirty oil which helps to make the commercial and administrative machinery run smoothly."

Indians who have read the not easily available report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons on the sale of honours in England for adding to party funds, must feel amused when they read in papers the reports of a debate in which two opposing leaders in the Mother of Parliaments, both of whom very often, at least indirectly, owe their position to the sale of honours, solemnly agreeing about the necessity of retaining English standards of political honesty in India and, to that end, reserving responsible and consequently, remunerative, key positions for their countrymen.

Apart from the hypocrisy involved in the attitude referred to above, there is clear proof that the employment of European subordinates does not necessarily mean the elimination of corrupt practices. These, as we are aware, are generally found jobs in the Public Works, Forest and Customs departments, in the Telegraphs, Post Office and in the Police. The notoriety many of them have earned and their rapacity have grown into a by-word in the country. Nor is every one higher up immune from the same weakness even during normal times when the temptation to go astray is not so strong. As it would not be graceful to refer to recent cases, the present writer would mention merely the acquittal of Mr. K. F. Nariman in Bombay and of Mr. Reddi in Rangoon in cases brought against these public-spirited men for falsely accusing certain highly-placed non-Indian officials of corrupt practices or of permitting such practices.

India has, however, no desire to excuse the shortcomings of her children by either trying to explain them away or by drawing attention to similar weaknesses on the part of members of the ruling race who, because of the handsome salaries they draw, do not generally fall victims to temptations which often prove too strong for the peon, the policeman, or the subordinate official.

As regards the other side of the picture, the same Mr. Ramsay Macdonald who referred to the venality of Indians occupying humble positions in the administrative machinery and utilising their position for additions to their incomes by the adoption of unfair means, has borne testimony to the probity of the Indian judiciary. After referring to the *Memorandum on Indian Administration* Cd. 4956, 1909, according to which 90 per cent of the original civil suits and more than 75 per cent of the magisterial business of India come before Indian Judges and Magistrates he observes :

"It is pleasant to bear record, however, that although I was in the very best position to hear to the confidence of the character of the Indian magistrates, a very small number of them were even suspected of tempering justice with monetary considerations and this did not apply to a single important judge."

The existence of corruption is admitted and the problem is to ascertain the best method of fighting it. The first step is the giving of living wages and the second the drastic punishment of offenders. This can be looked for only when searching investigation into every case is possible and when the people at large and specially the poor, feel confident that there is a fair chance of their getting a hearing and not being victimised. This presupposes a sympathetic and easily accessible bureaucracy. But even this is not enough.

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We might remember that, under the Reform Act of 1832, the newly risen manufacturing classes in Britain had asserted and secured their right to political power through the country continued to be governed by the old classes which, bowing to necessity, never did anything clearly against the interests of these newcomers in the political field. Distribution of patronage to supporters was supplemented by bribery and corruption which assumed such forms as an enlarged Civil List of pensions and emoluments, the granting of sinecure offices to influential persons and their favoured dependents, and other methods of permitting a privileged minority to dip its hands deeply into the public purse.

At a later stage, when the middle class manufacturing interests entered the House of Commons, direct bribery of the above type was frowned upon but it felt no hesitation in remunerating itself for the time and energy spent in the discharge of its legislative duties in seeing to the adoption by Britain of commercial, industrial, and financial policies calculated to benefit it. A scrutiny of the general trend of British Legislation would justify the cynic in holding that indirect pickings from the State were substituted for direct pickings.

In one direction, however, much remained to be done. This is revealed in the *Reports and Papers on the Civil Service*, 1854-55 submitted by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote who had been commissioned to report on the methods of recruitment to the Home Civil Service. It is stated there that the Patronage Secretary of the Treasury "distributed appointments . . . among those members of Parliament whose votes were to be influenced or rewarded." Something was also said about the intolerable effects of this system of bribery for, at bottom, it was nothing else, on the *personnel* of the service, detailed information about which will be found in the body of the *Report*. It was therefore suggested that the posts in the national civil service should be thrown open to competition. The objections of distinguished persons inside and outside Government service to this proposal described by some of them as "hopelessly unpractical" have been incorporated in the book in the form of an appendix which makes even more interesting reading than the Report itself.

The permanent head of the Education Office, himself a member of the Home Civil Service, wrote as follows:

"Considering that, as a matter of fact, patronage is one element of power, and not by any means an unreal one; considering the long and inestimably valuable habituation of the people of this country to political contests in which the share of office (is reckoned) . . . among the legitimate prizes of war; considering that socially and in the business of life, as well as in Downing Street, rank and wealth (as a fact, and whether we like it or not) hold the keys of many things, and that our modes of thinking and feeling proceed in a thousand ways, upon this supposition, considering all these things, I should hesitate long before I advised such a revolution of the Civil Service." (*Report*, pp. 104, 105).

On page 78 of the same Blue Book we find Sir James Stephen of the Colonial Office putting forward identical views but in more blunt language. He said:

"The world we live in is not, I think, half moralised enough for the acceptance of such a scheme of stern morality as this."

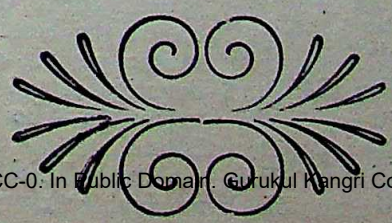
The suggestion put forward by Trevelyan and Northcote was rejected presumably because the two existing Political parties in England, Conservatives and Liberals, derived certain tangible benefits from this political bribery which they were reluctant to give up. The old governing classes of England, all drawn from the exceedingly well-to-do sections of the population, continued distributing patronage in the old way and for the old purposes and the system was changed only with Lord Derby's Reform Act of 1867, transferring the ultimate control of the House of Commons from the "ten pound householders" in the boroughs to the town artisans to whom franchise was extended under it.

Probably feeling that the control of patronage which was gradually slipping out of their hands would be safer in with an independent Civil Service Commission, the governing classes had the wisdom to yield in time so that at last even people without political influence had a chance to enter the Home Civil Service. Three years after the passing of the above Act, Gladstone introduced open competition throughout the English Civil Service by an Order in Council. Absolute purification of the English Civil Service followed with the Reform Acts of 1884, 1918 and 1928, so that today Britain possesses an incorruptible body of public servants but this, it is maintained, is mainly due to the political power conferred on the people through adult suffrage. This was referred to by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Samuel in the 1941 Herbert Spencer Lecture delivered before the Oxford University in which he is reported to have said:

"It was only when the people gained control, that the fresh air of publicity, blowing through the lobbies of Parliament and corridors of Whitehall, swept out the corruption that had infected the eighteenth century."

Let those who criticise India for the prevalence of corruption remember how far we still are from this all-embracing public control. Let them not demand twentieth century public morals from a country administered according to an early nineteenth century constitution from the franchise point of view and, under which, in the view of an Englishman, the Executive are

"advised by the hereditary rent-collectors of Bengal in (their) dealings with the tillers of the soil and by the factory owners of Bombay in (their) regulation of factory labour."



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PLACE OF AGRICULTURE IN WORLD-ECONOMY

By Prof. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., D.Phil. (Heidelberg),
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The obdurate notion persists (and that even in "enlightened" quarters) that the progressiveness of a society is inversely proportional to the number of people engaged in labour on the soil. World opinion in general veers round the view that people who are primarily agriculturists are necessarily backward and conversely a society wherein the greater portion of the population is free to adopt urban modes of life are necessarily progressive. This is a faulty way of looking at things because progress—cultural progress—is a *state of mind* and the occupation of a man is not a sure indicator of his mental make-up. At times a man's occupation may be able, in a general way, to give a rough indication of his mind's intellectuality but very seldom its urbanity. But even if occupation is accepted as a criterion for indicating a man's cultural attainments, labour on the soil is most conducive to the realisation of cultural ideals. It lends to his personality, dignity, originality and nobility. It teaches him to be simple, good and useful to others.

The disparagement of land-labour sometimes comes from another equally faulty view-point. It is for instance believed by many that since the inauguration of the Industrial Revolution agriculture and allied industries have been relegated to the region of comparative insignificance and even with regard to land the operation of the law of diminishing return has been effectively checked by the introduction of scientific methods and that the "progressive" nations can, with impunity, look down upon such a primitive occupation as the pursuit of agriculture and food supply. This however is an entirely faulty estimate of the situation. As regards the ineffectiveness of science to nullify the operation of the law of diminishing return such an eminent authority as Dr. Venn has remarked that "the last sixty years, although prolific in discovery, have given no indication of the birth of any revolution in agricultural practice . . . The yield of the individual staple crops has, however, not been appreciably freed from the incidence of diminishing returns by any striking advance in science." (*Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, p. 16). It is neither a fact that the importance of agriculture in the world economy has disappeared since the inauguration of the machine-age. Out of an estimated world population of 2,013 millions no less than 1,301 millions are classed as agricultural in 1930 (*World Agriculture, an International Survey*—Institute of International Affairs publication 1932, p. 3). The following table shows the estimated volume and value of world production of agricultural products and quantities and values entering into international trade (*Ibid.* p. 6.) :

Product	Estimated world production	Aggregate value of U.K. prices 1927-1930	Quantities entering International trade	Aggregate value at U.K. prices 1927-1930
	Million tons	Million £	Million tons	Million £
Wheat	142	1480	22·20	230
Rice	85	1200	6·56	92
Maize	117	740	3·84	57
Oats	69	520	1·34	10
Barley	47	390	3·73	34
Sugar	28	330	12·13	144
Rye	45	320	1·38	10
Wine	17·1	220	1·77	22
Soya beans	15	170	3·06	34
Pigmeat	14·5	1020	0·75	51
Beef and veal	16·5	850	1·04	52
Cotton	6·2	630	3·03	306
Tobacco	2·4	280	0·55	63
Wool	1·8	280	0·89	136
Mutton	4	260	0·29	19
Coffee	2	190	1·45	136
Silk	0·08	180	0·05	108
Potatoes	206	720	1·28	4

These figures do not show such other agricultural products as tea, ground-nuts and cotton seeds (worth about £100 to £150 millions), rubber, jute, linseed, olive oil, flax, cocoa, rape seed, sesamum, palm kernels, palm oil, copra, hides, skins, glue, tallow and bone, milk, milk products and eggs. Yet the list and the figures speak for themselves. An industry which gives employment to so many people and produces such essential food and raw materials is certainly not to be despised or relegated to the domain of insignificance.

Contrary to the popular "enlightened" belief peoples and governments even of industrially advanced countries show real devotion to agriculture and the enlightened governments rather than the enlightened ones are the defaulters who have failed to safeguard the interests of this humane and vital industry.

"Agriculture in Europe is an immemorial art. The plough is a sacred symbol, as it was in Cato's time. Ploughing, sowing and harvest are semi-religious occasions, and today the blessings of the fields may be witnessed in many parts of Europe. . . In fact, agriculture in all southern European countries is still bound up with magic; its magical significance in pagan times has survived the transition to Christianity." (*World Agriculture*, 1932, pp. 133-34).

Not to speak of Denmark, Finland, Holland and Belgium where *dairy and farming have been brought to a state of perfection*, a glance at the recent history of agricultural policy of France, Germany, Italy and Russia (pre-war conditions referred to throughout this article) shows that the greatest care is being taken to ensure the best possible conditions for people engaged in the pursuit of agriculture. The almost religious devotion of the French to the soil is embodied in the expression—"Le ble, c'est un element sacre pour nous Latins."

In the British Isles, owing to peculiar circumstances, no doubt more stress is given on animal husbandry

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than cultivation, but it may yet be news to many that even as it is agriculture in Britain is *the largest employer of labour* and as an industry "as a whole is second to none." Over 11,00,000 persons are rural wage-earners in Great Britain and Ireland, while another million people are engaged in mining. The total capital invested on the agricultural industry is over £250,00,000,000 whereas the commitments in British railways are only about £11,00,000,000. The value of the output of agriculture approaches £250,000,000 per annum. (Venn's *Agricultural Economics*, p. 29).

Coming to the important Asiatic countries we find that though the condition of the agriculturist is wretched and leaves much room for improvement, yet the importance of the industry in the life of these nations for that reason is not lessened. Indeed the abject wretchedness of the vast mass of humanity engaged in agriculture in the East is a symptom of disease in our modern world which calls for immediate relief and if not promptly attended will prove disastrous for entire humanity. China and India together comprise about 2/5ths of the world population and of this about 70 per cent are dependent on agriculture. Population in these parts is extremely dense and the major part of the people's time is occupied in producing foodstuff, which, even then, most of them do not get in sufficient quantity. In Japan pressure of population on land is extremely tense and food supply, according to authoritative opinion, has been "a preoccupation of every Japanese Government and underlies Japanese action in international politics."

In continental European countries tariff and extra-tariff measures have been introduced for giving protection to agriculture. According to their tariff policies, protective duties have been imposed on almost all agricultural products, specially on cereals and sugar. Under the extra-tariff head the following measures are worthy of note: 1. Quota system (restriction of imports by fixing quota), 2. Milling regulation (restricting import of foreign cereals which the mills of a country are allowed to grind), 3. Import monopolies (including monopoly purchase of home product and its sale at a higher price than the world price), 4. Embargoes (state control of imports), 5. Bounties on export or production. It is obvious, therefore, that the greatest concern is being evinced by all enlightened governments for the improvement of agriculture and for the amelioration of the conditions of the people engaged in this vital and elemental industry.

This concern however may be guided by different motives in different countries. In Germany and Italy (pre-war) the governing motive has been national self-sufficiency (Autarkie) and preparation for facing a national emergency (war and blockade), in Japan national existence and yet in France the love of land-tradition and joy of possession. In this the French, among all the nations of the West, is the most traditionally devoted to Ruroculture. Agricultural authorities indeed think that it will be a folly to ruin the culture of the soil for the purpose of making France into an industrial nation.

This higher motive (as opposed to the commercial motive) in agriculture, so powerfully guiding the French peasantry, is to be seen, in more or less extent, throughout the world. The common man's love of the good Earth is as universal as the child's love for its mother and the sentiment is understandable. The sentiment which is difficult to understand is the contrary one which poses to believe that we can not only live but live well and find joy, leaving all connections with the soil, by becoming factory automatons and *still retain our humanity*. The reaction of creative spirits to such a gospel throughout the centuries gives the lie direct to such a conception of the good life. The typical human being is the peasant,—he cultivates the soil for the very joy of it irrespective of the commercial gain involved in it. This is almost a universal phenomenon in the East as well as the West and is worthy of our respectful notice. It indicates the way in which our salvation lies. We who are accustomed to interpret this trait in our cultivators as an indication of narrow outlook, mental sloth and love of fatalism would do well to turn our eyes towards the attitude of the same class of people in Europe whose mistakes more often than whose virtues have served as models for our imitation.

> "Farming in Europe, indeed, is a tradition, a way of life, a civilization and any attempt to regard it merely from the cash aspect, essential as that aspect is, must fail. The European farmer is attached to the soil by strong ties. . . . There is a love for farming, but it is a love of the technique of the fine art of individual persuasion of nature, of immediate contact with the earth and its fruits. . . ." (*World Agriculture*, pp. 134 and 140).

We have tried so far to assess the importance of agriculture as a food-producing industry, but under modern industrial conditions another aspect of agriculture has cropped up wherein it is to be looked upon as a key industry, that is an industry which provides raw materials for other industries. Such products of agriculture as cotton, jute, hemp, tobacco and wool are used as raw materials in industries which have attained colossal dimensions. Looking at it from this point of view agriculture is a *mother industry*. Indeed this phenomenon (commercialisation of Agriculture) has given rise to speculations among economists relating to the possibility of lessening the pressure of population (specially in thickly populated regions) on land by diverting workers from agriculture to (and absorbing them in) mills and factories. Attempt is being made to strengthen this argument by drawing attention to the fact that there is *over-production* of staple food crops, so that coffee is being burnt into tar (for lack of market) and for the same reason production of cotton has to be cut down by regulation.

If the world's commercial conditions were really so simple, here is obviously a case for curtailing agricultural work and diverting a part of labour working on the soil to the industries. But the problem bristles with many difficulties amongst which the grabbing propensity engendered by the replacement of *Land-culture* by the *Industry civilization* is one of the most obdurate one. In spite of the so-called over-production of cereals and surplus of foodstuffs which are said to be rotting in the warehouses for want of purchasers the army of world unemployment has attained the colossal figure of 25 millions and millions of others are working in different industries on what has come to be known as starvation wages. Of the 825 million inhabitants of China and India the vast majority habitually lives on the margin of subsistence; of Russia's 160 millions the condition is not much better. Obviously there is one [illegible] where there is surplus production of necessities and side by side there are others where there

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are too many mouths in excess of what the land can maintain. Diversion of labour from agriculture to industries within the latter set of countries will not necessarily make the surplus food of the former set of countries available to the hungry millions of the group one countries. Unless and until there is a free movement of commodities in international trade (unhampered by tariff and quota restrictions) and free movement of population (undisturbed by racial bias) the surpluses of men and materials must remain in the countries of their origin. As yet the national coasts of "progressive" countries are fortified by tariff walls and migration is not half so mobile as the gravity of the situation demands it to be. Under these circumstances intensification of agriculture and remedying the tenancy conditions are the only things which lie within the limits of practicability.

It may be argued that India is as yet an undeveloped country and with the growth of her heavier and larger industries a considerable proportion of her workers on land may profitably and inevitably be shifted to the mills and factories. The prospect in this direction appears to be extremely limited. It is extremely unlikely that in the face of the competition of powerful vested interests which have developed superb technique of exploiting the material raw resources of countries like India, India will be able or allowed to develop in this direction to a very inordinate extent. To the limited extent she will be allowed to industrialise she may find scope for absorbing some of her unwanted agricultural workers. This number necessarily cannot be very great and therefore for the vast majority of them the land will remain the only bread-giver. The small number who may be diverted into industrial works also may not find it worth while to work for money wages unless they are able to purchase foodstuff in exchange of the money they earn in factories. This foodstuff will certainly not be forthcoming if agriculture in India is neglected. In other words, industrialisation or no industralisation, India must feed herself. The surplus foodstuff in other countries will rather rot in warehouses and coffee in America will rather be burnt into coaling than come to India under philanthropic inspirations. Again the finished products of Indian make will find it hard to compete with products of industrial countries which have surplus foodstuff and even if they do, they will be prevented from entering those markets by tariffs, quotas and bounties. Foodstuffs are obtainable in exchange of finished goods only from conquered empires rich in agricultural resources, not from countries which have tasted the wine of imperialism. The importance of agriculture in the world economy, therefore, is tremendous and any idea to belittle it, especially for us in India, will be an extremely short-sighted policy.*

* This is a chapter from an as yet unpublished book entitled *Economics of Ruroculture.*

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A NOTE ON THE POST-WAR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

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It is well-known that during the past quarter of a century there has developed in India a feeling of dissatisfaction with the system of education prevailing in this country. This feeling became intensified with the rise of Indian Nationalism and grew with the spread of national ideas and ideals of life.

It appears to have been realised that the present system of education does not meet the requirements of the country in any shape or form. "English having been made the medium of instruction in all the higher branches of learning, has created a permanent bar between the highly educated few and the uneducated many. It has prevented knowledge from percolating to the masses. It has thereby failed to meet the most urgent and pressing needs of national life and to organise and direct its forces and tendencies in proper channels; there is, therefore, a demand from all sides for the replacement of the present system of education by a more constructive and less inhuman system, which is adapted to the needs and ideals of our national life." Under this natural urge Mahatma Gandhi with his far-sighted leadership evolved his famous Wardha scheme of education. He primarily meant it for adoption in villages and instead of calling it Basic National Education as proposed by Dr. Zakir Hossain, he thought that the more correct description would be Rural National Education. He suggested that it should be imparted through the medium of our mother tongue between the ages of six and fourteen and through village crafts which should provide the nucleus of all other instructions. Not the teaching of some handicrafts side by side with the so-called liberal education as is being done in the present system through the introduction of manual training classes on a compulsory basis, but what is essential is that the whole education—the entire art and science of a craft should be imparted through practical training.

The romantic way in which the scheme correlates all the subjects like History, Geography, Arithmetic, Science, Language, Painting and Music with a basic craft for the training of the mind and body is well-known to many, and in this method of correlation lies the entire novelty of the scheme.

For the present only the following basic crafts have been selected: (a) Spinning and weaving, (b) Carpentry, (c) Agriculture, (d) Fruit and vegetable growing, (e) Leather work, (f) Card-board work, (g) Paper-making.

The choice of a craft depends on two conditions—first, the craft chosen should be rich in educative possibilities and secondly it should enable the pupil to pursue it as a vocation in life afterwards.

Pottery has curiously been left out, but it should be included in the list as it provides immense educative possibilities besides a vocational career.

Various criticisms were directed against the scheme.

(1) Subjects which do not readily lend themselves

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to be co-ordinated with the basic craft have been left out. For instance, Algebra is not taught and Geometry also is neglected.

(2) It taxes the intellectual resources of the teacher far too much.

(3) It is based on pragmatism pure and simple which will degenerate into a narrow utilitarian scheme of values and it will fail to provide a satisfactory philosophical background for the development of idealism.

(4) It fails to correlate higher education.

The followers of the scheme, however, claim great success for the experiment and they report that "the children under the scheme are more active both mentally and physically, that they form habits of co-operative work, that their general health is better and that they show a greater readiness to help their parent in their activities in the field as also in their work at home."

This is not at all surprising, firstly because the system was confined to the villages and secondly because of the enthusiasm of the teachers. This latter factor is the most important desideratum for the success of any educational plan. The success depends primarily on the quality of the teachers and on the fact how enthusiastically they take up the work. Under the inspiration of Mahatmaji hundreds of men and women of the right type must have volunteered their services. They contributed to the success of the scheme. But the question is whether this high state of moral fervour can be regarded as a permanent factor.

So far about the Wardha scheme, but now that the Government Advisory Board of Education has laid down a scheme of National Education embodying in it many of the ideas of the Wardha scheme and all Provincial Governments propose to spend large sums of money for re-organisation of their educational systems according to the new scheme, it requires careful consideration in all its aspects. Healthy criticisms are urgently needed before the scheme is brought into operation. Any apathy or indifference now may have a serious consequence on our national development for years to come. After a hundred years of experiment with the present system we realise to-day the mistakes of the past generations. If we commit more mistakes now, who knows how many more years will be necessary to correct them over again. The harvest of educational experiments is not reaped too soon. Cautious procedure is, therefore, essentially needed.

It is in this spirit of healthy criticism that a few observations are submitted on the Sargent scheme, which has been officially accepted in almost all the provinces of India.

In a nut-shell the scheme is this :

(1) Basic education should comprise a course of eight years from the age of six to fourteen—same as in the Wardha scheme—the first stage, the junior stage covering a period of five years and the second stage, the senior—three years.

(2) The transfer of children from the basic school to other types of schools (High Schools) designed to prepare pupils for the University should be allowed at the conclusion of the junior basic stage.

The first part of the scheme is identical with the Wardha scheme and the second part is really intended to meet some of the objections mentioned above; it seeks to provide for opportunities of purely intellectual learning and to correlate the basic education with higher education.

A further condition has been imposed. As the cost of high school education will be met largely out of public funds and every high school pupil will receive some scholarship, it is in the interest of the public that pupils are admitted to the high schools according to their abilities, aptitudes and general promise, so that they may take the fullest advantage of the education provided for them and thus prove to be a remunerative investment on the part of the community. Parents, who are prepared to pay the whole cost of such education, which will be much higher than the present, will also be enabled to admit their children to high schools.

Although there are reasonable grounds of opposition from the backward classes, this latter proviso is on the whole good and it will ultimately prove beneficial to the community as a whole. If necessary, some special safeguards may be provided for the backward classes.

This is all very good and we are grateful to Dr. Sargent for the boldness of his scheme and more particularly for enunciating the proposition that *Education is a National Investment which has been lost sight of both by the public and the Government.* A system of national education conceived on these lines will indeed prevent grave wastage which exists today and will put us on the road to progress.

Theoretically the outline of the scheme is excellent. But there is an important point of detail which requires careful examination from the psychological standpoint, as it may have a far-reaching consequence on our national growth, *viz.*, the prolonged ihfluence of the junior basic education (from age 6 to 11) on the growing mind of the intelligent child; whether it will or will not deflect his mental outlook and make him unfit or rather less fit for logical organisation of subject-matter requiring hard thinking and reasoning; whether it will not lead to the intellectual degeneration of our race, whether it will not prevent us from acquiring intellectual supremacy without which we can never aspire to become an A-nation and stand with our heads erect and high in the comity of nations. It is the development of the logical frame of mind that is essential for intellectual progress. Algebra and Geometry and many other subjects are not needed for our day-to-day existence or for our subsistence. They are not needed for the success of the life-project method incipient in the Wardha scheme but they have a profound influence on the training of the intellect. Education centred on a basic craft focusses the attention of the child on the craft itself, inspires him to gain proficiency and skill in the production itself. The atmosphere is not congenial to the logical presentation of the subject and in spite of the beautiful technique introduced by the framers of the Wardha scheme for the co-ordination of the cultural subjects with the basic craft, I am afraid, the reactions on the minds of the pupils will not be so satisfactory. While he will gain in technical skill he will lose in the logical equipment of his mind.

Mechanical work has a peculiar attraction for most of us. It is more so with children. They always try to do and undo things, break and make things. This is one of the chief reasons why some manual work has been made the basis of early education in all countries. In America educationists introduced it as the project method, in Russia they called it the complex method. The life-project method centring on the basic craft will be much more absorbing, much more interesting to the child mind; so absorbing and so engrossing that it may,

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if carried on for a long period, make their minds somewhat impervious to the co-ordination lessons.

Every teacher in science knows that while broad facts of science such as physical or chemical characteristics are easily remembered if shown experimentally, theories underlying an experiment are not so easily understood. This is because the mind becomes too much engrossed with the details of the experiment and consequently the logical explanation imparted to pupils while the experiment is proceeding is not carefully followed. For this reason some educationists discourage demonstration experiments in explaining scientific theories.

This is one aspect of the question. At the same time it is very true as Gandhiji has put it :

> "Mere book knowledge does not interest the child so as to hold his attention fully. The brain gets weary of mere words and the child's mind begins to wander. The hand does the things it ought not to do, the eye sees the things it ought not to see, the ear hears the things it ought not to hear."

We are thus confronted with a dilemma. Too much of manual work spoils the brain and the child's attention cannot be focussed unless it is centred on manual work. If we lay stress upon the former we may lose intellectually but if we do not give any stress we cannot advance at all educationally. What is the solution then ? The solution is fortunately provided by the child himself. From an analysis of the actions of children, psychologists conclude that there are several stages in the development of the child's mind and education should be planned in such a way that the child's mind would respond most sympathetically according to the characteristics of those stages.

Modern psychology depicts the different "stages of unfoldment of human life"* in the following way :

Birth			
3	Infancy	Helpless age	Nursery school
3 to 6	Early childhood	Dramatic age	Kindergarten
6 to 9	Middle ,,	Bid in jun. age	Primary grade
9 to 12	Later ,,	Early gang age	Intermediate grade
12 to 15	Early adolescence	Loyal age	Junior High School
15 to 18	Middle ,,	Mate seeking age	Senior High School
18 to 24	Later ,,	Romantic age	College & early work
24 to 40	Early adulthood	Vigorous age	Younger adults
40 to 60	Middle ,,	Practical age	Middle aged adults
60 to 75	Later ,,	Philosophical age	Older adults
75 to Beyond	Advanced ,,	Retrospective age	Elderly adults

The period of childhood is thus divided into three stages : (1) First period from 3 to 6, (2) Second period from 6 to 9, (3) Pre-adolescent period from 9 to 12.

> "The interests of the first period are almost entirely centred on play. Physical activity is the most absorbing interest. Curiosity, imagination and imitation play a large part in the child's life but no interest lasts long at a time.
>
> In the second period there is no sudden change. Play, curiosity, etc., still dominate his life but there gradually arises greater ability to concentrate attention for long stretches of time. There is a beginning of interest in details in connection with physical activity. The child becomes keen on acquiring skill. His range of ideas widens rapidly during this period. He takes an interest in the broader environment.
>
> In the pre-adolescent period there are marked changes. Social tendencies develop strongly. This is *the period when permanent sentiments begin to arise.* Reasoning makes rapid strides during this period."

It is, therefore, clear that in the first period whatever little education the child may receive should be imparted through play. The Kindergarten system based on this idea and the system has yielded magnificent results.

In the second period any system of education through activity may do and the life-project method introduced by Mahatmaji is perhaps the ideal system and at the hands of good teachers valuable results are likely to ensue. But then according to the above psychological division, if the period of this kind of training is extended beyond the age nine, it will encroach on the valuable pre-adolescent period, when permanent sentiments begin to arise and reasoning power begins to make rapid strides. Hence by pushing this mode of training till the age of 11, as has been recommended in the Junior basic scheme, there is the risk, that the mind may get set in the particular craft which has so long been the centre of education. A pupil, who has possibilities of great intellectual development may thus be lost to the country.

It may be objected that selection of students for high schools is not possible at the age of 9 as owing to fluctuations in the age of incidence of measurable intelligence no positive tests can be performed to make the requisite selection. Though accurately speaking this is true, a gross intelligence test, which will enable us to distinguish a child of normal intelligence from a dull one is quite possible at the age of nine and this will suit our purpose better. For, as it has already been pointed out elsewhere* the high school education should be broadly classified into three groups: (1) General, (2) Commercial and (3) Technical in order to meet with the demands of employments and it will always be profitable to impart a basic education common to these three groups prior to their separation in Class VIII which requires a more stringent selection test for which the right age is 12.

The creation of two middle stages is therefore suggested to suit the nature of the plastic state of child mind between the ages 9 and 12—one for the comparatively intelligent set of pupils who will ultimately join the high schools and the other for the rest who will eventually join the Senior basic school for proficiency in some occupation that will give him a subsisting wage. The curriculum and the basic idea in the two stages will be somewhat different. The former will comprise the basic subjects common to the different classes of high schools and the education given will not be craft-centred; while the other will be essentially craft-centred and more or less a continuation of the Junior basic school.

The existence of a middle stage will have still another advantage. The misfits in group I *i.e.*, in Basic High Schools as well as pupils of delayed intelligence belonging to group II will have an opportunity of changing their places and they should be encouraged to do so by a second intelligent test at the age of 12 which will have to be performed for making a selection for the different types of high schools which has been recommended. This second test will have to be applied

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* F. M. Gregg, *The Psychology of a Growing Personality.*

* *Science & Culture*, Vol. IX, page 526, 1943-44.

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ber rigorously, particularly for those who will be admitted to general high schools leading to the Universities. It should be regulated by proper entrance tests coupled with intelligence tests so that the national energy may be properly conserved and the nation's investment on the education of her children be sound and sage.

The main objection, *viz.*, a possible loss of brain power by a concentration on manual work in the formative period of the child mind, applies mainly to those who are likely to be selected for the general high schools leading to the Universities and who will ultimately take a leading role in all spheres of national activity. Their number is not large and it should not be large because in the present position of the country so many University men are not required. Their number should be restricted to give place to quality rather than quantity and thereby prevent the grave wastage that is occurring now.

With the main body of young men, the aimless drift from primary to secondary schools and from secondary schools to colleges is highly lamentable. Sorting them out firstly at the middle basic stage and again at the high school stage will offer an excellent remedy. The large number of young men who will be left over after the selection† for high schools has been made will be suitably employed in lower avocations in industries and commerce. While the large body of young men belonging to the former group will receive a training which will determine their future career and will arm them with at least one occupation which will give them wages sufficient for a healthy subsistence.

Next comes the question of the extent of the period of free compulsory education. Dr. Sargent in his admirable report has clearly enunciated the primary requisite of any system of education that "it should provide for all its members and not for a few only, at least such training as may be necessary to make them reasonably good citizens." After reviewing the present position regarding the number of pupils dropping out in the different classes of primary schools he has shown that "less than one out of every four children stayed long enough at school to reach the earliest stage, *viz.*, Class IV, at which permanent literacy is likely to be attained. The result is that money spent on the others (nearly 80 per cent) may be regarded as largely wasted." He has suggested that "there is only one way to stop this wastage and that is to make education compulsory." If the aim of compulsory education was merely to remove literacy then four years of education in the primary schools would have sufficed. "But the three R's by themselves can no longer be regarded as an adequate equipment for efficient citizenship." He has therefore suggested the prolongation of the compulsory period for eight years covering the end of the senior basic schools. If our country was not poor and if it was not necessary for the entire expenses of the compulsory education to be provided by the State and to make it "free", there could be no objection to it. But the condition of the country must be properly realised, the implications of the burden on the State should be properly understood.

It is no use minimising the real reason for the admitted opposition by poor peasants and labourers to the introduction of compulsory education beyond an age at which they expect to receive contribution from their children towards the maintenance of the family. We cannot brush aside this question by merely saying that "there must be something seriously wrong with economic conditions, if the budget of even the poorest family is dependent on the earnings of the little children." There is no gainsaying the fact that there is really something seriously wrong with their economic condition. They need education not merely for training in citizenship but also with a view to improve their economic condition by acquiring a little knowledge and hence some power of earning money with that added knowledge.

Also we must not lose sight of the fact that the main body of these young men will have to remain in their village home, adopt their parental profession and adjust themselves to village economics. Hence on various considerations compulsion is not only not needed but will probably be harmful beyond the age of 12 for pupils at the end of their training in middle basic schools. Senior basic schools need not therefore be compulsory and need not be wholly supported by the State. At this stage the pupils will mostly be able to pay for their education by the sale of articles produced by them. State-aid will not be necessary for the maintenance of the pupils at schools but schools will require capital grants for other expenditures. This education will have to be harmonised with the occupation of the people for whose children it is intended both as regards the time when the school will meet and as regards the choice of the basic craft for any school. In deciding these questions the predominant occupation of the people in the locality should be taken into account. The optimum of each secondary occupation which the trainees will take up, *i.e.*, the number of men which each secondary occupation can suitably accommodate without any overcrowding, should be calculated and the number of such senior basic schools centring round each craft should be determined by a reference to the distribution of various occupations and their optimum in the locality.

In order to give them further opportunities of profiting by their abilities and of becoming effective and efficient citizens night schools for workers should also be introduced on an optional basis.

Regarding the high schools, the proposal to support them largely out of public funds is essential for the maintenance of their quality and standard. As they will provide for far-reaching opportunities and as admission into them will be through a selection test, compulsion is not needed for making these schools useful and popular. There will be a keen competition to fill them up.

The reduction of the period of free compulsory education from eight to six years for the large majority of children will very nearly reduce the State expenditure in the same ratio and considerably lessen the burden on the State. It is, therefore, desirable on grounds of economy also.

In a nutshell the scheme envisaged in this article can be presented in the form of a genealogical table given below.

† Vide analysis of the employment figures in my article in Science & Culture, Vol. IX, page 526, 1943-44.

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Kindergarten (Age 3-6, optional)

Junior Basic (Primary grade —craft centred—Age 6-9, compulsory)

(1st intelligence test at age 9)

Middle basic craft centered. Age 9-12.

(Intermediate grade)

High School Ba (up to Class VI Age 9-12.

2nd intelligence and educational test at age 12.

Senior Basic craft centred. Age 12-15 or 16.

High School grade Age 12-15 or 1

Workers' School.

General High School leading to University (general)

Technical and agricultural High School leading to High Technical and Agricultural Institutions.

Commercial High School leading to High Commercial Institutions.

The duration of training in the high school, whether it will be for three years from the age of 12 to 15 or for four years from the age of 12 to 16, is an important question which requires a searching analysis of the requirements of knowledge in each vocation which these pupils will be called upon to adopt when they may not proceed to higher Institutions or Universities. Possibly from all considerations a four years' course will be desirable. But what is essential is the estimation of their number according to the requirements of the country.*

In a National Planning Scheme this mode of approach is essential if we are to prevent grave wastage and obtain the maximum of collectivised efficiency at minimum cost, and conserve our National Income and our National Energy.

* The only scientific way of approaching the problem is by calculating the optimum of each vocation following the lines adopted by the author in his article "On the Educational Needs of Bengal"—published in *Science and Culture*, Vol. IX, 1943-44, p. 5...

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ROLE OF TURKEY IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

By SUSHIL CHANDRA SINGH, M.A.

Turkey occupies a great strategic position. She serves the purpose of a bridge between the East and the West. She is really the heart of the Near East. What the Philippines is to the Far East, Turkey is to the Levant. That accounts for her fate as a target of attack from times immemorial. There was hardly any ruler of note on the continent of Europe who did not feel the necessity of extending his dominion in the Near East and ultimately occupying the important straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The occupation of Constantinople by a hostile power was always an eyesore to them. "In the dawn of authentic history it is represented by the contest between the Greeks and the Persians, the heroic struggle enshrined in the memory of Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis . . . In the early middle ages the problem was represented by the struggle between the forces of Islam and those of Christianity." The Crusades, though religious in character, were directed towards the same end.

Turkey has been particularly fortunate in having Constantinople on its mainland. The city stands at the southern extremity of the Bosphorus, upon a hilly promontory that runs out from the European side of the Straits towards the Asiatic bank. Constantinople is famous in history for various reasons. It has been the capital of the Roman Empire in the East for more than eleven centuries (330-1453) as well as the capital of the Ottoman Turks. No other city has shown such a brilliant record of culture and civilization. Its only rivals are Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, and Delhi. The European civilization owes a great deal to this important centre of learning. "Roman Law, Greek literature, the theology of the Christian church, for example, are intimately associated with the history of Constantinople." Almost all the European monarchs have done their utmost to occupy the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and thus control trade and sea routes in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

These strategic positions in Turkey remained in the hands of the Christian rulers for a sufficiently long time. But in 1453 they received a setback. The Ottoman Turks captured the city. The fall of Constan...

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gave the Turks an opportunity to extend their influence in Europe. The Ottomans did control the eastern basis of the Mediterranean, the Aegean islands, Syria and Egypt and the northern coast of Africa but the famous Siege of Vienna cried a halt to the Ottoman campaigns. The Ottoman power gradually began to decline. The Janissaries could not hold for long. The corrupt of the Harem put an end to the efficiency of Turkish administration. The great battles of Lepanto (1571) and St. Gothard (1664) put a seal on Ottoman weakness. The result was that European rulers began to cast greedy eyes on the Turkish empire. The Treaty of Kainarji with Russia and the Treaties of Jassy (1792) and Bucharest (1812) lowered the prestige of the Ottomans and gave sufficient scope for outside interference in the internal affairs of the Porte.

This was specially so with the Treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardji, July 15, 1774.

"Of the many treaties concluded during the last two centuries between Russia and Turkey this is the most fundamental and the most far-reaching . . . the real starting point of the Russian progress in the Near East." (Sir J. A. R. Marriott).

A distinguished jurist went so far as to say that the great treaties executed by the two powers during the next half century were but commentaries upon this one. By its provisions (1) the Ottomans formally ceded Crimea and adjacent territory to Russia and renounced sovereignty over all land north of the Black Sea. (2) the Ottoman Empire retained Wallachia, Moldavia, and Greece, under promise of good government. (3) Russia obtained the right of free navigation for her merchant-ships in Ottoman waters, and (4) Russia was recognised as the protector of certain churches in the city of Constantinople. The last clause registered "a moral triumph" for Russian diplomacy. It conceded a moral right of interference in the domestic concerns of the Ottoman Empire. France also did not fail to take advantage of the declining power of the Turks. Louis I and D'Argenson extracted concessions in her favour.

However, it was Napoleon who correctly understood the significant position of Turkey. "Really to conquer England, we must make ourselves masters of Egypt", declared Napoleon. Confu, Zante, and Cephalonia were, he declared in 1797, more important for him than the whole of Italy. He appreciated the strategic position of Constantinople. Napoleon once remarked: "It is the Empire of the World." The efforts of Napoleon opened the eyes of the British Government and they began to take more interest in the problems of the Near East. British statesmen did not want that their sea routes to the East should be threatened. The younger Pitt was the first British statesman who anticipated the developments involved in the problem known as the Eastern Question. The Triple Alliance of 1788 was specially aimed at checking Russian designs in the Near East. It had been the constant wish of the Russian rulers to curb the influence of the Ottoman Turks and to establish their ascendency in the waters of the Levant. The Czar Nicholas I in 1853, during a conversation with the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, frankly stated: "We have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man . . . He may suddenly die on our hands . . . ." It was natural for the British Government to get alarmed. Czars. No great power should be in possession of the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles became a chief plank of their policy. The "sick man of Europe" should not be exterminated but should continue to exist as such. The Crimean War was fought with the same end in view. In spite of the criticism of Sir Robert Morier—"the only perfectly useless modern war that has been waged"—the fact remains that "had it not been for the Crimean war and the policy subsequently adopted by Lord Beaconsfield's Government, the Russians would now be in possession of Constantinople." (Lord Cromer) Russian foreign policy received a severe blow as a result of the Crimean War.

The humiliation of Russia did not end the matter there. Italy and Germany took the place of the Czars and began to harbour aggressive designs towards Turkish domains. The preponderance of German influence in Turkey was one of the major reasons leading to the First Great War. In spite of all this, Turkey would have remained either neutral or would have joined the Allies. But the British Government made a great mistake in seizing Turkish ships for which orders had been placed in England. This precipitated matters. Turkey joined the Central Powers. Again Turkey was helpless in the matter. The Czarist Russia, known for aggressive designs, was on the side of the Allies. Turkey knew that Britain was the strongest supporter of the *status quo* in relation to the territories of the Porte, but in the circumstances prevailing then it was too much for Turkey to align with Russia—her mortal enemy. The later events of the war verified the correctness of Turkish position.

Turkish foreign policy during the first post-war period has been based on friendship with Soviet Russia. According to the Russo-Turkish Treaty signed in Paris on December 17, 1925, the parties "pledged themselves to friendly neutrality in case of any military attack or hostile alliance or agreement by a third party or parties against either." Turkey was also a member of the Balkan Entente. Turkey joined the pact of Saadabad (1934) providing for political co-operation with Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. An Anglo-French-Turkish pact of assistance was signed on October 9, 1939, valid for 15 years.

As regards the Straits —the life-line of Turkey—they were under the absolute sovereignty of Turkey until 1841, then Turkish controlled, but subject to neutralization rules, until 1914. After the Great War of 1914-18 they were occupied by the Allies. They were demilitarized, opened to navigation of every kind and placed under the control of an international commission. The convention of Lausanne, of August 4, 1923, partially restored Turkish sovereignty over the straits. The latest international agreement on the straits—the Montreaux Convention, 1936—authorised remilitarization and refortification of the straits by Turkey, abolition of former international guarantees, removal of the international commission, thus granting full sovereign rights to the Turkish Republic again, subject to the following conditions:

"In peace time, commercial navigation in the straits is free. Warships above 10,000 tons, submarines and aircraft carriers are excluded. Other naval vessels may pass only by day. In war time, Turkey being neutral, warships of all belligerents are banned from the straits. They may, however, pass without limitation, if the action is taken by order of the League or in fulfilment of a pact of assistance

take the offensive against the growing power of the

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to which Turkey is a party. If Turkey is a belligerent, commercial navigation is closed to countries at war with Turkey, and to neutral ships carrying men or material in support of the enemy. The passage of war-ships is left to the discretion of Turkey in this case. If Turkey feels herself threatened by a war she may apply this rule to warships even in peace-time."

It has been the policy of Turkey to give international effect to the provisions of the agreement but occasions have not been wanting during the present war when the British Government have been compelled to lodge protests accusing the Turkish Government of negligence in allowing Axis disguised warships to ply in Turkish waters under agreement.

In the war just over, Turkey's attitude has been throughout consistent as well as consonant with her foreign policy. Turkey does not want any extension of her territory. Her main concern is to preserve her independence. The first step towards the attainment of this end is the elimination of any possible danger to the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. She does not want that any hostile power should use the Straits to her own disadvantage. The Treaty of Lausanne and the Montreaux Convention fully safeguarded her position in this matter. The recent militarization of the Straits zones is in the same direction. Turkey is also aware of the fact that no country is more helpful to her in this respect than Britain. The British Government has always recognized the special position of Turkey in relation to the Straits.

Recently there was a sudden change in the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic, when she severed diplomatic relations with the Reich. This may be ascribed to the rapid victories of the United Nations and the successive defeats of the Axis powers on all fronts. She may have been solicitous about the position of the Straits. She does not want that her neutrality should stand in her way and in order to avoid the imposition of an international agreement with regard to the Straits repugnant to her self-respect she has thought it proper to align herself more on the side of the Allies. Her standing aloof at this juncture when decisions having far-reaching repercussions are being taken would have jeopardised her position in the Levant.

The change in the Turkish foreign policy does not seem to have satisfied Russia. In line with her traditional foreign policy, the Russian Government wants to eliminate the controlling influence of the Turks in the Dardanelles. The recent denunciation of the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1925 is in the same direction. As hinted in the British Press, the Russian move is aimed at reopening the Dardanelles problem. The *Observer* says :

> "Turkey is nervous of the new Russian *demarche*, seeing in it the beginning of a softening-up process prior to reopening of the Straits question. She remembers how every successive ruler since Catherine the Great has wanted to tamper with Turkey's control over the exit from the Black Sea."

Really, the fact remains that under the so-called communist Government of Stalin Soviet Russia has assumed the form of a first-rate imperialist power. The theory of world revolution has been thrown overboard and Russian foreign policy is now clearly aimed at extending her political influence in the neighbouring countries. The attack on Finland, the occupation of Latvia, Estonia, etc., during the period of Russo-German *rapprochement*, her persistent opposition to the formation of a strong Balkan Federation, the backing of the Lublin Government, the insistence on a particular form of government in Austria, the demand for oil concessions in Iran against the express wishes of her Government and people and last but not least the exertion of undue pressure on Turkey to reopen the Straits question—these are all pointers indicating the trend of the New Soviet Czarism. In order to hoodwink the smaller powers on her frontiers Russia actually amended her constitution, giving freedom of choice in the matter of foreign policy, army, etc., to her constituent units. The Molotov Declaration was really a political camouflage to entrap the helpless States on her borders into her wider net of Communist regimentation. Under the circumstances there is no hope of a betterment of Russo-Turkish relations unless Turkey successfully tilts herself still further towards the Western Powers like Britain, U.S.A., and France.

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THE KANDHAS OF THE HILLS

One Century of British Rule (1836 to 1936)

By UMA CHARAN PATNAIK, M.A., B.L.

CONCEALED in their mountain fastnesses and living a wild life in the most primitive state of society, the various hill-tribes are preserved apparently as specimens of antiquarian curiosities. On the plea of screening them from the "evil-eyes" of adjacent plainsmen, and saving them from the latter's exploitation, the benevolent British Government has kept them segregated from the rest of the country. Special laws have been passed removing them from the operation of the ordinary laws of the realm, and keeping them under the special administration and protection of the Provincial Governors through omnipotent and omniscient civilian officials. Interference of outsiders has been strictly discountenanced except for the Reverend missionaries who are being given every opportunity for introducing their "Christianizing, Europeanizing and Civilizing" influences into these prohibited areas.

An innovation was attempted in the constitutional reforms introduced in 1936, when the aborigines were made amenable, to some extent, to the control of the popular ministers. It is true that the hill-tribes were given no right of vote, because they were deemed incapable of exercising the same, but their protectors, the Governors, took the trouble of nominating proper persons to represent them in the respective provincial legislatures. For example, H. E. the Governor of Orissa came to the rescue of the Kandha and Savara tribes of Ganjam by nominating a European and an Indian

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member of the Baptist mission as their M.L.As. (Orissa). In spite of this constitutional change and the subsequent recommendations of the Partially Excluded Areas Committee of Orissa, the hill tracts are being administered much as they were during the last century; the aborigines are still basking in the sunshine of the special protection of His Excellency; the Agency Laws and the Angul and Khondmals Laws and Regulations are yet in force; still the Court of the Revenue Commissioner of Orissa is the High Court; and the District Magistrates (variously termed in different areas as Agent to the Governor, Government Agent, or Deputy Commissioner, for purposes of exercising special powers) are still the virtual heads of all conceivable departments.

Of late, bureaucratic interest in the aborigines has taken a slightly different shape, and the local officials are now coming forward as their saviours and champions as against the rest of the country. The special provision for them in Assam, the reservations in their favour in the proposed constitution for Burma, the demand for the formation of separate administrative units for aboriginal areas, the organization of so-called Aborigines Welfare Societies under official patronage in the Indian States as well as in the Uplands of British India, the various demands purporting to be made on behalf of the 2½ crores of aboriginals of India, are all clear pointers indicating a general All-India attempt to array the different hill-tribes against the forces of Indian nationalism.

A careful study of the condition of these hill-tribes at the time of their conquest by British arms or diplomacy, compared with their present miserable existence, will serve not only as an object-lesson of the benefits of British rule, but will also help to focus Indian public opinion on the brave but backward mountaineers who deserve the sympathy and service of every fellow-countryman. So long as the improvement of the aboriginals is let to the tender mercies of the bureaucratic machinery and of the local exploiters, there can be no real amelioration of their condition. It is also necessary that members of social uplift organizations working among hill-tribes should learn to work, not mechanically, but with an enthusiastic interest in their work which can be engendered by their intimate knowledge, not only of the language, but also of the history, customs and characteristics of the aboriginal tribes—in short, by becoming aborigines-minded.

With this background in view, we proceed to make a study of the Kandhas, the largest hill-tribe of Orissa with a population of 7,44,904 according to the census of 1941. Even this figure is an under-estimate as the Telugu-Kandhas numbering 73,611 and the Kandha-Gauras and Gahis of the locality who speak *kui* (Khond language) at home are not included in this total. The main Kandha block was finally conquered in 1836. "We first became acquainted with them in 1836 . . . on our assumption of Goomsoor," writes Lieut. Macpherson, Assistant Surveyor-General who took part in the conquest. He has left a faithful account of the contemporary Kandhas of Ganjam and Cuttack which has been referred to as the original source for the information regarding this tribe in Hunter's *History of Orissa* and in the various District Gazetteers. Comparing his description of the Kandhas as they were in 1836 with the present condition now prevailing in these areas* the reader can have an original study of this hill-tribe after a century of British rule.

Their habitat is Ganjam, Koraput, Kalahandi, Patna and the Orissan States and Oriya Zamindaries in the south. Grierson's description in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. IV, p. 457) has to be modified in the light of their distribution according to 1941 census:

Ganjam	2,33,898
Koraput	1,76,502
Kalahandi	1,32,047
Excluded areas of Vizag.	54,539
Patna	51,056
Baud	19,988
Sambalpur	16,108
Daspalla	10,397
Angul	7,530
Other Orissan States	42,839

Their Origin is still shrouded in mystery. Lieut. Macpherson says:

> "No myth, nor legend exists among the Khonds, which indicates, however dimly, their origin, and from whence they are derived. They believe themselves to have existed in Orissa from the beginning."

They call their own tribe "Kui" or "Kuvi" which has no special meaning except, when used as a verb to indicate denial. The word *Kandha* used by the Oriyas for this tribe, probably refers to their residence on hill-tops (giri-kandara). The origin of the Telugu synonym "Kothu-vallu" is also dimmed in obscurity. There are differences of opinion among authorities as to their origin; they have been described in the census as an Oriya-assimilating tribe and on this point there are no two opinions. They seem to have come into contact with Oriya at a very early stage of their existence. For example, in their language *Ro* and *Ri* stand for the numbers *one* and *two*; from *three* onwards the counting is as in Oriya up to twenty. Then they count *Kodea-Ro* and *Kodea-Ri* and then count as in Oriya. Further, for all their metals they use Oriya words; so much so, that their God of War (Loha Penu or Iron God) indicates that when they first learnt the use of iron and steel weapons, they had already come under the influence of their neighbours. In any case the Oriyas must be thankful for this contact, because one of the best Oriya religious poet is a Kandha—Bhima Bhoi, who has left an indelible mark not only on the language but also on the religious thought and culture of this province.

Macpherson's Description of the Kandhas of 1836

> "They are fitted by physical constitution to undergo the severest exertions and to endure every form of privation . . . Their forms are characterised by strength and symmetery. The muscles of the limbs and body are clear and boldly developed. The skin is clear and glossy, its colour ranging from a light bamboo to a deep copper shade; the heel is in a line with the back of the legs; the foot is somewhat larger than that of the Hindoo, and the instep not highly arched, although the Khond, nevertheless,

* The writer of this article has had about twenty years of contact with the Kandhas. He has also written some books in *Kui* language. He has quoted from Sj. L. N. Sahu's book regarding prevailing conditions.

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has extraordinary speed of foot. The forehead is full and expanded, the cheek-bones are rather high and prominent, the nose seldom, though occasionally arched and is generally broad at the point. The lips are full but not thick. The mouth is rather large. The whole physiognomy is generally indicative of intelligence and determination blended with good humour. . . . They have the easy bearing of men who are unconscious of inferiority."

This, indeed, is the portrait of an ideal warrior, an almost perfect type of physical build. But it is far from being the normal type today. The normally impoverished, diseased and drunken Khond of these days is but a skeleton of his old self described by the observant Lieutenant. Sjt. Sahu in his book on the Aborigines of Koraput says :

"Leprosy, malaria, cholera, small-pox, yaws, kalazar, syphilis, psoriasis are some of the most prevailing diseases among the hill-tribes. Sometimes the swelling of the whole body takes place. The man becomes very pale. He becomes weaker day by day. He lingers slowly and dies in six months or a year . . . As regards longevity, . . . the average life of the hill-tribes in the Koraput district seems to be going down."

Character and Courage in 1836

"It is well-established that the moral character of the Khond is eminently distinguished by the power to resist coercion. In superiority to physical suffering the Khonds are surpassed by no people. In a period of suffering rarely paralleled (in 1836) no single Khond was found to falter in his devotion to the common cause, and, when at length, the fathers of that tribe were betrayed and condemned to die, with what admirable courage and what affecting resignation and what simple dignity, did they meet an ignominous fate on the sites of their ruined homesteads !

"The Khonds are highly distinguished for personal courage and never ask nor give quarter. They adorn themselves for battle, like most rude nations, as for a feast.

"The distinguishing qualities of the character of the Khonds appear to be these : a passionate love of liberty, devotion to chiefs and unconquerable resolution."

In 1942 Sj. Sahu describes them thus :

"Today the Kandhas are most timid. Oppress them as much as you will, beat them, loot them, still they do not rise against you."

It is a fact that this one century's administration has cowed them down. They are still brave in the presence of wild animals; even Khond women have fought with tigers with their tangis and vanquished them. But they are terribly afraid of human beings. A menial government servant or an exploiter supported by local officials is sufficient to cow down a whole tribe.

EDUCATION

In 1836 Macpherson says :

"The Khond appears to possess a vigorous intellect. He is slow of deliberation but prompt to act."

His intelligent appearance in those days has already been referred to. He also refers to such vices as 'the indulgence of revenge and occasionally of brutal passion.'

Proper education during this century could have utilised his intelligence and cured him of his vices. But their present condition proves that their vices have become more marked and their intelligence (noticed a hundred years ago) has receded into the background. Literacy figures for Ganjam and Koraput furnished by the Census of 1941 show that out of 22,442 slips examined on a random-sample basis only 248 are literate and only *one person* out of this whole lot knows English. It is said that in the adjacent States of Kalahandi and Patna, the percentage of literates is higher than in these districts administered by Provincial Governors.

Khond women
Photo : Thota Studio, Berhampur

CLOTHING

Macpherson says :

"The clothing of a Khond consists of a single piece of coarse cloth either white or chequered, from 12 to 20 cubits in length, which is in some districts girt round the loins and with its extremities flowing loose behind; and in others wrapt round the waist and thrown across the chest something in the Hindoo fashion. The women wear clothes of the same material wound round the waist and brought over to the shoulders. They in some districts wear brass ornaments and anklets and small nose and ear ornaments of gold and silver.

"In founding a Khond village the first act is the planting of *simili* or a great cotton tree . . . in the centre . . . The Panwa (Pan) lives at either end of the village, his dwelling being marked by posts used for weaving, before the door."

Thus every village was self-sufficient, spinning and weaving the cloth for the requirements of the villagers. But after a hundred years of British rule the Kandha (except in and near towns) is practically naked but for only a strip of loin-cloth. This may be due to his impoverished condition; it may be due to the fact that spinning has disappeared and weaving has deteriorated in the locality; it may be that his economic condition makes it very difficult for him to purchase the mill-made cloth, the gifts of the British Raj.

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Economic condition, a century ago, was fairly good as is evident from contemporary writings:

"Land is possessed by the Khond without tenure, the right of possession being simply founded, in the case of tribes upon priority of appropriation and in the case of individuals upon the priority of cultivation. Regarding waste lands the usage of different districts varied. Usually the people had freedom for pasturage and jungle produce and sometimes even for exclusive possession of waste lands. The offences of theft and robbery are unknown (except in a small area adjacent to the plains)."

Even there, for the first offence mere restitution of the stolen produce and for its repetition, expulsion from society were the rule.

At present the economic condition of the Kandha is miserable. His income is about Rs. 20 per annum; moneylenders and liquor-sellers are sucking his very life blood.

Drink

Macpherson referred to this habit as "disgraceful drunkenness," adding that during all his tours he had never seen a single Khond woman drunk. Today, drunkenness is perhaps at a worse level. The Kandha's headquarters are at the foot of the *Salpa* tree or the *Mahua* distillery. Government has granted him freedom to distil liquor for his own use. Liquor is responsible not only for the deterioration of his health and his indebtedness to moneylenders but also for many of the offences which end in his imprisonment or hanging. It is possible that the requirement of glucose in food is partly responsible for the perpetuation of this evil habit. But a hundred years of civilized rule assisted by so many mission organizations enjoying all facilities should have bettered his condition by this time.

The administration of the tribes and groups in those days cannot fail to evoke the admiration of modern students of politics. "The spirit of equality prevailed over its whole constitution. Society is governed by the moral influence of its heads, to the entire exclusion of the principle of coercive authority." Then Macpherson proceeds to give a description of the details of administration:

The Patriarch of a village, a tribe or a federal group of tribes is simply the head of a family of which every member is of equal rank, the first among equals. Unlike the chieftain of other clans, he is in no respect, raised above the community, whose interests, associations, traditions, and manner of life he shares. None minister to his wants. He has no trace of state, however; no separate residence or stronghold; no retainers; no property save his ancestral fields by the cultivation which he lives; he receives neither tribute nor aid. He undertakes no measures except in an emergency, transacts no affairs of State without the assistance of the assembled society. He leads in war at home, he is the protector of the public order and the arbiter of private wrongs, conciliating feuds and dispensing justice, but depending for obedience to his decisions entirely upon his personal influence and the authority of his assessors. When military aid is required by the tribe, the Federal Patriarch, if he is convinced of the propriety of the demand, at once sends his *arrow of* [illegible] through the mountain valleys and, as it [illegible] like the Celtic firecross, each house affords a [illegible] man. If, however, he is doubtful of the propriety of the requisition, he sends for the elders or the whole tribe, as usage may prescribe, to determine the course to be pursued.

Each patriarch is aided and controlled in the management of its ordinary affairs by a Council of Elders—which constitutes, in a federal group, of the heads of tribes, in a tribe, of the heads of branches, in a branch, of the heads of villages, and in a village, of the elders therein. Others are entitled to attend a meeting of the Council of Elders but not to take part in its deliberations.

An *assembly* of the entire population is sometimes convened to deliberate upon matters of general or local interest. It is generally held on the slope of a hill. The Patriarch who convenes the assembly satisfies himself that all are present. His peculiar function appears to cease with the completion of the assembly. He makes obeisance to the four quarters of the globe, to the sun and the earth and takes his seat. He convenes the assembly and is its most distinguished member but does not apparently regulate or preside in anyway, over its functions. The Patriarch then express their views one after another. Some course of action, in accordance with the general sense of the assembly, is decided upon, when the meeting is dissolved without further formality. It may be noted that anyone who attends these councils or assemblies is armed. The Kandha seldom stirs out without arms. The Tangi is his constant companion. The assembly freely interrupts the Patriarch (who is addressing) with loud tokens of applause or dissent *but in all cases* it is said, without infringing the natural rules of decorum.

The tribal assembly has the right to transfer their allegiance from one Raja to another. For instance, sometime before Macpherson's visit to these parts, certain tribes of Boad had transferred their allegiance to Goomsoor; the right of any Khond community to dissolve old and enter into new relations was not disputed.

This may be compared with the subsequent British administration. "By Act XXIV of 1839 the Ganjam and Vizagpatam districts with the territories of the connected tribes were removed from the operation of the rules for the administration of civil and criminal justice and for the collection of revenue, placed under Agents instructed by the Fort St. George." Similarly in Angul and Khondmals we have the local laws and regulations. The Collector is the head of all departments. All sentences passed by him as Sessions Judge are appealable only to the Court of the Revenue Commissioner of Orissa who is the High Court for the Kondhmals, Angul and Sambalpur.

The Subdivisional Magistrates are Subordinate Judges and heads of all departments in their subdivisions. Similarly the Sub-Deputy Collectors are Munsifs and heads of all departments in their Taluqs.

No barrister, advocate or pleader is allowed to practise in these courts without a *sanad* from the Collector.

The Kandhas have the privilege of rendering free labour for Government and its officials, from the building of houses and roads to the carrying of persons in *dolies*. Of late, being carried in *dolies* is prohibited except in certain cases. The Congress Government directed that *Bethi* or free labour should be abolished, but this order has not yet been fully given effect to.

Tuka Tolo Marlu (Human) sacrifices were offered to Vira Penoo (Supreme God and Earth God) in

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pursuance of the Fertilization cult. Sundi Penoo (Boundary deity) and Loha Penoo (Iron god or the god of arms) were added to the pantheon requiring human sacrifices. Macpherson states that by the time of the conquest, "neither the Khonds of Degee nor those of Goldee attached to the Zamindar of Koroda, nor those of Kotingia or of Borogoda connected with Chinna Kimedi, offered human sacrifices, but instead, offered a bull or a pig". Evidently the Kandhas who occupy these areas had already been weaned away from human sacrifices by contact with their Hindu neighbours. The Khonds of Ghumsur and the interior however were still offering human sacrifices in 1836. It is quite possible that given some more time, the civilization and culture of the adjacent plains would have changed these head-hunters as it had changed their fellow tribesmen in Degee and other areas. To give the British rulers their due, they put down, with a strong hand, the system of Toki or Mariah, thus accelerating the change which might have taken some more time to take place otherwise.

India struggling for freedom, should give some more attention to the two-and-a-half crores of aborigines stagnating in the hills and forests. In the words of Crosby :

"No one could tell me where my soul might be;
I searched for God, and God eluded me;
I sought my brother out, and found all three."

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SOVIET WOMEN IN THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

By N. SEVRIKOV

NAMES of many women famous for their high courage and indomitable spirit figure in Russian history; their characters have been immortalised in song and story. But even these great figures of the past pale before the heroism and self-sacrifice, the patriotism and courage displayed by Soviet women in the great Patriotic War.

The Soviet woman is a citizen with full rights in the Soviet State. She enjoys the same rights as men in all branches of the economic, administrative, cultural, social and political life of the country. In the USSR women have the same rights as men to guaranteed employment and payment for their work, to rest and leisure, to maintenance in old age or sickness, to education.

Over 1,700 women of various nationalities are Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics and 456,000 women are Deputies to the local Soviets of Workers' Deputies. Tens of thousands of Soviet women are managing plants, factories, institutions, collective farms; they are engaged in scientific, social and political activities. In 1940 there were 150,000 women engineers and technicians in the USSR. On the eve of the war half the students of the institutions of higher learning and special high schools were women. This complete equality with men in all spheres of life, which women enjoy in Soviet Russia, has helped to develop their political activity and creative initiative.

Soviet women met the hard trials of war-time well-prepared. With arms in their hands they fought side by side with men in the ranks of the Red Army heroically and fearlessly. In the rear, women workers in factories and plants, in collective farm fields, worked untiringly, producing armaments, ammunitions, equipment and provisions for the Red Army.

The following figures may suffice to illustrate the heroism and valour of Soviet women. By February 1 of the current year over 72,000 awards had been conferred on women for gallantry in action. In the course of the war forty-four women won the high title of Hero of the Soviet Union and three that of Hero of Socialist Labour. Many thousands of women were with partisan detachments; about 8,000 have been decorated with the medal of Partisan of the Great Patriotic War.

Let me cite a few instances of the valour displayed by women in battle : Evdokia Nosal, junior lieutenant in the air force, who had been a pedagogue before the war, went to the front as a volunteer. She has 36 combat flights to her credit and has dropped 50,000 kilograms of bombs on the enemy. She was the first woman flyer to receive the title of Hero of the Soviet Union during the war.

The nurse Valerie Gnarovskaya saved lives of 300 wounded men. During a certain battle, when German tanks were approaching the head quarters of the regiment, she took a bundle of hand grenades and threw herself under the Tiger. The enemy machine was blown up and this helped to repel the attack.

Thouands of similar examples could be cited. Names of Soviet girl partisans Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya and Liza Chaikina have become legendary.

The war put on the defence industry demands for a ceaseless supply of tanks, shells, bombs, planes and other armaments, and for equipment and provisions. The brunt of this titanic task of keeping the Red Army supplied unfailingly fell on the shoulders of the Soviet working women. Millions of women took their places for the first time at lathes, openhearth furnaces, at derricks, at tillers of airplanes, locomotives, tractors and combines.

Natalia Eremenko, an engineer, invented a new explosive and organised its production. Ekaterina Seregina, engineer in defence plant, designed a new type of armament for the Red Army. Orlova, milling machine operator, used a universal jig for drilling operations which made it possible to combine four operations in one, thus decreasing the time necessary for manufacture of given parts to one-third. And such examples abound there are many.

A particularly important role was played by the Soviet women in agriculture in war-time. They succeeded in becoming qualified agricultural workers, collective farm managers, brigade leaders, etc. During three years of warfare over one million women became combine and tractor drivers and mechanics.

Professor Zinaida Ermoleva, holder of the Stalin Prize, has solved a number of important questions in microbiology and prophylactics and the treatment of infectious diseases. Academician Lina Stern has worked out a new method of treating shock and tetanus. Many her methods were widely used at the front. Mrs. Shtieding proposed a new method of treating dyed fabrics.

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Wonderful initiative has been displayed by Soviet women in restoring war-ruined towns, factories, plants. All the country knows the name of Cherkassova, heroine of the reconstruction of Stalingrad: she was the first to form housewives' volunteer brigades to work at the restoration of the city, and today her name is borne by thousands of similar brigades formed in other cities on her example. In Stalingrad alone over one thousand such brigades, consisting of more than 20,000 women, were organised.

———:O:———

WHERE THREE SEAS MEET

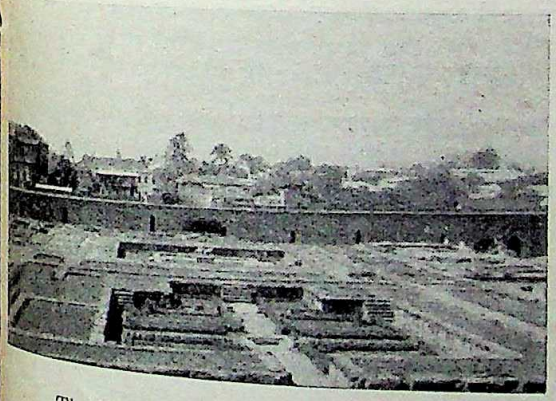
By S. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A. (B.H.U.), T.D. (Bom.)

When Wordsworth wrote of daffodils—

"For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils."

These memorable lines were meant not only for the golden flowers, but for all happy and rare experiences of our life upon which we weave the dreams that make our lives less miserable on this earth, or in the words of Keats, which

". . . bind us to the earth,
Spite of despondence, of the inhuman dearth
Of noble natures, of the gloomy days,
Of all the unhealthy and o'er-darkened ways
Made for our searching."

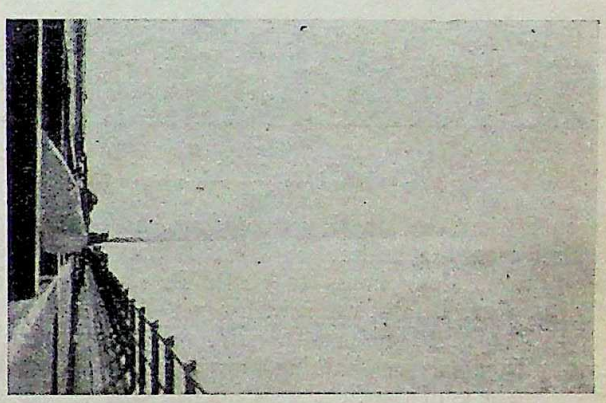


The Fort of the Peshwas, Poona

Such a pleasant experience I had in my life when during my residence in Bombay I made up my mind to pay a visit to the land of the Hill of the Holy Beacon, Arunachala, as South India is sometimes called, terminating at Cape Comorin where three seas meet. Accordingly, one summer noon I and my wife started from Bombay by the Madras Express for Poona. The railway journey between Bombay and Poona has been described by St. Nihal Singh in his *India Old and New* thus:

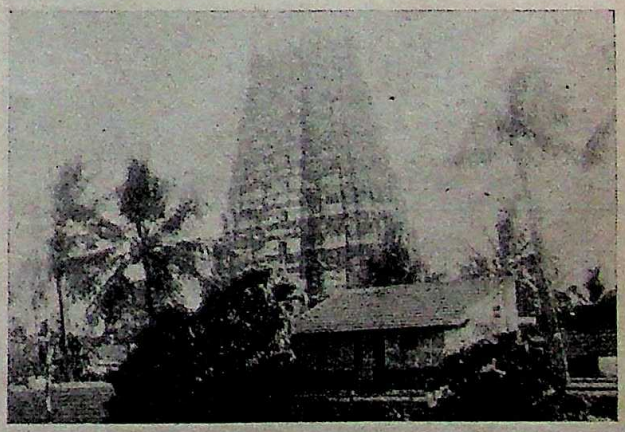
"The panorama which unfolds, as the train speeds along, changes constantly. The hillsides of reddish brown, varying from dull, rust-red, almost to crimson, are covered with thick masses of trees and creepers. Water runs down them, here in rivulets, there in foaming rivers tumbling hundreds of feet into the valley, the waterfalls looking from a distance like loops and streamers of silver ribbon trimming a warm-coloured gown. The train runs in and out of tunnels as if it were playing hide and seek with the spirit of the mountains."

We halted at Poona for only twenty-four hours and saw the Parbati Temple on the crest of the highest hill



Crossing the Pamban Channel

in the vicinity of Poona, the dilapidated Fort of the Peshwas, etc. Then we came to Madras. Here we spent two days for sight-seeing and gathered some first-hand information about our journey to the meeting place of the three seas from a Sadhu of the local Gaudiya Math. In Madras, and afterwards in other places, it struck me that the life that the people of Southern India lead,



The Temple, Ramesvaram

is in vivid contrast to that led in Northern India to which I belong. Here I found people, in spite of considerable wealth, living unostentatious lives, indication of which is best seen in the bare feet and simple clothes. It is also seen in the food served even in expensive hotels. "Simple living and high thinking" seems to be the

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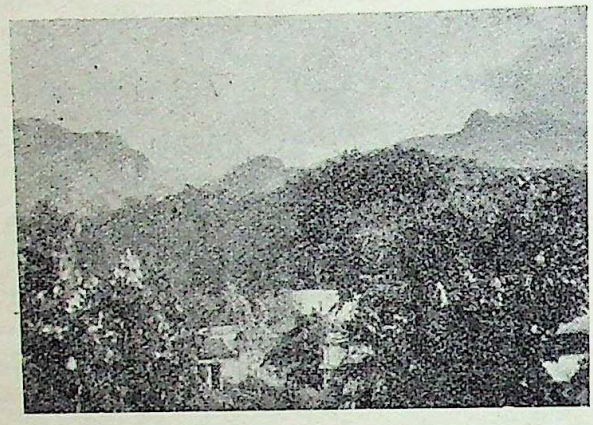
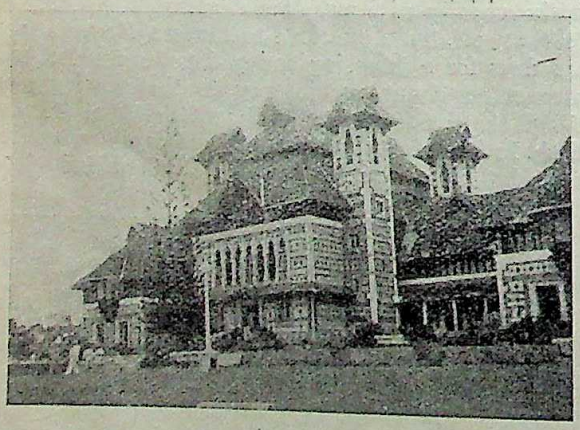
motto of our South Indian brothers even in this twentieth century. They claim to be the pioneers of ancient Indian civilization and who knows that they will not also be the last examples of that civilisation.

Instead of proceeding straight towards our terminus we found our way south towards Ramesvaram by the Indo-Ceylon Express. Notwithstanding the summer heat this part of the journey was a soothing one. The



Courtallam, Tenkasi

reason is that the railway line runs here in close proximity to the eastern coast of India. It took us nearly twenty-four hours to reach Ramesvaram from Madras. But, before we actually got down there we had to stop at Mandapam, a quiet and restful holiday place with good sea-bathing arrangements, on the northern shore of the Pamban Channel, which separates the island of Ramesvaram from India, for the medical examination of the passengers who would go to Ceylon



The Museum, Trivandrum

via Dhanushkoti, about fifteen miles to the south of Ramesvaram. I am not ashamed (and probably there will be many on my side) of my confession that it was a revelation to me to learn that Ramesvaram is on an island completely separated from India and the truth dawned upon me only after reaching the shore of the sea. Maps of India and tourists' accounts are so misleading in this respect! Then only I appreciated the value of Bacon's saying that, "Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education, in the elder, a part of experience."

The crossing of the Pamban Channel by a train is in itself a unique experience in India. In no other place

Nagercoil

The island, on which the Temple of Ramesvaram is situated, is a sandy plain and it is really astonishing to think how so many huge pieces of stone were brought across the turbulent channel in the days when there was no mechanical contrivance to build such a gigantic temple! It would not be out of place here to quote Fergusson's opinion on this temple:

"If it were proposed to select one temple which would exhibit all the beauties of the Dravidian style

The last road of India, Cape Comorin

in their greatest perfection, and at the same time exemplify all its characteristic defects of design, the choice would almost inevitably fall on that at Ramesvaram in the island of Pamban."

Thus finished our trip to Dhanushkoti next day we started for Madura. At the latter place we halted for a night and a day completing our visit to the famous Temple of Meenakshi, the old Palace, etc. Though all these things and many others on our way since the beginning of our tour, were in themselves no less attractive or important, yet our minds were find no peace till we could reach our destination. The praise of the place of the three

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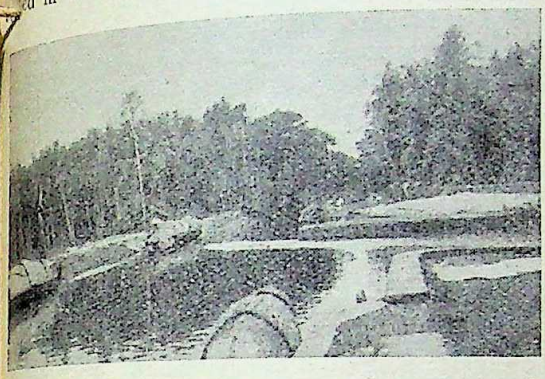
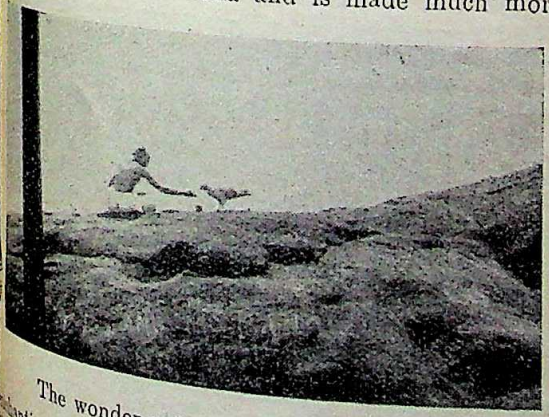
what we had heard from the pilgrims, who had been there, was goading us onward and onward without giving us to rest for a long time at one place. An unaccountable fear was lurking in our mind that the dream of the journey and the unknown surroundings might at any moment tell heavily on our strength so that the southern-most point of India might not be reached in the attempt. So we hurried westwards



The Backwater, Trivandrum

traversing hundreds and hundreds of miles through fields and hills, sometimes green, sometimes red. We passed through so many railway stations and I made vain efforts to read their names which are as big as German words.

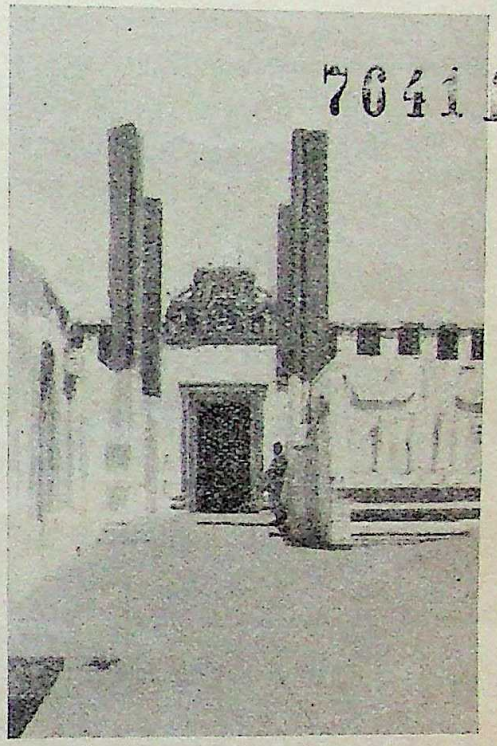
There are two routes to the Land's End of India from Madura, one *via* Tinnevelly, and the other *via* Quilon and Trivandrum. We selected the latter though it was the longer route. In doing so we were guided by the desire to see the Courtallam Falls and Trivandrum, the capital city of the artistic country of Travancore. We spent two days at the Courtallam Falls which are at a distance of nearly five miles from the Tenkasi station. It is a place which is both holy and full of natural charms and is visited by people all the year round, especially after the monsoon. The journey from Tenkasi to Quilon on the west coast is through the Nilgiri Hills and the Western Ghats. The panoramic view may be compared favourably with that of the route between Bombay and Poona and is made much more



The wonder-vulture, Tirukkalikunram

fascinating by the addition of the blue colour of the Nilgiri Hills. Nilgiri is the appropriate title to the hills which always appear blue against the horizon. I have seen many hills and mountains but nowhere the conti-blue colour played such an important part in fascinat-ing the soul. The Nilgiris appeared to me as the very ideal and representation of the eternal mystery which envelopes the beginning and the end of creation.

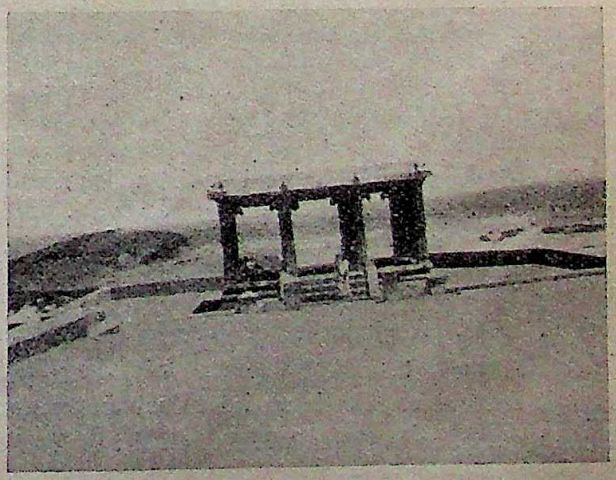
No sooner was the scenic effect of the mountains over, than the coconut groves and the backwaters of the Malabar Coast filled our minds with a feeling of wonder. It is not surprising that Travancore is regarded as one of the most progressive Indian States? How can people living in the midst of such natural beauties be ugly in their outlook? Were not the Greeks masters in the arts of sculpture and architecture and



The Temple, Cape Comorin

were their minds not imbued with the beauty of the Aegean Sea? Shelley dreamt of "a land far from ours where music and moonlight and feeling are one" and I found it in Malabar.

We stayed at Trivandrum for three days during which time we went to pay our homage to the sacred



The Land's End of India

confluence of the three seas. For this we had to take recourse to bus-service which runs from Trivandrum to Nagercoil and from Nagercoil to the Cape Comorin, altogether a distance of nearly 50 miles.

The story of the goddess worshipped at Cape

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Comorin is related by Mr. Natesan in his *India's Sacred Shrines and Cities* in the following manner :

"Once two demons, Baha and Mukha by name, gave immense trouble to the Devas. The latter went and complained to various gods but in vain and at last resorted to Siva—the One who resides at Benares as Visvanatha. He created two goddesses out of his inseparable Sakti—the one as Kali appeared at Kalighat and the other as Kanyakumari

Where three seas meet

or Virgin Goddess appeared at Cape Comorin and completely annihilated the evil demons. This legend is celebrated in a warlike festival called Ambuchasi in the local temple in the second month of the Malayalam year (in August)."

It was not so much the sanctity as the heavenly situation of the place which attracted us to Cape Comorin. But how shall I describe the place? It is the same place where Swami Vivekananda swam across the waves to a half-submerged rock being enraptured by the ever youthful dance of the sea-gods and fell into a trance. Words are too poor to express the ecstasy which filled my heart at the sight of the abode of Poseidon. I am not a lover of the sea. Mountains have a stronger appeal for me. I have tried to be enamoured of the sea at five different places—Puri, Bombay, Madras, Ramesvaram and Trivandrum—but without success. It is only here that my mind was unwilling to leave the sea-shore, it is only here that I forgot all about the attractions of the mountains, it is only here that I wished to cry out—

". . . . I'd rather be
A pagan suckled in a creed outworn,
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn."

The return journey was devoid of all enthusiasm as we were haunted by the memory of what our eyes had witnessed at the confluence of the three seas and we stopped only at Conjeevaram (one of the seven sacred places of India) and Chingleput. Nine miles south-east of Chingleput is Tirukkalikunram where on a hill-top (Vedagiri) we beheld the daily appearance of the two wonder-vultures to receive their mid-day meal from the priest of the Siva Temple. The only explanation I could think out of this centuries-old incident was in the immortal lines of Shakespeare:

"O, but man, proud man !
Drest in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured."

———:O:———

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Kusum D. Paranjpe has the unique honour of being the first lady to get the *Shastri* degree of the Nagpur University. She has achieved a brilliant success in this highest examination in Oriental Learning (Sanskrit) of 1945. A graduate of the Indian Women's University, Poona; a Kavyateertha of the Bengal Sanskrit Association, she is an influential orator and a skilled writer. She has been working on the staff of the Nagpur Sanskrit College.

Miss Kusum D. Paranjpe

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THE NATIONAL TRUST

By CLAUD GOLDING

Used to be a complaint of foreign tourists to England's "green and pleasant land" that, after they had been invited to come over and see for themselves some of the beauty spots and historical monuments, they found their legitimate curiosity barred by such notices as "Trespassers will be prosecuted," or "These lands are private."

"Why entice us here, and then prevent our seeing those places you talk so much about?" was their grievance. It was a reasonable argument, to which there was no adequate answer.

Today even with the restrictions imposed by war necessity, tourists would be able to see many beauty spots to which they may have been refused access in days passed. The change has been brought about by the activities of the National Trust, which since its foundation in 1895, has gradually acquired more than 130,000 acres of the most beautiful and historical country for the benefit of the nation.

Early Attempts

Quiet and efficient are the ways of the Trust. Nothing is ever known publicly of negotiations for the acquisition of property until it has been definitely taken over, yet in the course of a comparatively few years the Trust has become one of the biggest landlords in Britain.

It began, like most organisations of a charitable character, in a very small way. Thus, in 1895, three persons, Miss Octavia Hill, Sir Robert Hunter and Canon Rawnsley, a trio of philanthropists, got together and founded the Trust. It was a long time—12 years in fact—before public interest was stirred sufficiently to induce Parliament to grant the Trust a charter, which they did under the National Trust Act of 1907. At the same time, the Trust is not a Government department. It is an incorporated company supported out of public funds, owning property through donations, bequests or purchase in England, Wales and Ireland.

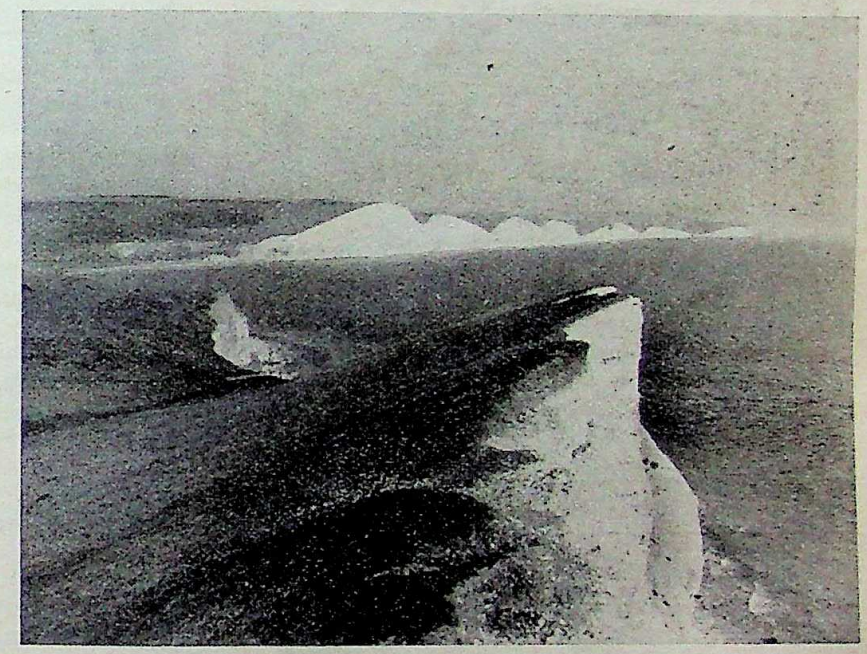
Generous Gifts

It must be admitted that in the early days the activities of the Trust were rather frowned upon by the big landlords who were temporary custodians of beauty spots and historical monuments. This was not surprising, for it gives a person greater pleasure to have a choice jewel in his own collection than in a public museum.

Thus progress was slow at the outset; acquisitions by the Trust came as the result of purchase and subscribed funds and generous gifts of land. In course of time owners of national treasures realised their responsibility to the community, and one by one properties came into the hands of the Trust under the provisions of wills. Still later—and, particularly, such is the case just now—landlords made gifts to the Trust of properties in which they retained only a life interest. But others have gone further and handed over their estates lock, stock and barrel with no restrictions.

Beauty Spots

Among the most recent acquisitions are the estates of Killerton and Holnicote in Somerset and Devon, which the Trust has received from Sir Richard Acland. They include a freehold of 17,000 acres. The Holnicote estate goes down to the sea north of Porlock and lies between Dunkery Beacon and North Hill. It includes beautiful villages. At the outbreak of war the mansion was turned into a nursery for the Ministry of Health. The Killerton estate is seven miles north-east of Exeter. From this gift the Trust hopes to derive an income sufficient to maintain the property, including development, as well as some surplus funds for the general work of the Trust. So far the Acland estates represent the largest acquisition by the Trust.



A view of the Seven Sisters at Seaford near Dover, the most famous of the White Cliffs of England

These estates may be classed as beauty spots. A recent acquisition by the Trust in the category of National monuments is Avebury, probably the most remarkable of all, not excepting Stonehenge. The Avebury remains, which go back to the Stone Age, have baffled archaeologists for centuries. Even in these enlightened days it would be foolish to dogmatise on their age. During the past few years a reconstruction of the remains which include many huge blocks of stone, has been made and it is now thought that Avebury was once a huge Druidic temple that must have dwarfed any Roman amphitheatre. One antiquary has described Avebury as a "monument more considerable in extent than any known to the world."

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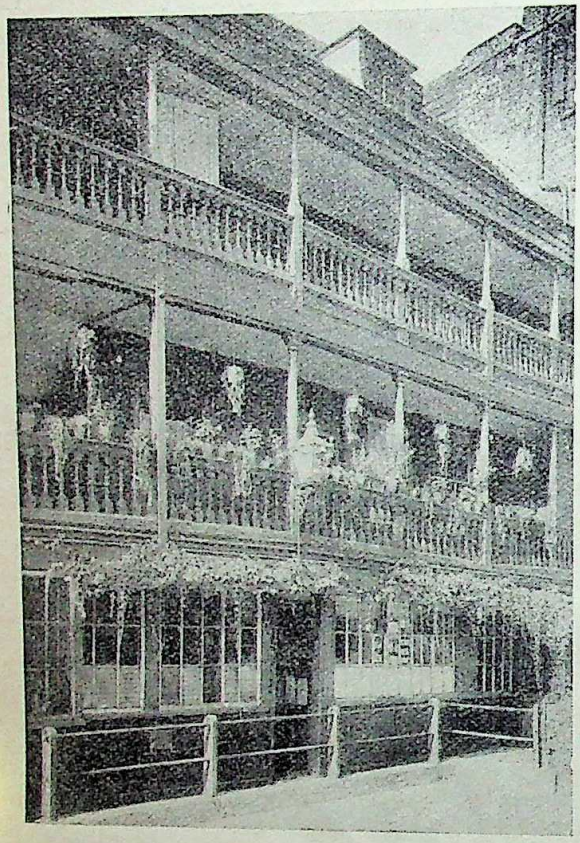
RECENT ACQUISITIONS

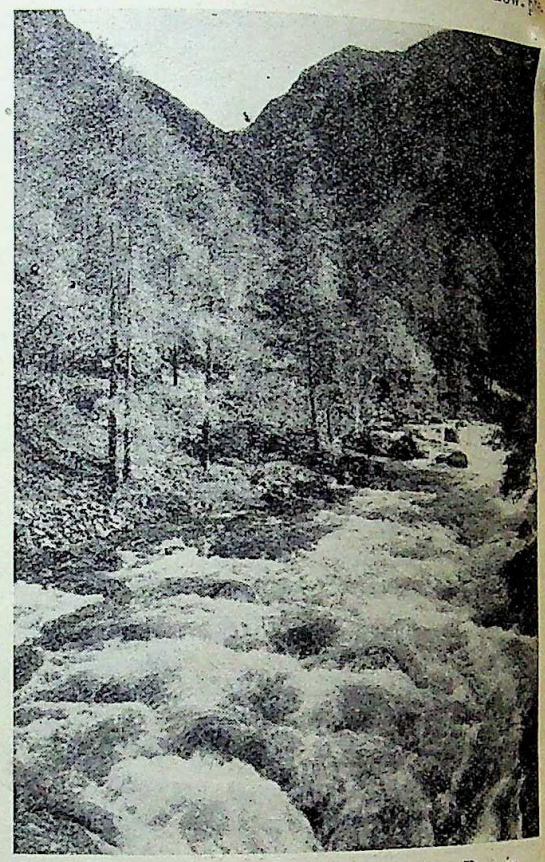
In acquiring 950 acres of land at Avebury the National Trust has again saved an important British monument, which lies close to the Bath Road, near the northern extremity of Salisbury Plain. It is thus within a comparatively short distance of Stonehenge.



This is the last of the famous galleried inns of London, having historical and literary associations going back to the days of Shakespeare. Every year scenes from Dickens and Shakespeare are performed in the courtyard of the inn

Among further recent acquisitions of the Trust is an estate of 13,000 acres in Northumberland which belongs to Sir Charles Trevelyan. There is also good reason to believe that in many wills not yet admitted to probate because testators are still alive, there are other beauty spots and national treasures destined to fall into its hands.

So far as historical relics are concerned, a large proportion of the more important ones are now pro-



A general view of the Aborglaslyn Pass in North Wales

served by the Trust. Even in the tiny village and hamlets one will often find the typical plaque on a building denoting that it has been taken over by the National Trust. Visitors to Britain after the war will have plenty to interest them without running up against that irritating notice : "Trespassers will be prosecuted".

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ORIGIN OF SERICULTURE IN KASHMIR

BY DR. M. GANJU, B.A., D.A.C., PH.D.

SILKWORM is a product of the mulberry tree. The existence of this tree in Kashmir is so ancient that we cannot trace its origin. Not only that, but, as in China, in Kashmir these trees were and are worshipped by the people with great reverence. At present there are eight places reserved for *Bhairava Pooja* in the Valley of Kashmir. At each place there are very old mulberry trees (new ones replace the old ones) which are being worshipped as Bhairavas. In his letter dated 11th September, 1941, the reputed contemporary Sanskrit scholar Hanuman Prasad Poddar, Editor, *Kalyan*, writes in this connection that "I think you are perfectly right in your conjecture that the association of *Bhairava Pooja* with mulberry trees is simply an outcome of people's zeal for and dependence on the silk industry."

Bhairava is one of the *Ganas* of *Siva*, and Siva worship is very old in Kashmir (see *Vaman Purana* chapter 67). But as some scholars are of the opinion that the Bhairava Pooja originated when *Tantrism*, a system of worship, came in vogue, about 800 A.D. we will refer to other sources which show the antiquity of the worship of the mulberry trees in Kashmir.

We know that at the performance of the *Yajnopavita* ceremony a sacred fire is burnt into which besides many other incenses, a large number of twigs of some sacred trees are put. In India such twigs are obtained from trees like *Pipala*, *Sha-*

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Bengan, etc., but from mulberry in Kashmir. Now, since the *Yajnopavita* ceremony takes its origin from the Vedas, which were written thousands of years before Christ, we are on a firm ground to believe that the existence of and the reverence for the mulberry trees in Kashmir is at least as old as the Vedas, if not older.

Again the code of Manu declares (*Laws of Manu* Buhler, Vol. II, p. 38, verse 45) that at the time of *Yajnopavita* "a Brahmana shall (carry), according to sacred laws, a staff of Bilva or Palasa; a Kshatriya, of Vata or Khadira; and a Vaishya, of Pilu or Udumbara." But in absence of such trees in the land, Kashmir took recourse to the mulberry tree. This again leads to the conclusion that not only this tree existed in the Valley tens of centuries before Christ, but it was always considered a sacred tree. And unless it would have been of some immense economic advantage in the shape of probably being the source of silk to the people, we cannot possibly find any reason as to why apple and other delicious fruit-yielding trees should not have been treated with such reverence as mulberry trees. It might, however, be argued that the mulberry tree worship came to Kashmir from China at the same time when the silk industry was introduced here. But that can be disproved by two explanations. Firstly, the Chinese were jealously guarding the secret of the industry (a well-known fact) even after the beginning of the Christian era, whereas the mulberry tree worship in Kashmir is as old as the Vedas. Secondly, the worship of such objects is primarily an Indian institution, and it is possible that the worship of mulberry trees was introduced into China from Kashmir wherefrom later on Buddhist monks were also sent to convert China to Buddhism, rather than it should have come from that place to Kashmir.

The word 'silk' is believed to be from a Mongolian original *sirkek* which means silk. The Korean word for it is *eir*, Chinese *ssi*, Greek *ser*, French *soil*, German *seiden* and the Latin *sericum*, from which the name *Seres* was applied to those through whose hands silk passed from one place to another, mostly the people of Eastern Asia. All these words seem to have been derived according to the authorities on the subject either from Tartar *ser* or Chinese *Tsi*. The Indian word *Pat* and Kashmiri word *Poot* are quite different from the above derivations, and according to the Indian Tariff Board Report on Sericulture, 1933, there "is a theory based on some Sanskrit texts and on the fact that word *Pat* . . . bears no resemblance to foreign equivalents . . . . that the mulberry silk-worm is indigenous to India." It is, however, not known whether either Kashmir borrowed *Poot* from *Pat* or vice versa. The Indian word for silk frequently used in ancient literature is *Kausheya*, which does not bear any resemblance to any foreign word. But *Chinanshuka* especially used by Kalidas as a synonym for *Kausheya* might mean silk which used to come from China, whereas the country-made variety was differentiated from *Chinanshuka* by the particular names, *Pat* and *Kausheya*. As the years passed by, the terms began to be loosely applied to any sort of silk, whether imported or locally produced. *Kausheya* to ancient Indians might have meant silk cloth from Kashmir (Kash is translated as belonging to Kashapa, and Mir, the land, that is, the land of Kashapa is Kashmir) in the same way as *Chinanshuka* most probably meant silk from China. In that case the word *Kashuka* or *Kaushuka* (a cloth from the land of Kasha —Kash-Mir or Kashmir—Kaushshuka) got much corrupted and began to be pronounced as *Kausheya*, but the Chinese word preserved its sound and is thus pronounced as *Chinanshuka*.

M. Gossllin writes that the origin of the silk industry was somewhere near Tibet, possibly in Srinagar or near about that place. Again, in his article "The Secret of Kanishka" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, James Kennedy gives us a description of the gold coins of Kanishka's reign (latter half of the 1st century B.C.) which have been dug up in Scandinavia and Wales. These coins were struck for foreign trade, and the "history of the silk trade explains every peculiarity of that coinage." Large quantities of silk were exported from Kashmir at that time, and since the trade between China and Kashmir during Kanishka's time was very small, the bulk of the silk export is believed to have been coming from Kashmir itself.

The *Mahabharata* (Sabha Parva) mentions a thread spun by worms to have been one of the many presents to Yudhishthira by his feudatory princes from the north-western side of the Himalayas. And the Periplus of the Erythreaen Sea also mentions that the "trade in silk yarn and silk cloth existed in Northern India soon after the Aryan invasion." Since Kashmir has been and is even now the great home of silk production in Northern India, the references in the above documents might refer to Kashmir which forms a part of Northern India.

N. G. Mookerji, the sericulture expert of Bengal, writes that before the Christian era "some of the raw silk that found its way to the West came from Kashmir also."

In conclusion it can be said that the silk industry is very ancient in Kashmir, that mulberry trees which give birth to silkworms existed in the Valley even before the Vedic times, and that the industry most probably developed here independently.

The subsequent development of the industry is shrouded in obscurity, and nothing is known about it until we come to the 15th century, when, according to Rodger's paper on the Silver Square Coins of Kashmir in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* an incident took place near about 1483 A.D. which shows that, in spite of the great political changes in Kashmir from the 11th century onwards which might have affected the industry adversely, the silk industry was yet carried on by the people. "A quarrel had arisen as to the possessorship of a ball of silk. The plaintiff and defendant each swore it was his. The Prime Minister asked whether it had been wound on the fingers or on a spindle; plaintiff said 'on the fingers'; defendant: 'on the spindle.' They unwound the ball and found that it had been wound on the fingers, hence it was made over to the plaintiff."

Mirza Haider who wrote his *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in about 1536 A.D. mentions that among "the wonders of Kashmir are the quantities of mulberry trees, (cultivated) for their leaves, (from which) silk is obtained." Abul-Fazl writes in his *Ain-i-Akbari* that the mulberry leaves in Kashmir used to be reserved for silkworm rearing. Emperor Jehangir in his *Taizak-i-Jehangir* also bears witness to the above facts. Under the orders of Yusuf Khan, a Mughal Governor of Kashmir, the industry was proposed to be reorganised. But to what extent his attempt succeeded is not known. Even the Afghans are said to have, during their last days, given some encouragement to this industry. But this proved

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to be of no avail, since, due to the repressive policy of their Government, people were deserting the country in thousands, and this depopulation had a very adverse effect on this industry, as also on the shawl and other industries in the State. Moorcraft in 1823 wrote that the total quantity of silk "produced is insufficient for domestic purposes." Vigne's account of the industry in 1838 states that Kotihar division was producing the best silk in Kashmir at that time, that a considerable quantity of silk was produced in Kashmir as a whole, the same being taken over by the Sikh Governor who used to pay the producers in rice. Two-thirds of the total produce was exported to the Punjab. This shows that from the time of Moorcraft's account in 1823 up to Vigne's account in 1838, the industry had made a great progress. An Indian visitor, Munshi Ganesh Lal, who visited the Valley in 1864, writes in his *Tuhfa-i-Kashmir* that the State used to derive a revenue of about £2,000 a year out of its silk industry. In 1855 when there broke out a terrible silkworm disease in Europe, the European Governments sent out experts to get seed from the different parts of the world. Two Italian experts came to Kashmir in 1860 and secured a huge quantity of 25,000 ozs. from the Valley. A country which can spare 25,000 ozs. of seed for two foreigners, must have reserved at least an equal quantity for local use. This shows the progress which the industry had made by 1860 since 1823 when, according to Moorcraft, the production for domestic purposes was "insufficient", and eggs were sometimes brought from Gilgit and Little-Tibet.

To conclude, the following points emerge from our survey :

1. The silk industry is of a very ancient origin in Kashmir.

2. The industry had most probably an independent birth in this land. It was practised in the country even during the Vedic age. We, however, know very little about its history till we come to a time only a few centuries before the Christian era when Kashmir was a great mart in the silk trade, and was exporting silk to the whole civilized world of that time.

3. In 1483 we once again find a reference to "silk-ball" which, in unmistakable terms, proves that the industry was carried on in Kashmir at that time.

4. The Mughals are said to have tried to organise the industry, but with what success is not known.

5. By 1823, the production of silk in Kashmir was "insufficient" to meet even the domestic demand, but by 1838, the industry had progressed well, and two-thirds of the total silk production was exported to the Punjab.

6. The most important date in connection with the industry is 1869 when the State entered into the field of production, so as to run the industry on a commercial scale. By 1870, the State assumed the monopoly of the industry in the country.*

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* An extract from the *Textile Industries in Kashmir* (J. & K. State) by Dr. M. Ganju. A Thesis submitted and approved for Ph.D. degree of the Bombay University.

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HYDRO-ELECTRICITY IN INDIA

With Special Reference to Conditions in Bengal

By A. M. ZAHOORUL HUQ, M.SC.

Not long ago much energy had been allowed to be wasted all around the world in the numerous hilly streams which, in ancient times, were, in some cases, utilised as sources of mechanical power through the agency of water wheels. But with the advent of electricity, the prospect of converting mechanical energy to electrical energy at a suitable point and then reconverting it again without much loss to any other desirable form at the point of utilization drew pointed attention to the organised and most efficient utilization of the water power which had been, except in a few very inefficient cases, wasted so far. The sources of motive power, namely, coal and oil, being available in limited areas of the world, the growing tide of economic rationalism a few years back had been, to a large extent, responsible for the rapid and efficient utilization of water power in countries deprived or short of fuel resources; in their zeal to safeguard against the breakdown of internal economic structure in case of any international political crisis necessitating the stoppage of the import of coal and oil, which would go on smoothly in peace time, these countries directed their most ardent attention to the development of water power. Even though it may seem that the above tide of economic nationalism is gradually subsiding these days, it is hoped, the development of water power around the world will go on in full swing for all, enough coal and oil have been wasted during the two wars of the 20th century—and the deposits are exhaustible; and, for regions far away from coal and oil deposits, it will always be considered better to utilise potential water power than to carry them in by railway or other means. Furthermore, cheap electric power which is the *sine qua non* for extensive industrial development of any country, made possible by the utilization of potential water power, is sufficiently worth our while to strive for, not only for industrial development, but also for a general rise in the standard of living of the people. The prospect of combining irrigation with Hydro-electric projects has lent further impetus to the scheme of the utilization of water power, by the construction of reservoirs for monsoon storage or by the erection of dams on rivers in countries aspiring after simultaneous agricultural and industrial development. A brief survey of the present position of water power development and its prospects in India, especially in Bengal, will be found in the following pages.

India's power resources, coal and oil, being unevenly distributed, the regions situated far away from the coal and oil deposits experience serious handicaps in the field of cheap power generation due to transport difficulties and the consequent high price of fuel. For this reason, attention has been given in recent years to the only other alternative, namely, water power in regions unfavourably situated as regards coal and

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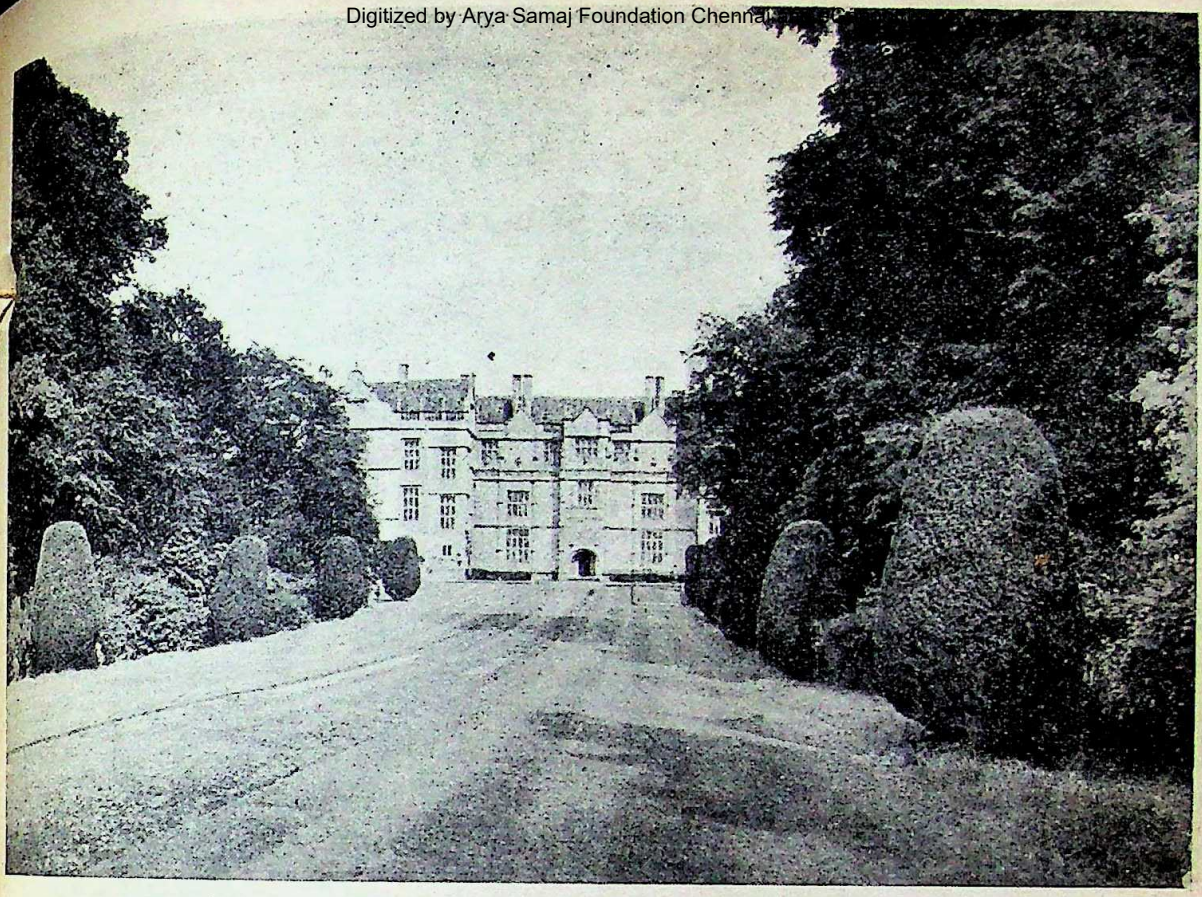
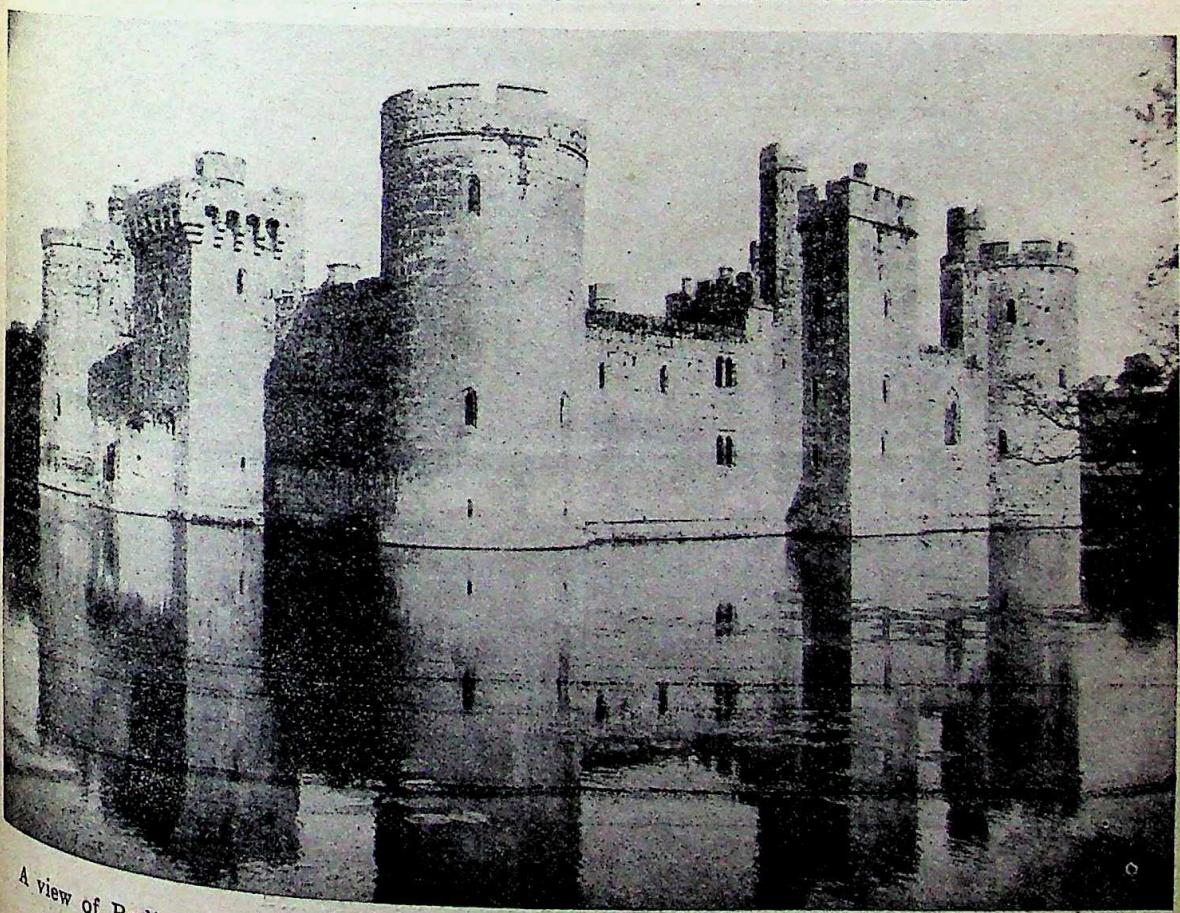


A view of the front of Montacute House in Somerset. This splendid stone-house was built in 1600 by Sir Edward Phelps, a Speaker of the House of Commons



A view of Bodiam Castle in Sussex, one of the finest fortified castles of the fourteenth century

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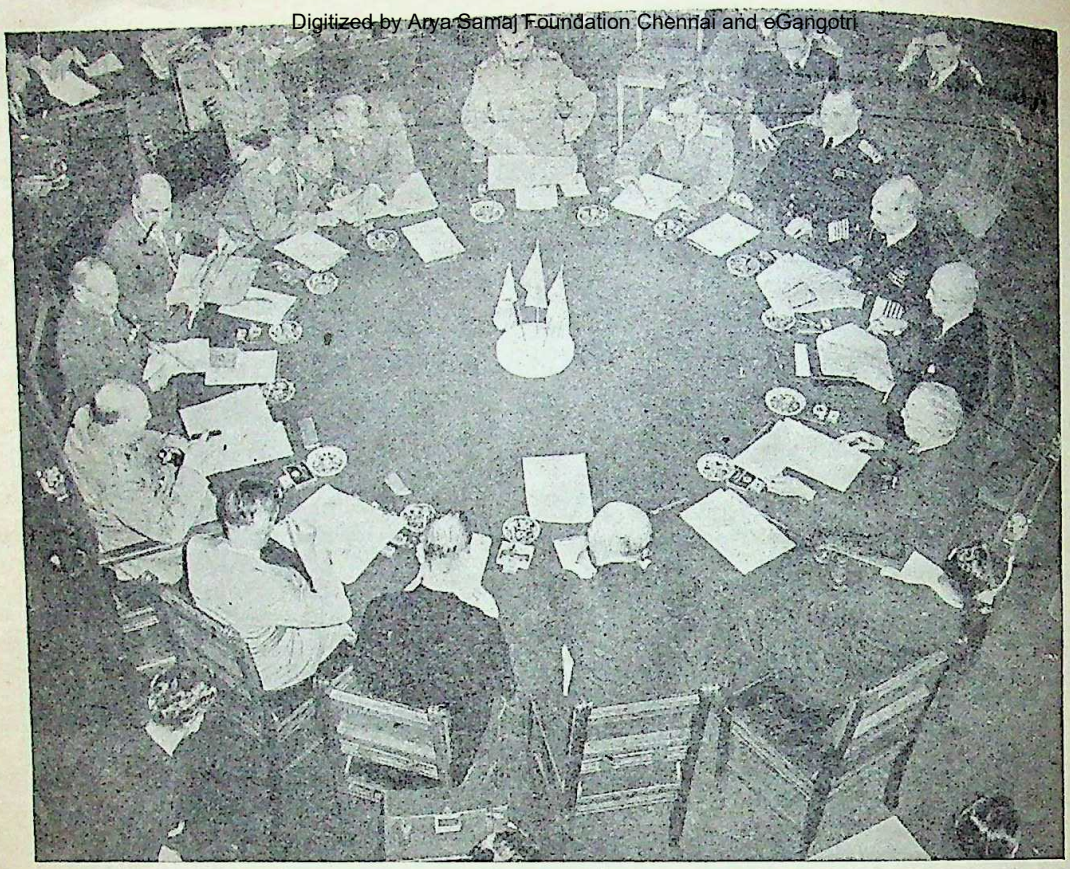
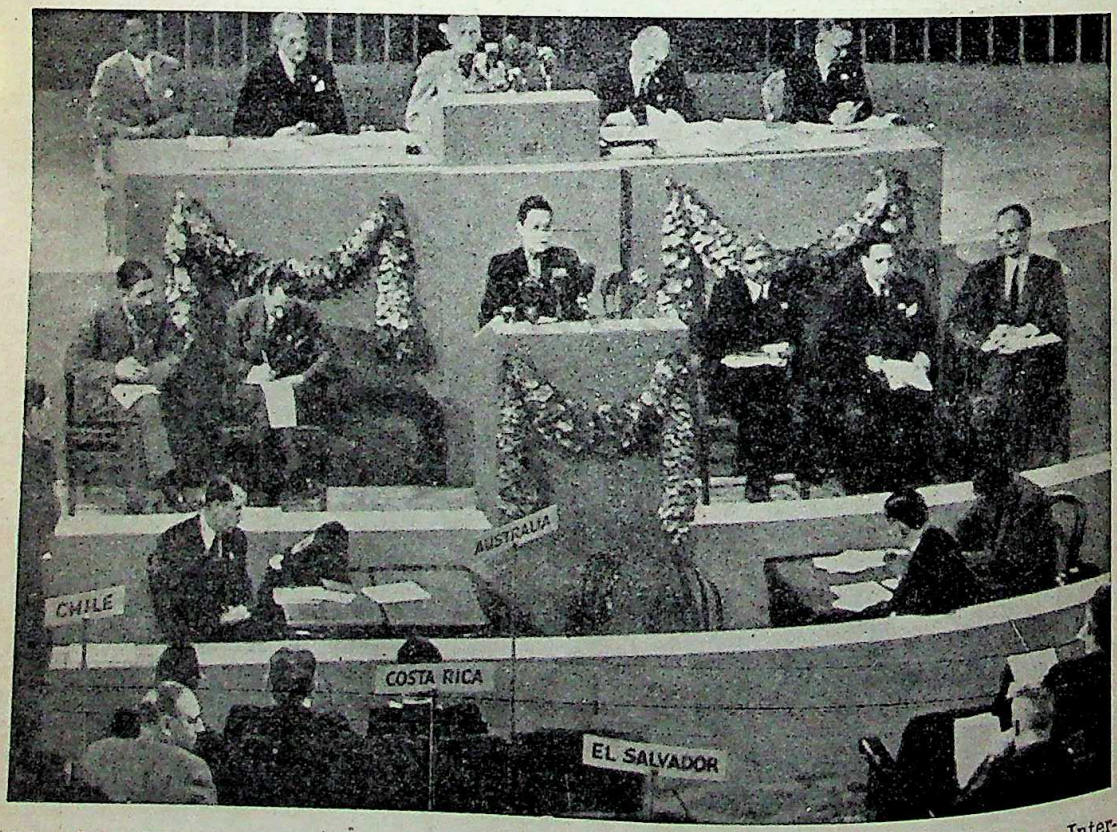


"Big Three" Conference in session at Potsdam



Miss Wu Yi-fang, a member of China's delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization, speaks at a public session of the Conference at San Francisco. To her left is Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Chairman of India's delegation

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all. The progress made within a few years is striking, but even so, the actual amount of energy produced from these resources is far below possibilities. So far only 0·7 million H.P. have been developed throughout India, though 36·0 million H.P. are continually running to waste in all her potential water power resources, and if all these sources are utilized, India promises to make a position enviable as one of the Industrial powers of the world.

To work out water power schemes is really, difficult in India, because the power needs to be continuous while rainfall is seasonal and the rivers are fitful. Hence costly storage works are almost always necessary. The capital required for such development is, except in a few cases only, beyond the capacity of private enterprise. We thus see that, excepting the three gigantic schemes of Bombay presidency managed by Tata, Hydel projects elsewhere in India have resulted from Government enterprise.

Among the provinces, Madras, U.P. and the Punjab have made considerable progress in this field. Thus the Pykara river project, the Mettur Dam and the Papanasam projects of Madras have not only relieved the province from dependence on coal and oil of other parts of India, but by providing cheap power for the industries and for agricultural purposes have alleviated much of the miseries of the population. The Mettur Dam, one of the largest of its kind in the world, has been constructed mainly for irrigation and part of the water let down for this purpose is utilized to the best advantage for the generation of 33,000 H.P. of electrical energy. The authorities in Madras are still on the look-out for exploring possible sources of water power. A Grid System connecting the Hydel and thermal stations is in contemplation.

In the Punjab, the Uhl river project at Mandi is the only Government enterprise so far. The task has been very hazardous and the construction of the power stations at high altitudes exhibit considerable engineering skill and enterprise. So far 64,000 H.P. have been harnessed and there is provision for future extension. The total capital cost (Rs. 800 lakhs) on this project has been unusually high due to the difficulties in construction and should not be taken as representative. In addition to supplying power to several industrial towns like Amritsar, Ludhiana and Lahore, this project also caters for the power requirements of the North-Western Railway.

In U.P. the development of hydro-electricity is the outcome of an well-organised effort on the part of the Provincial Government. The process of combining irrigation with Hydel projects has been most efficient in this province and the name of Sir William Stampe is worth mentioning in this connection, for he had been chiefly responsible for the success of the entire project. The U.P. Grid System connects all the different Hydel stations on the several small falls of the Ganges Canal system with the already existing and dependable thermal stations and carries power to 66 towns for industrial and domestic purposes. Cultivators in the rural tracts whose land lies, in many cases, outside the area commanded by gravity flow from the canal itself, also obtain cheap power from the Grid System and are thus in a position to use electric motors for pumping water from rivers, tube-wells or open wells profitably for irrigation purposes.

Of the Native States of India, Mysore takes the lead. The project on the Cauvery falls at Sivasamudram was the first large-scale undertaking in India. It generates 50,000 H.P. and supplies energy for industrial and domestic consumption. The State has taken the initiative in the matter of power generation and different power resources are being explored. Extensive rural electrification has been achieved.

The State of Kashmir and Jammu has also made progress in the field as manifested by the power stations at Baramulla and at Jammu. The former utilizes the water of the Jhelum while the latter harnesses the Rambir Canal falls. The consumption has been chiefly domestic.

Assam has only a small station at Shillong to her credit. No further progress has so far been made, though the resources have been found substantial as the result of preliminary surveys.

Before coming to Bengal a few words are necessary about Bihar and Orissa. In spite of the large coal-resources existing in Bihar, the unusual abundance of mineral resources in this province has set industrialists thinking about other possible sources of power and considerable attention is being paid to her hydro-electric potentialities in the post-war period. The newly created Province of Orissa has not been slow in recognising the importance of hydro-electricity, and the enthusiasm shown by all sections of the population of Orissa in the recent dispute about the rights on the Doduma falls on the boundary between Madras and Orissa indicates that people have come to realise the importance of water power throughout India.

Though, in Bengal, the small Hydel station at Darjeeling was the first to be operated in India, in 1897, no further progress has so far been made in this field. The industrial centres being situated in and around Calcutta, where coal is obtained cheap from the Raniganj coal fields, thermal energy has been the principal motive power so far.

The extraordinary rise in the pressure of population on agricultural land due to (*i*) the decay of Bengal's Cottage Industries as a result of unfavourable competition with cheap foreign products, and (*ii*) the absence of a sufficient number of heavy industries to divert the surplus population from agriculture, has raised problems which call for immediate attention of those who are at the helm of affairs. The ravage done by the recent famine has, moreover, opened the eyes of the authorities towards extensive irrigation throughout Bengal to enable agriculture stand on a sound basis.

In order to arrest the decay which has set in and been constantly looking Bengal in the face, the following programme has been suggested as the basis for future action : (*i*) Improvement, and, in certain cases, revival of Bengal's Cottage Industries, and (*ii*) sufficient expansion of heavy industries throughout Bengal. These two will act in a negative way and by diverting a considerable part of the population from agriculture as a profession will raise the standard of living of the rural as well as the urban population. The third line of action is the improvement of irrigation, thereby helping agriculture. This will act in a positive way, and besides, increasing the yield of already cultivated lands, will bring hitherto unproductive lands under cultivation.

It can easily be apprehended that according to plan if Bengal is industrialized, new industrial centres will tend to grow up nearabout the already existing ones due to the easy availability of cheap coal from Raniganj coal fields. If this happens, which almost certainly will, if the tendency is not checked in time, excessive

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centralization of industries will bring in new problems no less important than the ones already demanding solution.

Thus the prospects of decentralization of industry and the improvement of agriculture have focussed Government's attention towards (*i*) exploitation of new sources of power wherever available, and (*ii*) erection of barrages (such as the Sukkur in Sind).

Bengal being a land of rivers is a plain and, naturally rivers in the Himalayas, namely, the Tista and the Jaldaka, have appeared as prospective sources of considerable water power.

S. W. Redclift in the *Report on the Position of Electrification of Bengal, 1939,* made the following recommendation :

> "A Hydro-electric power station is to be erected near the foothills so as to utilize the water of one of the rivers such as the River Tista or the River Jaldaka. This would supply electricity for the whole of North Bengal as far south as the River Ganges and as far east as the Brahmaputra. The Southern limit would be at the junction of the two rivers near Pabna. This power station could also supply the whole of Dooars and possibly Cooch Behar State and any land nearby in North Assam. Towards the west, a supply of energy could be given to North Behar."

The power produced from these sources will greatly develop cottage and large-scale industries in this region and, it is further hoped, the barrage to be constructed for the purpose of power generation will provide water for irrigating "the whole of North Bengal."[1]

As regards the actual power available in this region, the following figures given by the Hydro-electric survey of India, 1919-21 may be taken as authoritative :

Jaldaka River

The minimum discharge of the river at the site where the power station is proposed to be erected is 189 cusecs (cu. ft. per second) and the fall is approximately 1,000 ft. By a definite method of calculation it is found that the minimum power available continuously without any storage is 12,500 kws. Its potentialities are, however, vastly greater. During the rains the discharge rises to nearly 800 cusecs and it is probable that by the time the power would be wanted by the tea gardens for firing the leaf electrically there would be somewhat more than 50,000 kws. available.[2]

Tista River

This is a slow-fed river with a minimum discharge of 10,000 cusecs. The river is subject to enormous floods from its 3,000 or more square miles of catchment and although capable of yielding much power the development would be an expensive one. There is little doubt that a dam would be the only method of controlling the floods . . . Assuming that a 50 ft. head could be obtained by this means, as is probable, this would give some 45,000 e.h.p. continuously and more than one such place could, in all probability, be found. The river in its lower reaches may be estimated as good for at least 150,000 e.h.p. at a price.[3]

Karnaphuli River

The Karnaphuli river of Chittagong District and certain other rivers in the Hill Tippera regions are capable of giving some amount of power from South Eastern Bengal.

About the Karnaphuli river the above report says :

> "A plant of 2,000 KW could in all probability be operated, if the site proves favourable the power available may be twice as much . . . At any rate the project is worthy of expert examination."[4]

About the rivers in the hilly ranges of Tippera the report observes :

> "It is little more than guesswork to say that from 30,000 to 50,000 KW are probably obtainable."[5]

Damodar River

The projected dam on the Damodar river to be erected primarily to prevent flood in the Damodar Valley "should have as its purpose not merely stopping the flood but also include the generating of electricity and the supply of water for irrigation".[6] The Tennessee Valley Scheme has probably been very much in the mind of the Government in this connection. It is hoped, a Bengal Grid System in the near future will connect the Hydel stations in the north with the thermal stations served with cheap coal from the Raniganj deposits and Hydel stations which can certainly be erected inside the hilly tracts of Chittagong and Tippera. If this materializes at all, a happy, contented and revitalized Bengal will not be only a dream any more.

In conclusion, a few words about Hydro-electricity in post-war India are necessary. The importance attached to "Power" as one of the basic needs is evident in every post-war reconstruction plan. The attention given by the Central Government to this aspect is evident from the creation of the Central Technical Power Board which is "to regulate and develop the production of electrical power and to advise the various Provinces and States who may require their assistance."

It is widely recognised now that the basis of an industrially and agriculturally developed India should be the availability of cheap power throughout this great sub-continent. The proposition of exploiting water power for this purpose may not appear attractive at first sight due to the higher initial cost than that necessary for thermal stations, and considering the absence of suitable market for the generated power, capital may not be forthcoming. But it should be properly realised that Hydel projects become the gainer in the long run. Undue competition should be entirely eliminated from the field of power generation, and the responsibility of the development and distribution of power should lie with the Government.

That there is no market for generated power is entirely a wrong picture of the situation. Apart from the fact that India's industrial possibilities have so far been practically neglected, it is worth noticing that wherever hydel power has been developed, the urban and the rural (chiefly for irrigation purposes) loads have shown

1. Khan Bahadur Saiyd Muazzamuddin Hossain, Minister of Agriculture at Rangpur on December 6, 1944.
2. *Report of Hydro-electric Survey of India,* 1919. Vol. I, p. 70.
3. *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 115.
4. *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 147.
5. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar at the Writers' Building Conference of Damodar Flood Enquiry Committee.
6. Sir A. Dalal's Broadcast Speech on Post-war Planning on December 16, 1944.

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marked increase. The average cost of hydel power for industrial and agricultural purposes may be taken as one anna per unit, though wide variations are sometimes observable. The proposed expansion of Indian industries will contribute towards lowering the power cost further. Establishment of Electro-chemical, Electro-metallurgical and paper-pulp industries should, by increasing the load factors of the stations, bring down the cost still further. Manufacture of artificial fertilizers from coke and gypsum, as recommended by the Gowing Mission, has engaged Government's attention. The alternative method of manufacturing artificial fertilizers by the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen by cheap power obtainable from hydro-electric sources should also be carefully examined. In view of the general awakening of the people of India in all spheres of life, nothing should be deemed impossible or too difficult to realise.

"I dream of the Tennessee Valley, but not without hope: for all this may happen to any river valley in India, to the Damodar, to the Ganges, to the Sutlez, to the Nurbedda, to the Sone, if the people and the Government just give Science a chance.."[7]—it is not the dream of Sir S. S. Bhatnagar only, but also of India's teeming millions.

7. Presidential address at the Indian Science Congress at Nagpur, January 2, 1945.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Chemical Fertilisers Versus Compost

The learned author of the article "Chemical Fertilisers *Versus* Compost" (*The Modern Review* for May, 1945) seems to be an ardent protagonist of compost manuring. While there is no disagreement that well prepared compost added to the soil increases its fertility and also improves its structure, the author's prejudice against the use of Chemical fertilisers seems to be ill-founded and unsupported by soil science experts.

Briefly stated the author's contentions are as follows: Chemical fertilisers when applied first increase the output of crops by artificially stimulating the soil. But their continued application leads to its gradual deterioration by slowly destroying the soil becteria and the earth-worms which are essential for the formation of humus in the soil. When applied over a number of years artificial manures being also 'symbolic of the unnatural methods of agriculture' will bring on 'certain tragedy and desolation to once fertile tract of lands'.

The writer would have us believe that it has been established in the U.S.A. that 'lands very fertile even 20 years ago are now desert', and also that 'at least a third of the cultivated area of the U.S.A. is on the way to becoming useless' and that Chemical fertilisers are one of the important factors for bringing about such a serious state of affairs.

The writer has undoubtedly presented an 'over-painted' picture and the thesis he has advanced regarding the artificiality of synthetic manures and their ultimate baneful effect on agriculture is not at all supported by the opinion of soil scientists. Sir John Russel, F.R.S., Director of the famous Rothamsted Experimental Station in England, writes in his book *Soil Conditions and Plant Growth* (published in 1932):

"Farmers were slow to believe that 'Chemical manures' could ever do more than stimulate the crop, and declared they must ultimately exhaust the ground. The Rothamsted plots falsified this prediction; manured year after year with the same substances and sown always with the same crop they even now after ninety years of chemical manuring continue to produce good crops."

("This book is considered a Bible among the soil scientists," says the Editor of *Science and Culture*.)

And again he declared in a speech in 1943:

"It seems strange that in this 20th century there should still be people who think that ammonia derived from organic matter differs in some subtle way from ammonia derived from gas liquor or produced synthetically. I know of no evidence that organic manures produce healthier or more nutritive crops than inorganic fertilisers."

It is thus clear that the author's notions about chemical fertilisers are based on doubtful data.

Ours is a country of increasing population with decreasing soil fertility. This is indeed very serious. Yet another serious thing about India is that although about 80 per cent of us make our living directly or indirectly from the soil, we are not self-sufficient as regards foodstuff even on a low level of subsistence. Can this be remedied? Yes, we can acquire self-sufficiency even on a higher and healthier standard of diet by substantially raising the productivity of the soil. Dr. N. C. Acharya of Bangalore thinks that it is possible to produce ten million tons of compost from all India sources. The quantity appears to be impressive but its utter insufficiency becomes readily intelligible when we consider that this organic manure has a very low Nitrogen content which is about 0·4 per cent. Therefore, to depend on compost alone for manuring over 300 million of acres of land would be putting the brakes on the wheels of India's agricultural progress. To return to the golden era of plenty we must supplement this manure derived from natural sources with a liberal addition of chemical fertilisers, both Phosphatic and Nitrogenous. Sir J. C. Ghose very rightly said:

"The importance of technological studies on problems of synthetic fertilisers industry in India cannot be overemphasized, and in any future plan of economic reconstruction of India this industry will be considered as a No. I Key industry."

Any plan of agricultural development in this country must make adequate provisions for three essential things: ample manuring of the soil, more extensive irrigation facilities and intensive research for her production of improved variety of seeds suited to Indian climate and soil.

S. M. Bose, M.Sc.

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MAURYA EMPIRE

By SANTOSH KUMAR BASU, M.A., B.L.

Lord Willingdon has said in his speech on the new constitution :

> "It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that during my Viceroyalty there has been made possible a consummation of age-long effort not only of the British Government but of all great rulers in India from Asoka onwards, namely, passage of the Act, which for the first time, in the history of India consolidates the whole of India and for the purpose of common concern under a single Government."

Now after the successful termination of the European war when the air is thick with all sorts of rumours about the future constitution of India, it is quite opportune to discuss the extent and the nature of unity that India enjoyed under Devananpriya Piyadasi Asoka, Dharmaraja.

The extent of the empire has been determined with sufficient accuracy with the help of literary sources and corroborated by epigraphic evidence. It extended up to Hindukush Mountains in the west and so possessed the "scientific frontier" for which Anglo-Indian statesmen have long sighed in vain—as Dr. Smith beautifully puts it, in the north it extended up to Kashmir and Nepal, in the south it comprised the whole of the Deccan up to Pulicat near Madras in the east, to Chitaldurg in the north and right up to the northern point of the South Canara district in the west excepting the Tamil kingdoms of Chera, Chola, Pandiya, and Sotiya Putra, and in the east it is generally believed that it included the whole of Bengal. It appears from the legends of Tibet which is very accurate with regard to the dates of Asoka, that the empire comprised in its fold the kingdom of Khotan. In Divyavadana also we find that the nobles who were connected with wrongful blinding of Kunala by forging royal order were banished to the land lying to the north of the Himalayas. Perhaps these exiles along with the Chinese founded the city and kingdom of Khotan as they are credited with in the Tibetan account. So it seems Khotan was used as penal settlement like the Andamans of the British Government. (Arthasastra also prescribes heavy punishment for forging royal orders, p. 224).

Besides the Home province of Prachya with its capital at Pataliputra which was directly ruled by the Emperor himself with the assistance of ministers, there were four viceroyalties, *viz* :

1. Uttarapatha—Capital Taxila.
2. Avantiratha— „ Ujjayini.
3. Dakshinapatha—„ Suvarnagiri.
4. Kalinga — „ Tosali.

The viceroyalties were ruled by princes of the blood royal who were designated as Kumaras. In the R.E.S. V and XIII we find mention of eight tribal territories, namely, Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandharas, Rastrika-Pitinakas, Bhoja-Pitinakas, Andharas, and Pulindas, and Nabhapantis of Nabhaka. According to Buhler, R. E. XIII mentions two other tribal territories —Visa and Vajri. We are inclined to hold that these tribal territories enjoyed internal autonomy within the suzerainty of the paramount power the Maurya Empire. This is evident from the very fact of their being mentioned separately as distinct from the people who were under the direct sway of the Mauryas. There were distinctions between these territories and the area which was under the direct rule of the Mauryas is also apparent from the assumption of royal dignity, from the language of the edicts, from the royal policy and measures.

Thus from the Bhabru edict we know that Asoka was satisfied with the designation of the King of Magadh and did not aspire to claim himself as the ruler of Jambudwipa which was the generic name for the whole of India in the time of Asoka.

In the edicts also he referred to the territory within his direct rule as Hida or Idha while the autonomous states as Raja Vishaya and the distinction is made clear by the R.E. XIII which first records his achievement in the sphere of Dharma in his own territory, then in the states of independent neighbouring rulers and then in the tribal territories. This distinction was also observed in the preaching of Dharma. Thus while Dharma of the rock edicts consists of general ethical principles, common to all religions, that of pillar edicts which was meant for his own people is saturated with Buddhistic ideas and is clear cut with its positive and negative aspects definitely stated. In his own territory he also prohibited slaughter of animals for sacrificial purposes and stood as the head of the Church as of the State and dealt with the schismatics with strong hands. The toleration which he so vehemently preached in R.E. XII was conspicuous by its absence in the territory which was under his direct rule.

It is generally admitted that pillar edicts mark the extent of the territory which was under the direct rule of Asoka while rock inscriptions occur in the important cities of the tribal territories and provinces under royal officers, and minor rock edicts are mostly at places which separate his territory from those of his independent or semi-independent neighbours. In minor rock edict I (Rupnath) Asoka definitely says that his Dharmalipi should be engraved on stones in his kingdom of Pataliputra while on rocks in the dominions.

It seems this territory which was under the direct rule of Asoka was known as the kingdom of Magadh. Now for the proper understanding of the relation that subsisted between the kingdom of Magadh and the units it is necessary to have just a passing glance through the internal constitution of these units.

(1) The Yavana State was in the north-west portion of India and was perhaps identical with the republican city state of Nysa of the Greek accounts. It was governed in the days of Alexander by a council consisting of 300 members and it seems that the same constitution continued in the days of Asoka. Its capital was perhaps located at Shabhazghari the find spot of R.Es. Arrian says that the Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but descended from the Greeks who came into India with Dionysus the Greek invader of India before Alexander. It comprised the region lying between the Kophen and the Indus. (2) Kamboja was another republican State lying next to Yavana State and corre-

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extended to Rajapura near Punch in Kashmir. Kambojas, modern research indicates, spoke an Iranian tongue. Arthasastra refers to the Kamboja's as a republican state of warriors who lived by agriculture, trade, and wielding weapons.

3. The tribal state of Gandhara probably lay west of Indus and did not apparently include Takshasila which was the seat of Kumara Viceroyalty. Pushkaranati was the capital of Gandhara.

4. According to some authors R.E. XIII mentions Vajri as an unit of the Maurya Empire. This Vajri may be identical with Vrijika the confederacy of the republican states of Lichhavis with its capital at Vaisali in north Bihar.

5. There was another state in the north, namely, Kshapanti of Nabhaka which was perhaps identical with Ne-pei-kea of Fa-Hien, the birth-place of Krakuchchahanda Buddha about 10 miles south or south-west of Kapilavastu.

6. Andhras had a monarchical state comprising the territory lying between the rivers Krishna and Godavari with its capital at Anandhpure. According to Pliny, the Andhra State possessed numerous villages, thirty towns defended by walls and towers and had an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants.

7. Pulindas were another tribe who lived in the Vindhya region and their capital Pulindanagar may be identical with Rupnath, the find spot of minor rock edict I. The Pulindas might have a republican constitution as they are credited with in the Kasika of Panini.

Bhoja-Pitinakas and Rastrika-Pitinakas mean the hereditary rulers. Bhojas occupied territory comprising the present Thana and Kolaba districts of the Bombay Presidency. From Aitareya Brahmana we find that Bhoja was the designation of the Princes of the south whose subjects were called Satvatsa. Rastrikas occupied the territory now known as Maharastra. Bhoja and Rastrikas are also mentioned in the Hatigumpha inscriptions of Kharvela as rulers and they were the ancestors of Mahabhoja and Maharastra, the hereditary chieftains of the Andhra period.

From Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman we know of another unit of the empire *viz.*, Saurastra which according to the said inscription was under a Yavana ruler named Raja Tushaspha.

According to Arthasastra however, Saurastra was a republican state. The reconciliation to this apparent contradiction perhaps lies in Arthasastra (p. 379). Here Kautilya directs that non-monarchical corporations which are inimical to the Maurya state should be put down by sowing the seeds of dissensions and in some cases if possible the Maurya emperor should get a prince of high family but dethroned or imprisoned, installed as rulers. Perhaps with regard to Saurastra Sangha this policy was followed by Asoka who got Raja Tushaspha installed as ruler in Saurastra Sangha. Girinagar was the capital of Saurastra. Besides the units stated above, there were two other units of the Maurya empire viz. autonomous wild tribes of the jungle tracts presumably of Vindhya mountains and Chhota Nagpur plateau and the conquered but unsubdued border people. From Arthasastra we find that the wild tribes had their own strongholds and their own chiefs. From R.E. XIII we find that Asoka permitted the wild tribes internal autonomy subject to their leading a peaceful life after having given up evil ways.

Now the question is what was the relation between the kingdom of Magadh and Bengal, the Gangaridae of the Greeks.

We get no light from the edicts—internally they are silent, externally they do not occur at all in Bengal soil. But historians think that Bengal was a part of the Maurya Empire from the testimony of Hiuen Tsang who claims to have noticed some stupas of Asoka in Bengal. But Hiuen Tsang visited India long nine hundred years after Asoka. Moreover, he looked at things with the spectacles of a zealous Buddhist and as such his account of things Buddhistic should be taken with caution. Hieun Tsang claims to have seen stupas of Asoka at Tamralipti in Bengal, while Fa-hien who visited India two hundred years before him and spent two years at Tamralipti does not make the slightest reference to Asoka's stupas at Tamralipti. The next date for inferring Bengal as a part of the Maurya Empire is the Mahasthan inscription. But the only sober fact that we get from this inscription is that this inscription was written in a script similar to that of Asoka's edict, and hence the only probable speculation that could be made on its basis is that Bengal was within the pale of Maghadhan civilization. But thanks to the activities of the Buddhists and Jains Maghadhan culture and thoughts penetrated into Bengal long before Asoka. Even the cult of former Buddhas of which Devadatta, cousin of Gautama Buddha, was a great exponent found a good soil in Bengal to thrive upon.

From Divyavadana we find that Paundra Vardhana of Bengal was a great centre of Jainism in the days of Asoka.

In Arthasastra also we find that the fine fabrics of Vanga and Paundravardhana known as Vangaka and Paundraka were very popular in Magadh.

But admittedly the port of Tamralipti was used by the Mauryas as their outlet to the sea. According to Taranath, Bimbisara either conquered or subjugated sixteen kingdoms and thus made himself master of the territory between the eastern and western seas. Perhaps the kingdom of Suhma of which Tamralipti was the capital was along with some other kingdoms of Bengal amongst these sixteen kingdoms near the eastern seas. But Bengal proved to be a refractory province. Thus Asoka in spite of his abhorrence for the militarism had to march to the port of Tamralipti at the head of an army at the time of the dispatch of a branch of Bo-tree to Ceylon. (Ceylonese legend, Smith's *Asoka*, 3rd Edition, p. 240).

From Divyavadana we find that the people of Paundravardhana pulled down the statue of Buddha, and Asoka as a punishment for the sacrilege massacred 18,000 inhabitants of that city in one day. Thus it seems that the unsubdued border people of the Kalinga edict I who were told that the King would bear patiently with them provided they would follow the law of Piety and were also made aware of the inflexible resolve and promise of the King, perhaps refers to the people of Bengal.

Now having discussed the different component parts of the empire now let us try to find out what was the administrative relation between the imperial centre and these units. It is certain that the relations between the centre and these units were not uniform.

Firstly, there were the four viceroyalties administered by the Kumaras of royal blood, with the advice of ministers. Kumaras used to get a salary of 12,000 panas per annum. The authority of the Kumaras was

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controlled by the ministers who were in direct touch with the imperial centre and had the power to communicate with the centre behind the back of Kumaras and could act over the head of the Kumara. Next to four viceroyalties there were the imperial provinces under Rajukas appointed by the centre and having direct charge of many hundred thousands of people. The Rajukas were transferred every five years from one station to another. In the 26 regnal year the Emperor by his edict (P.E. IV) invested the Rajukas with some of the sovereign powers, *viz.*, independence as regards the awards of honours and penalties and in undertaking the works of public utility so that they might perform their duties confidently and fearlessly.

Besides these Imperial officers, there was another set of officers posted in important cities, *viz.*, the Nagala Viyohalaka of the Kalinga edicts. The Nagala Viyohalaka corresponded to the Pauranyaveharikas of Arthasastra and were set over many thousands of living beings and had the direct charge of the cities like Sampa and Isla subject to only imperial supervisions which were also issued direct to them.

The fourth class of officers was Atma Mahamatras (P.E. 1) who corresponded to the Antapala of the Arthasastra. They were in charge of unsubdued border people over whom they exercised a general supervision. One of such Atma Mahamatras was perhaps for Bengal. The relation with vassal states were, however, different. They enjoyed more or less autonomy in internal matters and as such there must have been some sort of division of powers between the paramount power and these states on the basis of agreements referred to in Arthasastra (Book VII). However the agreement made with the vassal states were different with the varying degrees of internal autonomy enjoyed by the states.

Generally speaking the division of powers was thus: Forts and other defensive works, acquisitions of things, celebration of marriages, capture of elephants, commercial undertakings, marching against an enemy—all these the vassal states should not undertake without the permission of the paramount powers nor the vassal states could make any agreement with their own people without the permission of the central authority. On all occasions of worshipping gods and making prayers, the vassal states should cause its people to pray for the long life of the Emperor-Protector (p. 310, Arthasastra).

With regard to a vassal state the imperial policy was sympathetic and conciliatory and not of ruthless annexation as is wrongly supposed by some. Kautilya repeatedly forbids the policy of ruthless annexation but says that peace should be made (p. 269) with a submissive inferior ruler, even when the king of a conquered state is slain then also Kautilya asks the Maurya Emperor (p. 313) not to covet the land, things and wives and sons of the king slain. But he should install in the kingdom the heir-apparent of the king who died. The reason for this conciliatory policy is also given by this master-statesman in the succeeding lines thus, "All conquered kings will, if thus treated, loyally follow the sons and grandsons of the conqueror." With regard to non-monarchical state the same policy of only obtaining allegiance was followed and not of ruthless extermination as is wrongly supposed by some historians.

The political sage Kautilya was too wise to ignore the inherent soundness of the republics in which he himself says, that the sovereignty being the property of a clan, is invariable in its nature and being free from the calamities of anarchy, can have a permanent existence on earth (p. 35). Thus we find in different passages of Arthasastra, Kautilya advises the king to secure the support of the republics which is better than the acquisition of an army, a friend or profits (p. 378) and the so-called "diabolical intrigues" is only advocated by Kautilya with regard to refractory republican states and that also only for the purpose of bringing them under control and not for ruthless extermination.

Arrian also refers to the existence of cities which enjoyed a democratic government (Chinnock Arrian p. 413).

The Maurya Empire comprised in modern terminology Afghanistan south of the Hindukush, Baluchistan, Sindh, the valley of Kashmir, Nepal, the lower Himalayas and the whole of India proper except the southern extremity. The empire was composed of the following units:

1. The central state of Magadh. It was administered by the Emperor directly with the help of his ministers and graded officers. The kingdom of Magadh comprised a territory extending from Ambala district in the west to Pataliputra in the east, from Nepal in the north to Sanchi in Bhopal State, Central India, in the south. Besides there were four viceroyalties.

The important cities of the empire were, however, administered by Paura-Vyavaharikas directly under the control of the Emperor. There were Antapals who exercised supervision over the unsubdued peoples living under the hegemony of the Maurya Empire.

The tribal states both monarchical and non-monarchical were allowed internal autonomy with certain restrictions which varied with the terms of agreement arrived at with them. Roughly speaking the central authority exercised control over the army, defence, political relation of the vassal state. However, in a case of refractory republican state as that of Saurastra, it was sometimes placed under a Rastrapala which post was analogous to a modern Imperial High Commissioner as was in the time of Chandragupta or sometimes a prince was installed there as it was in the case of Raja Tushaspha of Saurastra Sangha in the time of Asoka. The Kumaras, Paura-Vyavaharikas, Antapals and Rastrapala having drawn the uniform salary of 12,000 panas per annum, must have enjoyed the same status in Maurya constitution. There was a sort of duality in the religious policy of Asoka. In his own kingdom he stood as the head of the Buddhist Church trying to restore unity in the church and prohibited animal sacrifices which were necessary parts of some of the Brahmanical ceremonies, out of respect for the susceptibilities of the Buddhists.

In his dominions however, he followed a general policy of toleration to all sects. People of every denomination were permitted contrary to the restrictions of Arthasastra to reside in every place (R.E. VII). The members of different sects were enjoined to show respect to each other's sects and to show conformity to the rules of conduct as laid down in the edicts. The Emperor in his turn showed in accordance with the directions of Arthasastra (p. 409) reverence to men of all sects whether ascetics or householders by gifts and various forms of reverence and tried his best to bring the growth of the essence of the matter in all sects (R.E. XII).

Attempts were made to bring the people who were outside the pale of Indian civilisation within the

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ural ambit of India but not by ruthless policy of nisation but by persuasion and other conciliatory sures. Thus Yavanas and Kambojas who with their liar society based on the economic division of oyer (Arya) and Dasa (employee) were outside pale of Indian civilization were sought to be ht into the fold of Indian civilization by imperial l missionaries. But fullest regard was shown to susceptibilities of these peoples. An Indianised k named Dharmarakshita was engaged for the pose of propaganda work amongst the Greeks and mbojas (Mahavamsa) and Kharoshti script was ted in royal inscriptions for these peoples. Finally his thirteenth regnal year he created a new body of ers called Dharmamahamatras. These newly created perial officers were employed amongst the auto- mous tribal states situated at different parts of India were entrusted with the duty of securing allegiance to the rules of conduct as laid down in the edicts and enforcing the principles of Indian jurisprudence in matters of judicial administration (R.E. V). Long roads were constructed to knit together the different parts of India, while the peoples of different parts were welded into one nation by a common code of social conduct, common principles of jurisprudence, common lingua franca in the shape of Purabi Prakrit, with an uniform policy with regard to foreign relation, defence and commerce and above all a paternal Emperor at the head—the symbol of national unity.

But the unity was such that local patriotism found a comfortable place within the embrace of larger national patriotism and as such the Maurya unity of India was more federal than unitary and its modern parallel to some extent is the British Commonwealth of nations.

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ON THE REORGANISATION OF THE PHILOSOPHY COURSES

By Dr. P. T. RAJU, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Sastri

present state of the philosophical studies in India gitating the minds of all concerned thinkers, both osophers and educationists. We no longer find those rate students, who used to take up philosophy for studies. It is natural that subjects, where immediate urns are very high, should attract all first class men. can therefore understand why medicine, engineering, nology and some of the sciences are so popular. even in arts, many subjects for which there is no pect of immediate returns and for which there is provision in the high school classes are preferred to osophy. One student told me that his parents said it would be "beneath his dignity" to take up osophy. What he actually meant by these words I not understand. But we can roughly evaluate from the attitude of students to philosophy. On further tioning that boy said : "What does it matter, Sir, ther God exists or not ?"

We find not only good students are not coming to department of philosophical studies, but also the ber of philosophy students is gradually going down. one time in Madras philosophy was the second most ortant of all the subjects, both arts and sciences ined. The first place was given to mathematics. best students were allowed to take mathematics, next best philosophy and so forth. There was rally a rush for philosophy. Some of the best in- ts went for it. There were philosophy graduates came out successful in the I.C.S., F.C.S., and er competitive examinations. Had men the same con- pt for philosophy, which most of the intelligent dents now are showing for it, Indian philosophy ld not have got even that much of recognition it now has in the world.

This attitude to philosophy is evinced also by the philosophical construction is viewed in India. the world over except in India and some of the back- d countries, philosophy is viewed as the outlook of time unified into a system. As the outlook goes on nging and progressing, the systematisation also goes on. It is the duty of the think- ers of every age and country to evaluate the general outlook of the time in terms of values commonly accepted as the highest and ultimate. This evaluation is not possible unless the outlook of the time is articulated into a system. It may also be felt that the recognised ultimate values need transvaluation. Hence philosophical reconstruction is the everlasting duty of all philosophers. Just as there can be no poet who cannot scribble a few verses, there should not be a philosopher who cannot systematise and evaluate the outlook of his time. Just as there are world-poets and poets of local importance, there will naturally be the distinction between world-philosophers and philosophers of the moment. The philosophy of the former will live for ever, but that of the latter will be forgotten. But unfortunately in India philosophical reconstruction is, to put it in modest terms, plainly discouraged. In spite of all that is said about creative work by some of our leading thinkers, they take little or no notice of any serious attempt at reconstruction ; and the words, "our country is not much interested in it," when they drop from their lips, practically nip all reconstructive activity in the bud. And we begin to wonder whether it is the right of the Germans to give us philosophy and whether it is our duty to admire and accept it. Now and then one hears the question; "What is the use of the German philosophy for us?" Then what are we to do ? Read and assimilate what the English say without being allowed by our own men to say anything? It appears that the philosopher in India has really nothing to do. If so, his species may become extinct. His work is no longer needed ; he has no value.

What are the philosophers in India generally respected for ? They are respected for their piety; they are supposed to be religious. They are treated as men of strong sentiments, far removed from the scientific outlook of the time, accepting many superstitions and swallowing ideas for which there is the least ground. The pity of it is that accordingly the Indian philosopher [illegible] his personality, and is trying to appear religious. In academical circles, when professors

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of various departments meet, he offers some humour and enjoyment at the cost of his subject. That is, it is of little importance what sort of work the professor of philosophy does.

This is the state of philosophy now. It is no longer attracting good students; research in philosophy, that is, philosophical research as distinguished from the antiquarian, is not encouraged; and professors of philosophy are not treated as *vijnanis* but as *jnanis*, they are not treated as contributors to the sumtotal of world's knowledge, but are tolerated as pious and religious men, and are possibly allowed to hold appointments in our universities just as bullock and buffalo carts are still permitted to go along with motor cars and aeroplanes. Philosophy is not regarded as a socially useful subject, with the result that many colleges and universities are abolishing it.

What is the reason for this state of affairs? The first that suggests itself to me and that suggested itself to many others is the mistaken identification of philosophy and religion. One philosophy graduate, who travelled throughout Europe and saw what philosophy was in that continent and who, for all that, is a very religious man, sent round an anonymous letter pointing out the evils of this mistaken identification in India. Professor A. R. Wadia in an article entitled "And What is Philosophy?" drew the notice of the readers to the deplorable ignorance in India about the nature of philosophy. People tend with little thought to identify it with religion. The philosopher here is expected to be pious and religious; and to be pious and religious one has to be an orthodox Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Parsi. Now, the religious man is expected to take care of our souls after death; but as the universities are expected to take care of our minds and bodies in this life, philosophy is thought to be an extra-university subject. Probably for the same reason the Public Service Commissions give philosophy students all respect but keep them at a respectable distance from all appointments. I know of an advertisement for a teacher of geography in a high school and all including Telugu and physics students were asked to apply except philosophy students. The I.C.S. has indeed included some of the philosophy subjects for its examinations; but the Accounts, Police and the other services will have nothing to do with philosophy. It is probably felt that the Police Superintendents need no knowledge of human nature or psychology, social thought and ethics and that they need not be logical. A greater probability is that the question is never raised, after having identified philosophy and religion, what subjects are taught under philosophy. It is perhaps not commonly known that the philosopher can be one of the most astute of practical men, when once this false identification is not made. He can have that detachment which lends keenness to practical judgment. General Smuts, we read, used to carry Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* to the battle-field.

When it is said that the identification of philosophy and religion is false, atheism is not advocated. All men should be pious and God-fearing; they should be moral and truth-loving. All serious thinkers wish that every religion should turn philosophical, that it should press philosophy into its service. But we should not wish that philosophy should press religion into its service and prove its conclusions by taking the name of God instead of that of reason. Religion is just one of the subjects which philosophy studies, and it studies several other subjects. Piety and orthodoxy should not pass for depth and width of thought.

I may probably be referred here to the statements of many philosophers, both of East and West, who tended to identify religion and philosophy. Hegel said that the subject-matter of both religion and philosophy was Truth in its wholeness. McTaggart thought that metaphysics naturally ended in mysticism. Sir S. Radhakrishnan in a recent speech said that politics was applied religion and I may be told that thereby he identified philosophy and religion. But we should not forget that the utterances of great men are not to be easily understood. Though Hegel maintains that both religion and philosophy deal with Truth, he goes on to make fine distinctions, and contends that religion studies Truth in one aspect and philosophy in another; and we should note that he gives philosophy a higher place than to religion. His philosophy includes all branches of knowledge of which religion is only one. In a sense similar to that in which he identifies philosophy and religion, we may identify science with both. Similarly, we may identify politics with economics, both with constitutional history, all with history, these again with the history of civilisation, that again with philosophy and so on. But this identification does not warrant our treating an economist as a historian, or a historian as a religious man. It shows only that the subjects are interrelated.

The very philosophy of his master, namely, Hegel, conflicts with McTaggart's assertion that philosophy should end in mysticism. It may or may not. So far as the present topic is concerned, the question may be left open. Even if it is admitted that philosophy ends in mysticism, it need not thereby be identified with religion. Philosophy is systematic thought which may lead to mysticism—which very fact means that it is not the same as mysticism.

Sir Radhakrishnan's assertion has to be carefully understood. It is true only in the case of intellectuals. His religion is religion understood intellectually. He could not have meant any institutional religion. But unfortunately in our everyday life religion which is not institutionalised is never taken to be religion. Neither English politics nor the Italian politics of Mussolini is applied Christianity. Or if one is, the other cannot be. In present-day India where religion is not understood in the sense of the rational uninstitutionalised religion, to treat politics as applied religion is dangerous. Further, there would be the undesirable consequence of accepting every religious man as a politician and a professor of politics. If we draw a distinction here, we have to do the same between religion and philosophy. It is desirable to treat politics as applied philosophy and philosophy not as religion, but as systematised knowledge. It is true, there are a few saintly persons desirous of devoting their life to the cause of humanity who have chosen politics as the field of their activity. But from these few instances we should not generalise.

Now, what is it that a religious man as such can do? Can he tell us how society is formed? Can he enlighten us about political and moral institutions? Can he train our rational nature? A religious man, even if he is a professor of politics, logic, psychology, etc., can do all these. But is he expected to do these? It is enough if he has faith. But our universities are not to encourage mere faith, which in many cases is superstition. So many questions will be put when

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more religion and philosophy are identified. In these days of democracy, when people ask the government to account for every pie they spend, questions will be raised about the usefulness of every subject taught in the universities. Society would be unwilling to spend money on subjects not socially useful. And when philosophy is identified with religion and as such is not to encourage faith, neither the universities nor the government would be willing to encourage that subject. And as one who is supposed to know little or nothing about the world around him, the student of philosophy will hardly be employed either by the government or the local bodies.

Further, the usefulness of religion is more and more questioned now. Rightly or wrongly religion is considered to be a hindrance or even an enemy to social progress. The religious man is supposed to give the backward pull to all progress or at least to be an ineffectual spent-up force having nothing to do with anything that is of value in this world. In either case the identification of philosophy with religion has been done to the great disadvantage of the former.

It may perhaps be thought that I am speaking of religion in the popular sense and not in its true sense. But we should not forget that we are dealing with the religions of the world and not with the religion of the philosopher. Hoffding defines religion as faith in the conservation of values. But when the cry is raised that religion is in danger, when the priest, either Hindu, Christian or Muslim, says that people are becoming irreligious, it is never meant that faith in the conservation of values is in danger or that people are losing that faith. When a Hindu temple is destroyed faith in the conservation of values is not lost; so also when music is allowed before a mosque: We should not forget that religion is not based on reason, whereas philosophy is so based. Religion is a sentiment, which is, as McDougall says, structurally similar to a complex. Logic is the soul of philosophy; but sentiment, which is practically instinctive, is the soul of religion.

There is thus a large number of wrong notions about philosophy, the first of which is its identification with religion. There are professors who, when it is said that social philosophy, political thought, etc., have an ethical basis, think that these sciences ultimately preach asceticism, and say that all sciences which create hatred for life should be expelled from the universities. They do not know that these sciences have to do both with social urges and social ideals, and that a systematic understanding of these ideals constitutes ethics. Ethics has nothing particularly to do with asceticism. Gardner Murphy in his *Experimental Social Psychology* writes that men like Lenin, Tolstoy and Gandhi change human nature so much that it would be wrong for the psychologist to adopt merely the scientific inductive method in his investigations. That is, we cannot as easily arrive at fundamental and unchanging psychological laws at the level of human society as at the lower biological levels. This difficulty is due to the working of social ideals as distinct from social urges. That is why ethics is an indispensable part of all social subjects, but certainly not because it preaches asceticism.

Another reason for the unpopularity, as it has been already indicated, is the neglect of the subject by the Service Commissions. Probably that neglect is a consequence of these false notions. Not only from these commissions but also from municipalities, district boards, the educational departments and local bodies and private employers the subject is receiving the same treatment.

We have given roughly six reasons for this state of affairs: (1) the identification of philosophy and religion, (2) the encouragement often given by professors of philosophy to this identification, (3) the feeling that religion is either socially dangerous or useless, (4) the growth of democracy and the demand by the people that all expenditure including that on universities should be socially useful, (5) wrong notions about the subjects taught in philosophy, and (6) bad treatment of the subject by the various service commissions.

But what is philosophy really? It is not necessary to tell philosophers what philosophy is. But I have to say that much which is of immediate concern. Philosophy organised to explain the world of our experience, not merely this or that part of our experience, but the birth, etc., of the world as a whole. This is true whether we take the earliest speculations of the Greek philosophers or of the Vedic Rishis. When religion took upon itself the task of explaining the world, philosophy, science and religion were identical. But either when religion did not make this claim or when it overshot its mark by encroaching upon the sciences of nature, philosophy remained aloof or included religion also in its subject-matter. Anyway, the aim of philosophy has always been the presentation of a unified system of knowledge, which includes every branch of our experience. Consciously or unconsciously philosophy has been throughout the whole of its history strenuously aiming at this ideal. And now when departmentalisation or compartmentalisation has been carried to the extreme, some of the greatest scientists are themselves advocating that students should have width of outlook. Sir C. V. Raman, who was for a long time advocating that all subjects except physics and the other sciences should be abolished from the universities, recently advised students to get a unified knowledge of nature for the reason that nature is a unity. Otherwise, they cannot become men of culture. Their outlook will be narrow and their personality dwarfed. But how are we to have a unified knowledge of nature? If a student of physics attends classes in history, in mining and in psychology, he cannot have a unified knowledge of nature, though he will know of more things than what physics alone can teach. The methods for the unification of knowledge specially belong to philosophy. Modern logic as methodology, psychology as descriptive of human nature, and ethics as the science of human ideals, are particularly concerned with the final perspective of human experience. And philosophy as including all these is the science *par excellence* that systematically unifies all knowledge. Philosophy as such should really be an indispensable subject in every university that is to be a cultural centre.

But unified knowledge in this world is not a bare unit of knowledge or the knowledge of a bare unity. Knowledge is the knowledge of facts and of different kinds of facts, and unification is the unification of different branches of knowledge. We might have said that it is the knowledge of a bare unity when this unity was identified with God or the Brahman and we were told *yasmin vijnate sarvam idam vijnatam bhavati* (on knowing which everything is known). But we do not find that one who is God-conscious can give us laws

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like the geological, biological and the physical or the methods by which these laws are obtained. Further, we want our universities to impart knowledge of these and similar laws; we no longer treat the universities as training centres for saints and ascetics. We want our universities to be training centres in *vijnana* (sciences and arts) and wish our ancient *asramas* to continue as training centres in *jnana*. Our universities should be *asramas* only in so far as they preserve the atmosphere of purity, keeping corruption out of doors. For corruption, dishonesty, twisting of facts, and ignorance should have no place where the spirit of science and reason rules and is allowed to rule. That is, we want our universities to teach our students about facts, to train them in rationally understanding facts, to make them understand the ways of reason. Only then will the outlook of students become sufficiently wide, and their personalities complete.

To express the same in terms Indian. Philosophy or reflection belongs to the stage of *manana*. *Manana* is the process whereby the ideas learnt are brought into an apperceptive unity, and we have a system of philosophy. This *manana* in ancient days was about facts concerning God, soul and immortality. But we now wish that our universities should train students in directing their *manana* towards facts of nature and in building up a unified system of nature. Philosophy includes both kinds of *manana*, both *jnana* and *vijnana*, both knowledge of religion as a phenomenon and knowledge of nature. That is why it can give a unified system of knowledge. That is why it is incumbent on philosophy to train students in the methods of unifying knowledge. Professor Whitehead says in his *Aims of Education* that instead of king James' pronouncement "no bishops, no kings", we should say "no logic, no science" (p. 161). Logic is not exhausted in the classical syllogism, "All men are mortal, Socrates is a man, therefore Socrates is mortal," nor is it exhausted in the classification of terms and judgments, but covers as methodology the whole of experience. Similar is the case with metaphysics, psychology and ethics. "The justification for a university", says Whitehead, "is that it preserves the connection between knowledge and the zest for life" (p. 139 *Ibid.*) It is not the duty of the universities to impart knowledge which destroys the zest for life. Mahatma Gandhi also says: "Philosophy without life corresponding is like a body without life". In other words, logic, ethics, psychology and metaphysics are, as pure sciences, reason without life. They get back the zest for life only when they have something to reason about.

The distinction between pure and applied sciences is certainly relative, not absolute. We have pure and applied physics, pure and applied chemistry, pure and applied mathematics, etc. But these pure subjects are in their turn applied subjects so far as philosophy is concerned. Just as pure physics unifies all applied spheres, so philosophy unifies all branches of knowledge. This unifying function of philosophy is most clearly observable in the case of sciences dealing with facts at the human level. In the light of this argument, Mahatma Gandhi's assertion is most significant. He says: "I know in this land of ours we have enough philosophy but little life. But I know also that the laws governing the conduct of man have still to be explored and the condition of exploration is imperative and unalterable." We have enough philosophy in the [illegible] man have still to be explored. And the Mahatma allots the task to the philosopher. That is, the emphasis must now be shifted from pure philosophy to applied philosophy. Philosophy should tell us more about human nature and human thought as manifested in concrete life. Then only will people realise the usefulness of the subject and the universities will be able to restore to it its original importance. Nor will it be neglected in the Services. Knowledge of human nature, human life and the nature and function of human society will be as useful and necessary for an officer of the Police Service as for an officer of the Civil and other Services.

It is with this aim that we have to reconstitute our philosophy courses. Rightly or wrongly we have been giving more importance to pure philosophy, particularly to the theory of knowledge. Not only in the general subjects but also in the optionals our emphasis is laid on the pure side. There may be many principles on which the distinction between the general and optional subjects is based. But in philosophy this distinction should be between pure and applied philosophy, that is between subjects which deal with general principles and those which offer material for the application of these principles. Again these two divisions must be well-balanced. That is, the number of general papers and that of the optionals should almost be equal. Taking the Indian conditions into consideration, the following scheme may be considered:

Logic, psychology and metaphysics are the pure and basic subjects of philosophy. Ethics also may be treated as a pure subject because it forms the foundation of important subjects like political theory, social philosophy, etc. But it may be treated as applied metaphysics also. Logic and psychology must be compulsory not only because they are fundamental but also because they are taught in the Intermediate class and will have to be taught in any other class corresponding to them and for teaching them we have to supply teachers. For metaphysics we have to retain European philosophy and Indian philosophy including Islamic philosophy. In every university Indian and Islamic philosophies should be combined and all philosophy students should read both. Thus we shall have four general papers: Logic, Psychology, History of European Philosophy, and Indian Philosophy including Islamic Philosophy. For M.A. and its corresponding B.A. Honours of some of the South Indian universities we have altogether eight papers of which one is an essay. If the essay is removed, we shall have four optionals or applied subjects: otherwise, there will be three. The optional subjects should consist of two groups, one group comprising (a) Social Philosophy, (b) Ethics, (c) Political Philosophy, (d) Philosophy of History, (e) Philosophy of Religion, (f) Aesthetics, (g) one of the Indian and Islamic Systems, etc., and the other group comprising (a) Social Psychology, (b) Educational Psychology, (c) Child Psychology, (d) Experimental Psychology, (e) Mental Tests, (f) Psychology of Religion etc. Every student should be advised to take at least one of the optional papers from each group and the rest from the other, so that a student who takes psychological optionals will not be lacking in the knowledge of theory and a student who takes theoretical optionals will not be lacking in the psychological side. It may be asked whether specialisation in the general subjects will not be necessary. It is, but it may be left for the post-M.A. period, when the student does research.

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So far as regards M.A. The B.A. courses also become a problem, particularly in the South Indian universities, where there is specialisation even from the lower classes, and philosophy is not taken along with other subjects. In these universities the student of philosophy has five subjects, Logic and Theory of Knowledge, Ethics, Psychology, European Philosophy with special reference to a particular Text, and Indian Philosophy with special reference to a particular Text. These syllabuses are unattractive and uninteresting, and from the standpoint we are now adopting, of little use. For the B.A. pass student, who has to study English, and second language, Logic and Theory of Knowledge would be either too taxing or it would have to be too short a course to have a beginning and end. The teaching of European and Indian Philosophy with reference to special texts, to students who are not expected to know the whole history and who are not taught the whole of the history even in the barest outline, results only in estranging them. The B.A. courses have therefore to be altered. My proposal is that the B.A. students should be allowed to take five of the following subjects: (a) History of European Philosophy as a Development of Thought, (b) History of Indian Philosophy (only in bare outline), (c) Ethics as a growth of moral thought, not as a metaphysic of morals, (d) Psychology, (e) Sociology, (f) History of Civilization, (g) History of Political Thought, etc. The last two subjects will enable a philosophy graduate to handle even History in the high schools. After all history is not mere chronology but a continuous and progressive expression of human nature. Whatever theory of history we adopt, history is more than mere chronology, and the student of philosophy must be as capable of dealing with it as the student of pure history. The latter may be more acquainted with facts and their dates; but the former would be more at home in understanding their interconnections. Croce's identification of philosophy and history may be an extreme view, but not without truth. It is not meant that philosophy will displace history, but only that in at least the lower classes the student of philosophy can handle history classes.

It will not be enough to reorganise the philosophy courses in order to bring back to philosophy its former prestige. The country at large should understand that the philosopher is not merely a religious man, and that the educational institutions no longer view philosophy as a subject of only religious interest. The Public Service Commission should be persuaded to include as many of the philosophy subjects as possible in its examinations, so that people may feel that it is recognised by the Government also as a socially useful subject. The Inter-University Board should recommend to the universities to so alter the philosophy courses as to make the subject socially useful. It should be a cultural subject *par excellence* and not merely one in which the men of religion alone are interested.

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ECONOMIC PLANNING IN INDIA

By Prof. K. K. GAJRIA

The word "Planning" has acquired great importance in the twentieth century, specially in its second quarter, commencing with the post-war period (after World War I). It has become the creed of, even an article of faith, with economists and politicians throughout the world—in England, U.S.A., Canada, Australia, France and India. Ever since the success of the three Five Years' Plans of Soviet Russia, planning has been regarded as a panacea for all the 'economic ailments' from which the world suffers. The era of *laissez-faire* has ended, and it has been substituted by an era of "Planned Economy". Before the last great World War, planning was confined only to a few items of national life like labour-welfare, slum-clearance and construction of healthy houses for factory workers, and systematic tackling of the problems of unemployment. The present post-war period, however, has seen the development of "Planned Economy", which is much more comprehensive, embracing almost all the aspects of national life.

In our country, also, during the last two or three years, there has been a good deal of talk regarding planning. Even capitalist industrialists and foremost businessmen, who are, generally, strict adherents to the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, have started paying their homage to the doctrine of "Planned Economy". In India, Sir M. Visvesvaraya was, perhaps, the first man to devote himself whole-heartedly to the task of economic planning on Western lines. In his famous book *A Planned Economy for India*, he laid down the plans set forth by the detailed Ten-year Plan, with the sole object of improving and modernising agriculture, industries, trade and transport, with a view to raise the 'per capita' income, and consequently bring about a substantial rise in the low standard of living of the people of India. Then the Congress National Planning Committee was formed, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its President, and Prof. K. T. Shah as its General Secretary. The National Planning Committee addressed itself to the task of preparing a systematic and comprehensive plan for the economic upliftment of the people of India. However, we all know, that the work of the Committee was, unfortunately, interrupted by India being involved in the Second World War, without its accredited representatives being consulted and the consequent resignation of the Congress Ministries in the seven Provinces of India on the question of the clarification of the "war-aims" of the Allies. To a certain extent, Prof. K. T. Shah is privately continuing the work, which the Congress Planning Committee was compelled to leave unfinished. In India, recently, a number of plans have been prepared by the Governments of various Provinces, as also by the Central Government. So far as the Provincial Governments are concerned, they aim at "Rural Reconstruction," and improvement and rehabilitation of those villages in particular, which have sent large numbers of recruits to the various theatres of war. So far as the various "Post-War Recons-

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truction Committees," appointed by the Government, are concerned, their main object is to divert the attention of the people from the present atmosphere of bitterness and frustration ; even the fact of the coming of the Labour Ministry into office, in Great Britain, has not succeeded in removing entirely these feelings of bitterness and disappointment. Many of these plans and brochures have been prepared by Dr. Gregory, the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, *e.g.*, "Post-War Trade Policy", "Indian Monetary Policy in the Post-War Period", "Localisation of Industries", etc. But the less said about these Government plans the better. Their main idea seems to be to find out ways and means of enabling the people of England, to improve their standard of living, at the cost of the masses in India. We have a strong suspicion in our mind that "Delhi is furiously planning for England and not for India." Such economic plans, drawn up by the Government of India, are only meant to by-pass and side-track the fundamental issue of Indian Independence. Besides these a number of committees are busy tackling problems of Trade and Transport, Education and several other problems. These piece-meal and compartmental plans, drawn up without a wider vision of planning as a whole, will hardly succeed in offering a clear and effective solution of our fundamental problem—the problem of poverty. A number of prominent businessmen of our country have, also, put forward their own plan, popularly known as the Bombay Plan. Unfortunately, this plan of the Industrialists was placed before the public, at a time when the nationalist voice of India was gagged and strangled. The leaders of the people, at that time, were behind the prison-bars, and dark clouds had gathered thick on the political horizon of India. Of course, we should not question the sincerity and patriotism of these eminent businessmen. Recently, Mr. M. N. Roy's Radical Democratic Party has, also, prepared its own plan. The last two plans, which are the only unofficial plans, recently placed before the public, have failed to take into account the special cultural and sociological foundations on which true economic planning must be based. Principal S. N. Agarwal of the Wardha College of Commerce has, also, a few months back, published his "Gandhian Plan", in which he advocates the evolution of well-organized and powerful village communities, based on the principle of self-sufficiency.

In this article, I propose to discuss, at some length, the last three plans—the Bombay Plan, the People's Plan and the Gandhian Plan. But, before I do that, I must define the underlying principles of "Planning" in general.

According to Prof. G. D. H. Cole, the famous English economists, the principle should be, "to resort to a form of 'Planned Economy' which will take as the guiding principles of its activity the full utilization of the available productive resources, and the planned distribution of incomes, so as to promote the standards of consumption most consistent with common welfare." (*Principles of Economic Planning* by G. D. H. Cole). According to Prof. Aldous Huxley, one of the greatest thinkers of our time, the test of good planning is, "Whether it will help to transform the society to which it is applied into a just, peaceful, moral and intellectual progressive community of non-attached and responsible men and women." (*Ends and Means* by Aldous Huxley). Principal Agarwal refers, in his *Gandhian Plan*, to the three "People's Principles", adumbrated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, which should be the guiding principles of planning in every country—Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood.

In India, our planning should be based on the indigenous culture and civilization of the nation, and should be in the nature of spontaneous growth, and not an ill-fitting, super-imposed external tie. Secondly, our planning should not deprive the masses of their liberty in the economic, political and social spheres of life; nor should planning be permitted to lead to excessive regimentation and minute state control, as in Russia and some Fascist countries. The third principle of planning should be that every citizen should be provided with reasonable opportunities of earning his or her livelihood by just and honourable means.

Having disposed of the question of the correct principles and aims of planning, I pass on to the examination of the important features of the Bombay Plan, prepared by Sir Purushottamdas and other industrialists. The Bombay Plan is, essentially, a capitalist plan on Western lines. It aims at raising the standard of living of the people of India by doubling the 'per capita' income within a period of fifteen years (on the basis of the present population, the aim is, to treble the 'per capita' income; but taking into consideration the increase in population, during this period of fifteen years, at the rate of 50 lacs per year, the net result will be to double the income). The plan pre-supposes a National Government and the political unity of India. It tackles almost all the economic and industrial problems, *viz.*, those of agriculture, manufacturing industries (large-scale as well as cottage industries), trade and transport, education, housing, etc. It proposes to raise the output of agriculture to twice the present figure and of industry to five times the present output. It aims, mostly at the establishment of basic or key industries, producing capital goods. Provision is also made, to a certain extent, for the production of consumption goods. The plan proposes to make the fullest possible use of cottage and small-scale industries, but does not supply any details about them. It also points out that for raising the standard of living of the masses, specially in rural areas, provision should be made for sanitation and water-supply. In the towns as well as in the villages, dispensaries, general hospitals, maternity clinics, as also special hospitals, for dealing with diseases like leprosy, tuberculosis, cancer, etc., will be provided. The total cost of Health and Medical Services would be Rs. 281 crores non-recurring and 185 crores recurring. The plan also contemplates a recurring expenditure on Primary Education at the rate of Rs. 90 crores per year. The planners also want an increase of 21,000 miles in railways and 300,000 miles in roads, and want provision to be made for the construction of more harbours. The total requirements of the plan would amount to Rs. 10,000 crores, distributed as follows:

	In crores of Rupees
Industry	4,480
Agriculture	1,240
Communications	940
Education	490
Housing	2,200
Health	450
Miscellaneous	200
Total	10,000

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In order to meet this colossal expenditure, money is to be raised from the following sources :

	In crores of Rupees
A. External Finance	
Hoarded Wealth	300
Sterling Securities	1,000
Balance of Trade (favourable)	600
Foreign Borrowing	700
Total	2,600
B. Internal Finance	
Savings	4,000
"Created Money"	3,400
Total	7,400
Grand total	10,000

The Bombay Plan is, no doubt, an ambitious plan, and it has been criticised in many quarters. It is said that the Plan aims at making the "rich richer" and the "poor poorer." This to me appears to be a hasty judgment. The *Economist* of London has described it as "putting the cart before the horse." According to that paper, agriculture should be developed first and industries and trade afterwards—of course, to suit the convenience of British industrial and commercial magnates. The proposal of the planners to raise Rs. 3,400 crores through the medium of "Created Money" will certainly lead to "Inflation" with all its accompanying evils.

After the "Bombay Plan", comes the "People's Plan." This plan, unlike the Bombay Plan, is based on socialistic principles. The sponsors of this plan think that production for well-being cannot be planned on the basis of private enterprise, guided by the profit motive. In regard to industries in which private capital has been invested, such capital shall be entitled to a fixed minimum revenue of 3 per cent, guaranteed by the Government. According to this plan, many "Instruments of Production," including "Land" will have to be nationalised and rural indebtedness will have to be liquidated fully. The concrete aim of the People's Plan is, "to provide for the satisfaction of the basic needs of the people, within a period of ten years, in respect of food, clothing, shelter, education and health." The authors of the plan pre-suppose that the future Indian State will be a real democracy, composed of autonomous republics, owning the land and mineral resources and controlling the heavy industries and banks. There will be free and compulsory education, co-operative agriculture, and a standard of living guaranteed by a minimum scale of wages.

The plan, when in full swing, is estimated to cost 10,000 crores of rupees. The detailed expenditure proposed by the authors of the plan is as follows :

	In crores of Rupees
Agriculture	4,480
Basic or Key Industries	1,240
Industries producing Consumers' goods	940
Communications	490
Education	2,200
Housing	450
Health	200
Total	10,000

The total finance of Rs. 15,000 crores needed for the execution of the plan will be raised from the following sources :

	In crores of Rupees
Sterling Balances	450
(Although our accumulated sterling balances are over Rs. 1,000 crores, the authors think, the whole amount may not be available immediately.)	
Socialistic Taxes like Estate Duty, Inheritance Tax, Death Duties, etc.	810
Income from nationalised land in the pre-first year of the plan	90
Income from agriculture for re-investment during the period of the plan	10,816
Income from industries for re-investment during the period of the plan	2,834
Total	15,000

The People's Plan is, certainly, more ambitious than the Capitalists' Plan (Bombay Plan). The latter proposes an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 crores, spread over a period of 15 years, while the former involves an expenditure of Rs. 15,000 crores during a ten-year period. The plan, it appears to me, is not practicable, although quite desirable. It presupposes or postulates certain things for its successful working, which are difficult of realisation in the near future, *e.g.*, conversion of a "capitalist economy" into a full-fledged "Socialist Economy", involving the nationalisation of almost all the important "Instruments of Production". It is doubtful (although very desirable) whether India will succeed in establishing a genuinely democratic Government, working on "Socialistic Principles", in the immediate future.

Now, I pass on to the consideration of "The Gandhian Plan", prepared by Principal Agarwal of the Wardha College of Commerce. This plan is entirely different from the other plans of economic development, prepared by different bodies, and placed before the country. It is based on certain ideas and ideals, which are the peculiar and unique contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the economic thought of the present generation. The plan, for its successful working, will require a band of selfless social workers, animated by the single idea of social service, and fired by unflinching determination and burning patriotism, with unwavering faith in the new ideology. The aim of the Gandhian Plan is, to evolve a programme, which will be eminently suitable to the people of a poor country, 90 per cent of whom are engaged in agriculture and allied industries. The Gandhian Plan stands for production by masses on a small-scale and decentralised basis, as contrasted with mass-production on a large-scale and centralised basis. This plan attaches the greatest possible importance to the welfare of the people living in the villages, and, therefore, puts the greatest emphasis on the scientific development of agriculture and the subsidiary cottage industries. "The chief objective of the plan is, to raise the material as well as the cultural level of the Indian masses to a basic standard of life, within a period of ten years." Principal Agarwal defines the "Basic Standard" as follows :

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"A decent and basic standard of material and cultural welfare connotes the availability of all the basic necessaries of life together with the minimum comforts. They are:

(*i*) Balanced and health-giving food containing the necessary proteins, carbo-hydrates, fats, minerals and vitamins.

(*ii*) Clothing sufficient for the protection of body from the inclemencies of weather.

(*iii*) Housing accommodation of 100 square-feet for each individual.

(*iv*) Free and compulsory basic education for every boy and girl of school-going age, and a working knowledge of reading and writing for every male and female adult.

(*v*) Medical facilities—every individual should have an easy access to a fairly well-equipped dispensary or hospital. Women should have adequate provision for Maternity Clinics.

(*vi*) Public Utility Services for all citizens, like Postal, Banking and Insurance facilities.

(*vii*) Recreational facilities, specially in rural areas, like playgrounds, folk-dances, indigenous theatres and Bhajan-mandals." (*The Gandhian Plan*, page 54.)

The plan makes detailed recommendations for the complete overhauling of almost all the aspects of our economic life—agriculture, industries allied to agriculture, cottage industries, basic industries, public utilities, transport and communications, public health, education (primary, secondary, university and adult education), statistics and research, trade and distribution, distribution of population between rural and urban areas, labour welfare, international trade, public finance, taxation, currency and exchange, and general administration. Within the compass of a short article, it will not be possible for me to deal separately with each one of these economic problems. The readers, however, are earnestly requested to read the full plan (published by the Padma Publications, Lakshmi Building, Pherozshah Mehta Road, Fort Bombay).

For the purpose of putting the plan into execution, the total amount of expenditure on different items would be as follows:

	In crores of Rupees	
	Non-recurring	Recurring (annual)
Agriculture	1,175	40
Rural Industries	350	—
Large-scale & Key Industries	1,000	—
Transport	400	15
Public Health	260	45
Education	295	100
Research	20	—
Total	3,500	200

The non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 3,500 crores would be met from the following sources:

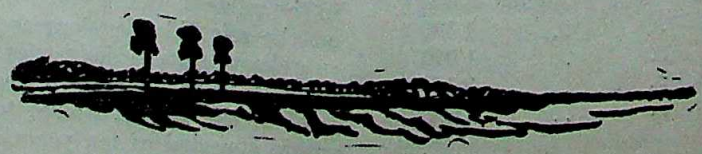
	In crores of Rupees
Internal borrowing	2,000
"Created Money"	1,000
Taxation	500
Total	3,500

The author rightly points out the futility of depending upon our accumulated sterling balances (that is the reason why he has not included it in the sources of finance for meeting the expenditure, which the execution of the plan will involve), because Great Britain, even under the Labour Government, will not like to pay off this huge debt to India, payment of which, to a certain extent, will dislocate the economic life of the people of England. The *Economist* of London has remotely hinted that the debt be repudiated.

So far as the recurring expenditure is concerned, it will be met out of the additional income from the state-owned basic industries, public utility services, communications and irrigation.

To me, at least, the superiority of the Gandhian Plan over the other two plans, the Bombay Plan and the People's Plan, appears to be unmistakable. The chief advantage of this plan is, that it springs from the indigenous soil, and takes into full account the cultural and sociological background of the country, and its people. Thus, it is in the nature of an organic and spontaneous growth. It realises that India is, primarily, a country of villages, and not cities and towns—there are about 7 lacs of villages in India, and only about 40 towns of the Western standard with a population of a lac and above. Its emphasis on decentralised cottage industrialism, based on self-sufficient village communities is, thus, fully justified. Of course, the estimates of income and expenditure are not as ambitious as those of the other two plans. We must, however, realise that India is a poor country, and in planning, we cannot afford to imitate the rich and advanced countries of the West, many of which possess milch-cows, in the shape of colonies, which they exploit to the best of their ability.

The preparation of these plans is a healthy sign because, it shows that Indians have started taking some interest in the economic problems, that confront their country. The one good thing,—perhaps, the only good thing—that war has brought to us is, that it has compelled us to shake off our age-old lethargy, and take keen interest in economic problems. With the establishment of National Government at the Centre and functioning of Popular Ministries in the Provinces, and with the appointment of Planning Committees (consisting of experts), enjoying the confidence of the people, it is hoped, the time will soon come when India will succeed in becoming the leading country of the East, and take its proper place in the comity of nations.



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Book Reviews

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ENGLISH

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST: *By Dr. R. C. Majumdar. General Printers & Publishers Ltd., Calcutta, 1944. Pp. 242 with 20 plates. Price not stated.*

This work has been planned by the author as "a popular handbook" dealing with the subject-matter of the long-projected and partly published series of five volumes on *The History of Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*. It is also intended to provide a suitable text-book for the under-graduate courses of Indian universities recently introducing the subject in their curriculum. Some objection may be taken to the term 'Far East' (evidently copied from such titles as 'The French School of the Far East') applied by an Indian author to the countries of south-eastern Asia comprised within the scope of this volume. But otherwise the work adequately fulfils the modest aims with which it has been written. It consists of five parts, of which the first gives an introductory survey of the subject, while the other parts deal successively with the Malay Peninsula along with the adjoining islands (called *Suvarnadvipa* in ancient times), Champa, Kambuja, and Burma along with Siam. In each part a brief but adequate account of the political history is followed by short but well-written notices of the culture of the land under such headings as Society, Religion, Literature and Art. A good Index and a series of twenty plates (of which however only one apiece is assigned to Burma and Siam) bring this useful volume to a close.

We have noticed a number of slips which may be corrected in a later edition. On p. 9 a story is quoted from the *Brihatkatha* which, however, is a lost work except in so far as its contents were utilised in later works like Kshemendra's *Brihatkatha-manjari* and Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara*. On p. 12 in connection with the story of Vijaya's colonisation of Ceylon, he is definitely described as "a Bengali prince", although Lata, the homeland of Vijaya, has sometimes been identified with Lata (South Gujarat). On p. 216 Dr. Pali, the well-known authoress of the work called *Pali Literature of Burma*, is quoted in the masculine gender. The want of maps and genealogical tables cannot but be much be regretted.

U. N. Ghoshal

YOUR FOOD: *By M. R. Masani. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pages 82. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Literature on nutritional subjects has been steadily growing since the disaster of the Bengal Famine and the epidemics that followed in its train exposed the miserable state of public health in this country. Mr. Masani, who is a well-known leftist writer and has now joined the Public Relations Department of Tatas, has written this first of a series of publications which Tatas are sponsoring in order to stimulate public interest in some of the most vital problems of the day. Mr. Masani has performed his task with remarkable success and has produced a booklet of 82 pages which is at once rich in information and lucid in exposition. It would indeed be a good idea to translate this book into the major vernaculars in the interest of wider publicity.

The author has explained in very simple language what ought to constitute your food and how to eat it. The complexities of the physiological processes concerned with the assimilation of food as well as the biology and chemistry of food have been dealt with in a manner which the layman can easily grasp. Some critics may say that to talk of balanced diet and classification of vitamins in a country where the vast majority exist on the margin of starvation is but a cruel mockery. The author, however, anticipates this criticism, and concedes that it is really poverty that is mainly responsible for our food deficiencies. "The prime cause of half-empty stomachs is half-empty pockets." Recent research has shown that the quantity and quality of food improves automatically with a rise in income, and any national campaign designed to fight for the abolition of poverty must have its beneficial repercussions on the twin problems of nutrition and public health.

Monindra Mohan Moulik

THE MOVING FINGER (Kiranavali No. 2): *Edited by V. N. Bhusan. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 276. Price Rs. 8. Foreign ten shillings.*

The Moving Finger quickly follows in the wake of its sister volume *The Peacock Lute*. It is an anthology of essays in literary and aesthetic criticism written in English by Indian writers, and is a second laudable venture into the unexplored regions of Indo-English literature. It redounds greatly to the credit of the editor, himself a versatile writer and scholar, that he has successfully anthologised a vast body of aesthetic and literary criticism much of which lay scattered in the forgotten pages of journals and not an insignificant part of which was extant only in MSS. A learned introductory essay dealing with the nature and function of criticism and an exhaustive and painstaking bibliography at the end, make the book exceptionally useful.

India's contribution to English criticism is not small. Prolonged study of English language and literature has substantially contributed to the growth of Indo-English criticism, which, though a little over a century old, has sufficiently proved its worth and originality. Workers in this field are mostly educationists, many of whom are distinguished scholars and have earned high reputation, at home and abroad for their originality and erudition. The present volume represents besides Sri Aurobinda and Tagore who are much more than scholars, such distinguished men as Dr. M. M. Bhattacharya, Dr. S. N. Roy, Dr. I. H. Zuberi, Dr. P. E. Dustoor, Dr. Sukumar Dutta, Dr. U. C. Nag, Prof. H. Kabir, and a number of distinguished scholars and critics. The selection of essays is on the whole representative, some of which see the light of the day herein for the first time. But the book is not as comprehensive

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as it might have been and the omission of such scholars as Drs. S. Banerjee, S. C. Sen Gupta, A. Chakravarty, Prof. Siddhanta, and similar others might have been rightly avoided. A short sketch of the life of the author in the beginning of each essay is a praiseworthy feature of the book. Paper, printing and get-up are excellent.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

BUSINESS BUILDER : *By K. M. Banerjee. Industry Publishers Ltd., 22, R. G. Kar Road, Calcutta. Pages 230. Price Rs. 4.*

In this book of 31 chapters the author discusses the science and art of business from various points of view. Business is a highly technical subject and in modern times only men with education and experience with a determination to win can be successful. The idea that business is for those who could not do well in schools and colleges is no longer tenable. Business is a kind of service for which the businessman is paid the remuneration and it is no chance gain. The best school for learning business is the school of life. In the opinion of the author success in business is not at all due to chance as it is ordinarily understood. Business habit is to be built up in the individuals and nations in this modern world of competition. Honesty is the mainstay of business and many obstacles, both inside and outside, are to be surmounted before success is achieved.

The book has been written in a lucid style by a person who is competent to discuss the subject in all its aspects and with authority and as such it will be a helpful study to young men who aspire to be or are already in business. Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose has written an introduction to this book.

A. B. DUTTA

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

EPIGRAPHICAL ECHOES OF KALIDASA : *By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., Curator, Archaeological Section, Government Museum, Madras. Memoirs of the Archaeological Society of South India, No. 1. Thompson & Co., Ltd. Publishers, 33, Broadway, Madras. Crown 16 mo. xvi + 104. Price Rs. 3-8 or 5 sh.*

This is an interesting treatise showing with copious illustrations how epigraphic records in different parts of India bear traces of influence of various well-known poets, especially of Kalidas. It is noticed that not only numerous terms and expressions but even a number of verses of older poets are found intact in the epigraphs. There are also ideological similarities and parallelisms. It is true that scholars like Kielhorn drew attention to a number of stray instances of this type of indebtedness of authors of epigraphic records to earlier and better known poets but here we have a detailed and almost a comprehensive account of the subject. The work bears traces of the hard labour and keen observation of the learned author. This is a valuable supplement to the author's earlier dissertation entitled *Sculpture inspired by Kalidasa* (reviewed in these pages in August, 1943) which sought to demonstrate the influence of Kalidasa's pen-pictures on the sculptural remains of old India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

SAMAYIKI : *By Shri Shantipriya Dwivedi. Gian Mandal Limited, Kashi, U.P. Pp. 304 plus Index. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a collection of literary essays about some of our contemporary men and matters. The author, who is a distinguished scholar and critic, has dealt with these in a manner that is at once crisp, concise and cogent. His cameos of the character of Gandhiji, Rabindranath and Pandit Jawaharlal are lanterns, reflecting the glory or greatness that is in them. His assessment of the trends of the modern age or ethos, with special reference to their impact on literature, in general, and Hindi literature in particular, and of the 'place' of the present-day representatives of the latter, is underlined with exceptional insight. The spirit is that of a man of faith, while the style is that of a man of fact; though, now and again, his faith (and who said, all faith, in a sense, is blind ?) in the set of certain values, that goes by the name of Gandhism, overrides the testimony of facts. Maybe, it is the nature of Religion to be above or outside the range of reason, as such. Dwivediji has succeeded remarkably, on the whole, in holding up a mirror to the mind and mettle of the Indian writer and student of affairs of to-day, confused as the latter is so often in the maelstrom of ideologies and ideals. How he made his apparatus of expression, at places, a little less overlaid with certain exotic words and phrases, the beauty of his epigrams and idioms would not have been alas ! changed into the bewilderment of enigmas. This does not, however, detract in any way from the brilliance and breadth of his book, the reading of which has been sheer joy. *Samayiki* is not only the ivory-tower of the literary artist, but it is also the watch-tower of the well-wisher of humanity. The get-up and printing are excellent.

G. M.

GUJARATI

RACHANATMAK KARYYAKRAM : *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Third Edition, 1945. Pp. 32. Price three annas.*

We hear so much of 'constructive programme' and here the whole thing is in a nut-shell, in a handy form for the lay reader as well as for the avowed follower of Gandhism. The programme need be considered comprehensively as a whole in all its items, and to do this the reader requires such a booklet by his side. Sri Shukla has earned thanks of the Gujarati-reading public by producing the Gujarati version of the programme. It should be immediately translated into the other modern Indian languages.

P. R. SEN

HEM SAMIKSHA : *By Madhusudan C. Modi, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Nav-prabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 5[illegible]. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Hemchandra was the greatest Gujarati scholar of the time when he lived during the reigns of Siddhraj and Kumarpal, in the Twelfth Vikram Era. He represented the high water mark of the scholarship of the Sadhus in Gujarat and the works he has left behind him in almost all branches of Literature, Grammar, Lexicon, History, Alankar, Biography and other subjects are still the source of inspiration to scholars. Mr. Modi has reviewed them all in a way, which shows how deep and critical his study of this subject has been. Every fact or observation of his he has supported with proof and quoted chapter and verse for it in the original, in it Sanskrit, Ardh Magadhi or Deshya. He has been very modest in putting forward his views; and he has done his work in such a way as to disarm critics. Even those persons who have not read the original texts of the Acharya's works are able to follow Mody's observations, because he has taken care to see that the reader first gets acquainted with the text to which his observations refer or apply. It is a unique work of its kind.

K. M.

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KAKA MAHASHAYA

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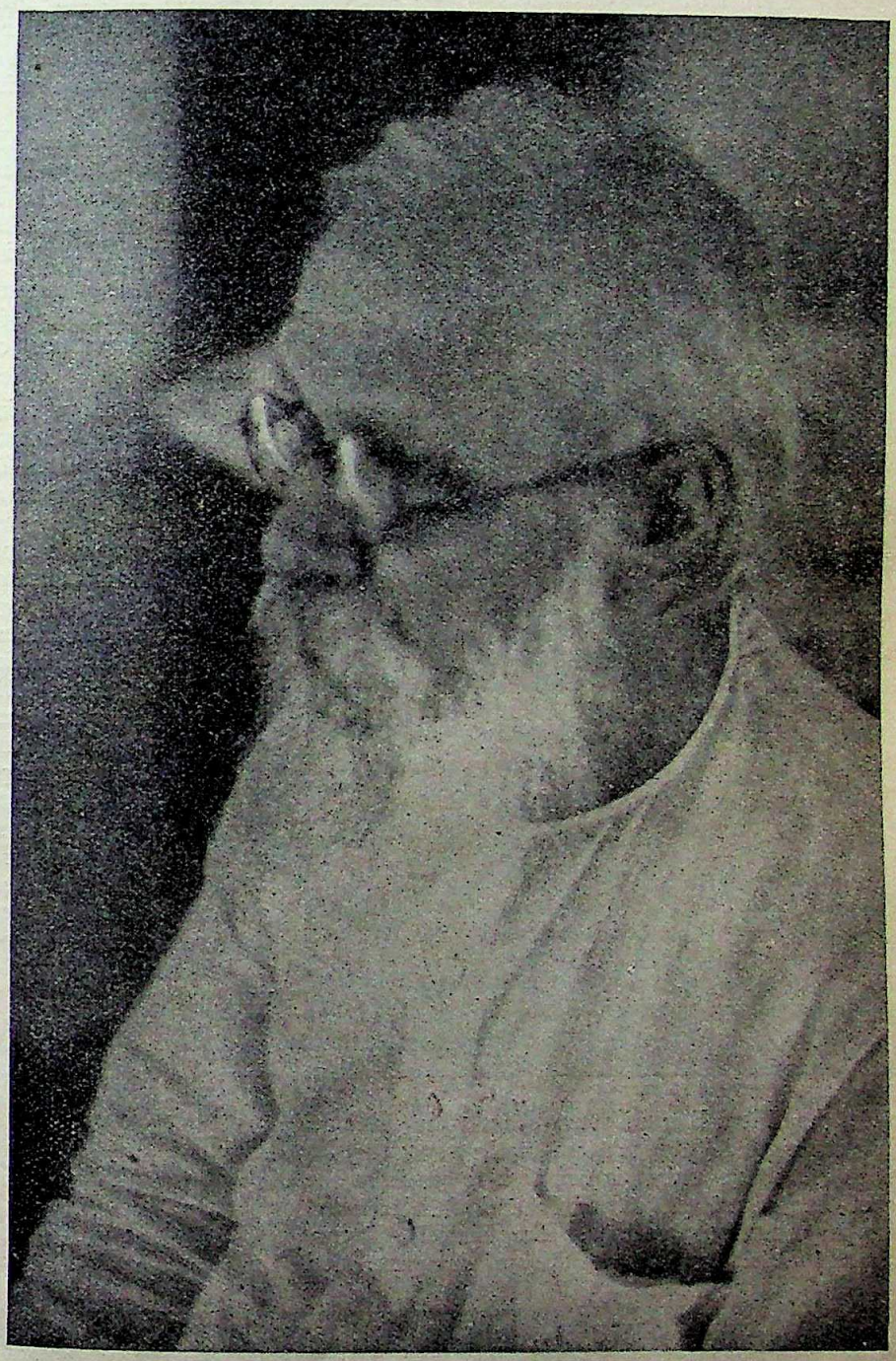
By BISVESVAR CHATTERJI, M.A., LL.B.

That was how we used to call our great uncle Ramananda Chatterjee who was no mere uncle to us in the ordinary parlance but a great exemplar whose life was a perfect model of how it should be lived. To-day on the anniversary of his death as I remember with gratitude all I owe to him my cheeks are bedewed with tears of thoughtful gratitute", in the words of the poet in another context. I find no words to describe exactly how elevated we used to feel when we had the privilege of moving in his presence. For it was no ordinary companionship but the experience of witnessing a great *Tapasya* by a gifted and especially endowed son of man. For thirty years or so I had the privilege of close contact with him for he was like a father unto me in many nays. His spotless and noble life devoted to duty and self-culture was an education to any one who saw it in the making. I presume that though distance lends enchantment to the view the immediate disciples of a Chaitanya or Buddha, to compare small things with great, could not have felt differently from what people who lived close to him must have felt.

My uncle had a robust and versatile mind set in a body well-proportioned and manly as those who ever came in contact with him must have known it to their cost. He was never ruffled nor ever lost his temper and if ever any one provoked him, his logic became merciant and his words penetrating like molten lead. I have seen him in the midst of trials, of physical agony, and in mental anxiety, but never did he lose his equanimity or serenity of mind. To this latter those who have seen him in his death-bed illness will be to testify.

He never uttered an unworthy word nor ever did an unworthy deed, though he lived in an age when life was not too polished or refined. It looked as if he was born a perfect man but the perfection he achieved was really the result of his life-long *Sadhana*. I have seen him in his youth and in his middle age and old age and though during this last period I was compelled to live apart by force of circumstances I never saw him slacken his pace towards perfection. The same even step that characterised his march through life in early years was also his pace in later life when he had attained international fame as a journalist. As I have said, to have watched him live his life, was a great education and a great experience.



His was a life dedicated to the cause of "Home Rule" for India for which he lived and fought all his life as the readers of his *Modern Review* and *Prabasi* will testify. His series of pamphlets *Towards Home Rule* will be read with pleasure and instruction by all lovers of the country even after India has attained Home Rule.

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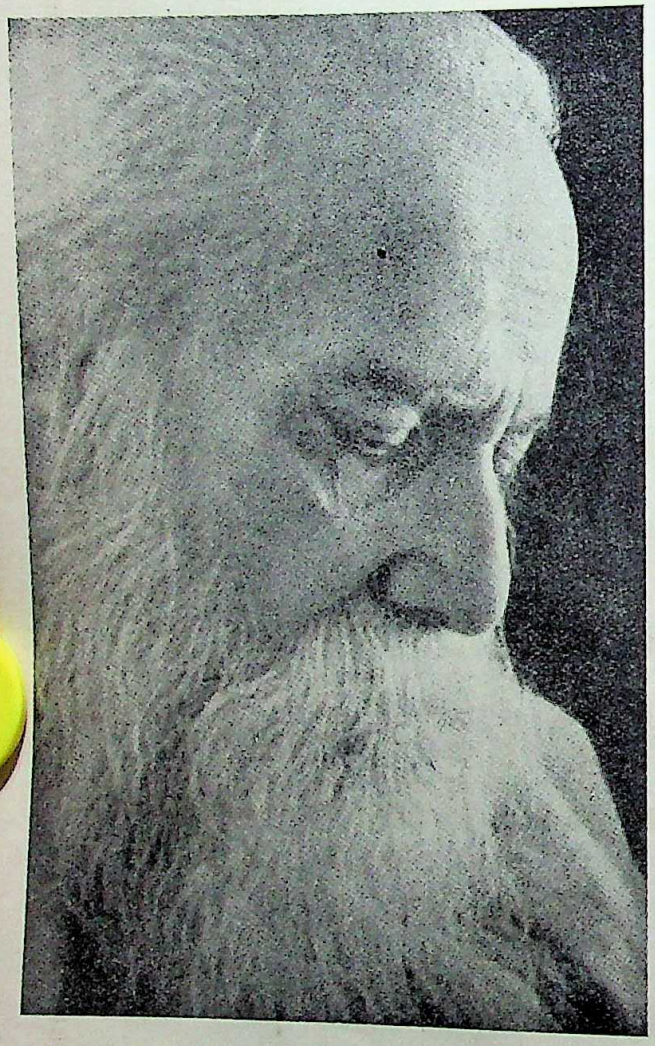
ALL-INDIA RABINDRANATH MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

An Appeal

About four years ago Rabindranath passed away. He is the greatest poet of our country. He conceived culture as a broad and mighty stream which must fertilise and enrich all layers of our social life. Tagore's



life-work, the Visva-Bharati, stands for this essential unity of our national life. Tagore is the repository of our cultural heritage and it is our task to preserve the legacy of Tagore, spread it widely and then to hand it down to future generations. For himself, Tagore needs no memorial. But it is the duty of our generation to offer our love and gratitude to his memory. With this sense of sacred national duty, the All-India Rabindranath Memorial Committee is making collections for "Rabindranath Memorial Fund" to perpetuate his memory in a fitting manner.

The Committee intends to raise a fund of Rupees One Crore which will be devoted to the following objects :

(1) To put the Visva-Bharati on a sound financial basis. The Visva-Bharati is a symbol of Tagore's practical vision. The Poet's dream and his unfinished work can be best fulfilled by widening the activities of the Visva-Bharati in the following directions :

(*a*) Village reconstruction
(*b*) Education of women and children
(*c*) Promotion of handicrafts and agricultural research

(2) To convert into a cultural centre the houses at Jorasanko in Calcutta—the home of the Poet and his ancestors, where Tagore lived and died and which has for three generations served as the cradle of Bengal's cultural, social and political renaissance. These buildings should be preserved as a national memorial by the establishment of (*a*) a national museum, (*b*) a national art gallery, (*c*) a national theatre, (*d*) research and planning laboratories for nation-building activities, (*e*) a hall of international culture and (*f*) relief work.

(3) To make suitable provisions for periodical award of prizes in memory of the Poet for literary work of outstanding merit or for original research work in any Indian language.

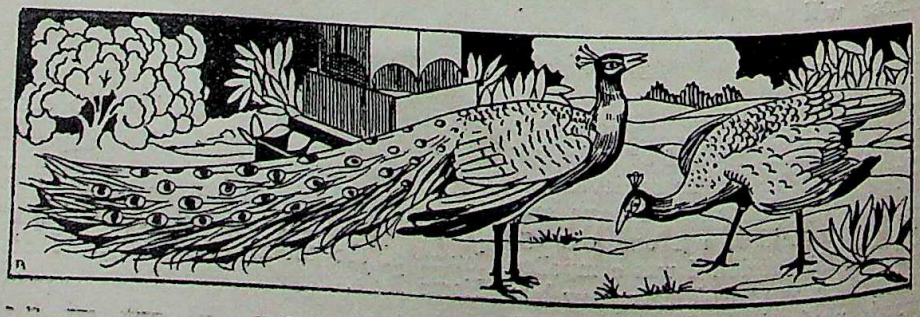
The All-India Rabindranath Memorial Committee again takes this opportunity of humbly reminding our countrymen of the debt that they owe to Rabindranath.

We earnestly hope that our people, proud of the glorious tradition bequeathed to them by Rabindranath, will contribute freely and generously to "Rabindranath Memorial Fund" opened in memory of our greatest national Poet.

All contributions should be sent to the General Secretary, All-India Rabindranath Memorial Committee, 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta or 1, Burman Street, Calcutta.

Tej Bahadur Sapru,
President.

Suresh Chandra Majumdar,
General Secretary



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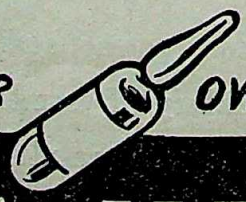
INDIA PRODUCES HER  *OWN AND ALSO EXPORTS*

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

What Price Racial Hate ?

Even-handed justice has to recognise all men as brothers and act accordingly. If the next great world-strife is to be avoided the principle of Universal Brotherhood must be applied *in actu* and not receive any lip-service. Paul Eldridge observes in *The Aryan Path* :

Many are the ramparts and many the barricades, but none so formidable as those of race and hate of race. They are thick and high and studded with broken glass and sharp nails and wires which burn and kill. And slow and bloody indeed is the passage of the caravan of progress encountering them.

How long shall man be his own torturer ? How many cataracts of blood must he watch rush into the river of time, how much devastation and carnage must he witness, before he accepts the law inexorable that evil flows back to swell its source and that injustice is the gibbet from which the judges swing ?

America brought a handful of frightened blacks from Africa and made them slaves. Not all the pompous chatter of all her pious pundits could erase the wrong which, like all wrongs, evil flowers of the jungle, grew luxuriantly and the day came when America, rent in two, waged a horrible war, and the blood and the fire purified her for a while. But now, the same blacks—millions in number—once again are treated as inferior beings, badgered and dishonoured and segregated like unclean animals.

Unless America proclaims, not by futile sounds out of idle mouths, but by deep feeling in the heart and deep understanding in the mind, the absolute equality of all human beings—unless she says, and upon her honour means it, "What difference does it make that a man's skin is black or white or brown ? Each man shall be judged by himself alone, his own worth and his own demerits"—and unless she acts upon that affirmation swiftly and unequivocally, it is as certain as the eternal pulsation of the seas that America shall once again wade in her own blood and be scorched by flames.

For centuries Great Britain has enslaved India—a continent—where languages were born and religions sprouted root and blossom; where splendour and glory flourished and art and wisdom thrived. Unless Great Britain renounces forever the ignominious slogan "the white man's burden," by which she seeks to prove that India is incapable of ruling herself; unless she ceases to promulgate the evil lie that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," by which she salves her conscience for the dissensions she causes and the injustices, her own shores shall surely be ravaged by dissensions and injustices, for they are as contagious as and spread like cholera and the bubonic plague.

And unless most of the nations of the Western world, small and great, cease to hound and torment another ancient people because it cherishes its own faith and will not forget its magnificent and tragic history; and unless the gates to its home in Palestine are thrown open, the scourge of war shall again whip the Earth—perhaps even before the debris of the present war has been cleared and the stench of the holocaust has disappeared. For they who ride upon scapegoats ride into the fire.

And so with every injustice and every tyranny perpetrated by race against race anywhere upon the globe. Pyramidal is the cost of hate.

Tagore's Analysis of Hindu-Moslem Relations

It is true that there was a time when India was the meeting-ground of various races. It did not breed conflict. In the course of his discussion of Tagore's analysis of Hindu-Muslim relations Sachin Sen observes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

"Peace is true and not conflict, Love is true and not hatred; and Truth is the One, not the disjointed multitude"—this sums up the contents of Rabindranath Tagore's religion, his approach to life and to life's problems. No one was more anxious to proclaim that there was need for happy understanding between man and man and that there was need for unity based on this happy understanding. Ancient India prayed for real unity, not a parody of unity manufactured in the political or social machine. That prayer must be uttered to-day not in a full-throated voice but in thought and action; that prayer for unity should cleanse our minds, remove all weaknesses that stand in the way. It is the basic postulate of Tagore's philosophy that if there is a deviation from the right conduct of life in man's work for his own self or for the family or for the country, God will not forgive him. We shall have to atone for all the misdeeds even if they are resorted to achieve a noble end. The doctrine of the end justifying the means makes no appeal to Tagore. There is no short-cut to noble work. That was why Rabindranath Tagore treated the Hindu-Moslem problem as essentially one to be solved mainly by our own efforts and principally through mutual understanding. The problem, in his view, touches on the weaknesses of our psychological make-up and social organisation.

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Tagore did not believe in the efficacy of the doctrine that Hindu-Moslem differences were to be composed merely for the sake of political statecraft.

"To me the mere political necessity is unimportant; it is for the sake of our humanity, for the full growth of our soul, that we turn our mind towards the ideal of the spiritual unity of men." So Tagore laid special stress on the strength of Hindu-Moslem friendship and observed :

"Let us announce to the world that the light of the morning has come, not for entrenching ourselves behind barriers but for meeting in mutual understanding and trust on the common field of co-operation; never for nourishing a spirit of rejection but for that glad acceptance which constantly carries in itself the giving out of the best that we have."

The vision of India at peace, growing in fullness of heart but not crippled by any differences, was the contribution of Rabindranath. A nation infected by international dissensions is like a building whose mortar has been changed to sand. It stands precariously; so we are to keep ourselves straight and erect first. In our weakness lies the strength of the British. Tagore did not seem to believe in the theory that we should be in a position to heal our differences, if we would get self-rule first. He believed that self-rule would never be a gift, and as such we could never wrest an inch of right, unless we would compose our differences. The virtues which are necessary in a fight with the alien ruler can never be cultivated if we allow our differences to grow in volume.

Attainment of freedom is not a child's play —so it can never be had by mere patchwork.

In a period of epidemic, there is no good discussion of the abstract principles of sanitation. Rabindranath did not support the idea of shirking the problem. He asked us to face it boldly and straightly, and we seem people are always shy at straight talks. Our politicians have been trained in the game of bluff, as a result of which the most important problem remains unsolved. The Poet has incurred the wrath of those politicians who are ready to welcome everything except truth because they trade on lies. Rabindranath told not but truth, when he discussed the "Way to Unity".

"The true way to maintain a harmonious unity is by according due respect to the true distinctness of the different parts. The artificial consolidation of the mangled in spirit, the crippled in life, the dependent and the hard-pressed can only remain a jumble of incongruent parts. At the period of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, we experienced a desire to make the Moslems one with ourselves but we did not succeed in doing so. Doubtless a coalition with them would have been very convenient for it to be feasible. If there are differences between Hindu and Moslem which are real, they cannot be spirited away by jugglery. If in our anxiety to secure some convenience, we ignore the facts, the facts will ignore our convenience. We failed because the invitation which we extended to the Moslem was for serving a purpose, not because it was inevitable, as is the invitation of mutual good feeling in common service . . . Peace between the two sections of the population can only be had either through apathy and forgetfulness or through fear of foreign rule and common hatred against it. They may form an alliance for some such immediate object of mutual self-interest but these alliances like political alliances between countries are not only transitory but in constant danger of ending in violent reaction."

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The End of War

The National Christian Council Review observes :

To every one the end of this greatest and most destructive war in history has brought a feeling of relief.

But the end of the war will not be the end of the world's troubles. In fact it marks the beginning of new and no less complex ones. Peace will bring no easy solution of our many problems, political, social and economic. Now that the war has been won, we should also win the peace which, in many ways, may be a very much more difficult matter.

Japan's surrender raises many problems in the East. The position and influence of Soviet Russia in the Far East, the possibility of a Civil War in China, the political aspirations of the subject peoples of the East, the hatred and animosity of a defeated nation—these and other problems presented by the cessation of hostilities will not be easily or quickly solved, but will make heavy calls on those in positions of authority. If they fail, they will betray not only those who look up to them and support them but also the greater cause of humanity.

The title of this editorial *The End of War* has been deliberately chosen to express a wish and a hope rather than a fact. The Charter of Peace and Security has been signed by representatives of 50 nations. The objects of this Charter do not differ much from the old Covenant of the League of Nations with which the world was presented after World War I. It is in regard to organization and methods of work that differences arise between the old and the new. There is to be a General Assembly, consisting of a representative of each of the United Nations. The pivot of the new organization is the Security Council of 11 members, and it is this Council that will look after the maintenance of the peace of the world, devise ways and means to prevent the breach of it and punish those who break it. The sanction of force for the decisions of the Security Council is what distinguishes it from the old League of Nations. The future of peace will therefore depend largely upon how this Council works or is worked.

The mere creation of a machine for peace will not suffice. Behind the machinery of peace, there must be the will for peace.

We must know how to use the machine for the ends of peace. There must be a new spirit—the spirit of peace—to work the machinery of this Charter, without which all our plans and formulas will fail.

Only with the conversion of man and with the regeneration of his heart will peace be long lasting. Only then is there any chance of the dream of Lord Tennyson coming true :

Till the war drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.
There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

August the Fifth

The New Review observes :

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima made history. It is reported that it destroyed all the houses within a nine-mile radius and caused some two hundred thousand casualties. Hiroshima's population was little over 300,000 before the war.

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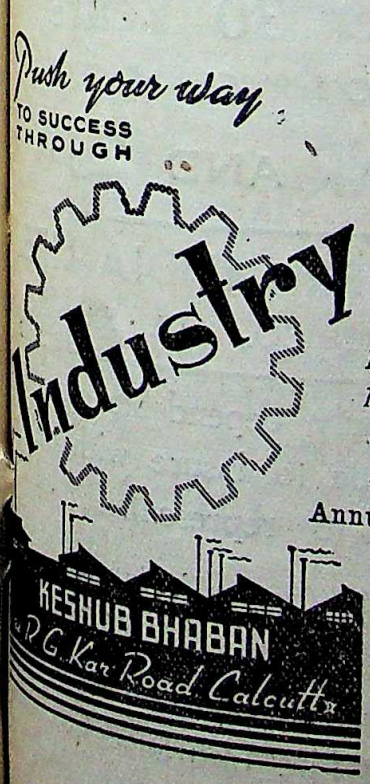
From the point of view of strategy, the bomb vindicated the experts who maintained that aerial warfare could be decisive. But at the same time, the atomic bomb symbolically buried the equipment of modern armies, guns, tanks, planes and battleships, all the Sandhursts, the West Points and the Saint Cyrs, as well as all the libraries on strategy and tactics. Warfare has been revolutionised; the atomic bomb is a reality, the rocket-ship is nearing technical realization, and the combination of both is the weapon which dominates all battlefields and round which all strategy and tactics must be focussed, national forces reorganised, and plans revolved. A barrage of jet-propelled atomic bombs would be an irresistible method of warfare, and would regulate the pace of conquest.

The Allies have been struck dumb at their own achievement, and the morality of the use of atomic bombs has been freely discussed, not without some confusion. The matter is not without difficulty. There should be no question of passing final judgment on the Hiroshima or Nagasaki bombs; we do not know all the facts of the case. Yet a short self-examination about war methods is necessary; we must oppose indiscriminate methods and godless diplomacy on our side, even if we risk being rebuked by mentors who take their inspiration from politics rather than from ethics.

The leading principles which go to solve the ethical problem at hand state that there must be no intended killing of non-combatants, and that the damage done to the enemy should not exceed what is needed to secure the legitimate result. That two bombs sufficed to bring Japan to her knees is by itself no justification; the end does not justify the means and not even so desirable an end as an early V-J Day would excuse an inhuman method of warfare. Even legitimate self-defence lies within the bounds of mortality. On the other hand, the fact that an atomic bomb causes in one moment as many casualties as millions of bullets over several years would not make it inhuman; if it be the equivalent of all other projectiles but finishes the sorry job in one second, it would even be merciful in many ways.

The distinction between combatants and non-combatants is essential; the baby-in-arms is not to be put on the same level as the soldier-at-arms. People who say that nowadays there is no distinction, that everybody is a combatant, that war is totalitarian have never looked up the proportion of citizens directly engaged in war-work; thank God there are still a good number of non-combatants even in present-day warfare, but if war had really become totalitarian, then Nazism would have won, since they would have established their principle everywhere. The air-bombing of Warsaw, Rotterdam and Belgrade were rightly condemned because of their indiscriminate character; the V-bombs were also denounced because they made no distinction between combatants and non-combatants, between civil property and military objectives. Area bombing, obliteration bombing, terror bombing as some operations were called have been repudiated for similar reasons. Was the Hiroshima bombing different, or was the notice of evacuation sufficient extenuation?

A further question arises; supposing a town evacuated by all non-combatants, would it be permissible to drop an atomic bomb on combatants? The question arises from the ethical principle that legitimate defence against an unjust aggressor is limited to the very needs of self-defence; if you can stop the aggression with a slap, you are not to knife the assailant. These limitations of self-defence have been partly embodied in the Laws of War which the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 have re-written: no poison, no poisoned arrow; no treacherous killing or wounding of an enemy surrendering at discretion, no use of arms, projectiles or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering, no destroying of the enemy's property unless



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such destruction be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war, etc. The Washington Conference (1921-22) between U.S.A., British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan outlawed 'the use in war of asphyxiatory, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices', and the 1925 Protocol extended this prohibition to bacteriological methods of warfare.

These positive enactments of international law were suggested by natural morality. The atomic bomb was never mentioned, even as a possibility, but it appears to be prohibited by the general principles.

Education Among Tribal People

A. V. Thakkar writes in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

The total population of all the Tribes, or of the so-called Aboriginals and Hill-tribes of India is not less than 254 lakhs out of the total population of 3,890 lakhs. It may be noted here that the total population of India, including the Indian States, but, of course, excluding Burma, is not 4,000 lakhs or 40 crores, as is popularly believed, but 3,890 lakhs. The total tribal population amounts to 6·5 per cent of the total population. This is as per census of 1941. All the people enumerated as tribes are neither Aborigines nor are they all Hill-tribes ; and that is why I have used the word "so-called" above. It is very difficult even for scientists and anthropologists to determine who migrated first into Hindustan—either from the North-west or the North-east. In a way, even the large Aryan population may be called Aborigines. Nor are all the tribal people "Hill Tribes". A very large percentage of them do, as a matter of fact, live in the plains, and may have come down from the hills in the distant past. At any rate, a very small percentage of the Tribals, which may be estimated at between ten and twenty per cent, may be called by the name by which they are generally known, namely, Aboriginals and Hill-Tribes. So the word "Tribes" or "Tribal People" is a more correct description of them, to distinguish them from other castes of Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

It is beyond controversy that the education among these people has progressed very little, as compared with the progress made by the communities of Hindus, Muslims and Christian. As a rule, their education has been neglected by the State for the last 150 years, and more so than even that of the Depressed Classes or Harijans or Scheduled Castes. The latter community was subject to some social disabilities, but the tribes had no such handicaps. Being isolated in remote hilly parts and forest zones of the country, as well as in their own colonies in the plains, they were very backward to begin with and remained so in spite of the general advancement. It was only in such areas as Chhota Nagpur, specially Ranchi district, where Christian Missionaries have been at work among them for nearly a century past, and in the hill districts of the Nilgiris in the South, that education has advanced appreciably. At all other places, they have remained very backward and will remain so unless the State takes special measures for their advancement. The task is too big for private agencies, which can only pioneer.

Though the work is not yet complete, A. V. Thakkar has been able to collect a list of 112 graduates from the Tribes, including a dozen lady graduates.

Though I cannot lay claim to have helped to produce more than three graduates in the Panch Mahals district, it can be definitely asserted that there is fairly large number of graduates in different parts of the country, especially in Ranchi district of Bihar and the Nilgiris district of Madras, as well as in Assam, Bombay and C.P.

Bihar has seventy-two graduates from amongst the Mundas, Oraons and Santals, mostly, Christians. Some of them are professors in colleges, and many of them are engaged in the Judicial and Educational Services in that Province. Two of them, one Hindu and one Christian, come from the very backward Tribe called Badaga Tribe of the Nilgiris, and a smaller extent from the Yerukulas and Enadis of the East Coast, who have advanced considerably through their own efforts.

Assam comes third in the list having eleven graduates, mostly Hindus, as far as my incomplete information goes. One Khasi lady law-graduate, Miss Mavis Dun, was at one time a Minister of the Province and another law graduate, Sri Rupnath Brahma, is a Minister for the last six years. A large number of these graduates belong to the legal profession.

C.P. follows with a list of five graduates, and *Bombay* with four, from among Gonds and Bhils respectively.

Thus it is quite clear that even now there is an appreciable number of intelligentsia from these Tribes who may be drawn upon to represent them in the Legislature, the Executive, as well as the Services.

In Assam, where they were given opportunities three persons have held the posts of Ministers, including the present one. During the last ten years, many Tribal graduates have passed out from colleges from among the backward Gonds and Bhils of Western India, as well as the Santals of the East. A very large number of them are under training in colleges, and in a few more, scores of them will come out and rub shoulders not only with Harijan graduates but also with advanced communities in the country.

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It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Russian's View of India

We quote the following extract from an article entitled 'A Journey to Australia', written by a Russian named Mikheyev in *New Times*, a semi-monthly journal issued from Moscow. The reader will get a good idea about how a Westerner looks down upon India which is our motherland and the culture and civilization of which we are so much proud of. It is noteworthy that some Americans openly displayed sympathy for the Indians in their struggle for the Independence of India :

We arrived in Bombay on the eve of the opening of the Indian National Congress. This large city was seething with strikes and meetings. Thousands of Indians filled the squares, parks and the beach. The meetings went on day and night. Strong patrols of English troops marched down the streets to the accompaniment of a drum-and-fife band, the music of which sounded strange to us. The rattle of tanquettes was heard. Mounted police in colourful uniforms with turbans on their heads patrolled the streets and squares. Here and there materials for barricades and barbed-wire entanglements were visible. Alarming news was coming in from the front in those days. The Japanese were nearing the frontiers of India through Burma.

Fabulous India. Rich and poverty-stricken. Ragged, emaciated and exhausted people. Rickshaws, cab drivers, street conjurors, dancers, singers and musicians. As in Karachi and Lahore so at Bombay the poorer classes, the workers and minor salaried people, live in the suburbs. Standard houses, all of one type. These are just squalid, congested hovels. From morning till night the streets teem with people. Here, as in China, the street serves as the home for many. People spend the greater part of the twenty-four hours in the street, and many of them sleep out on the pavement at night.

With its cleanliness, well-kept lawns and parks, luxurious mansions and gubernatorial palaces the centre of Bombay, as of nearly all the towns of India, is a striking contrast to the suburbs.

In the centre and also in the bay the whites and wealthy Indians live. A multitude of Indians serve the whites in this district. To have only a couple of servants is bad form. At least half a dozen if not more must be kept if one is to live up to one's reputation. In India as in China the cheapest commodity is human labour. Under the scorching tropical sun people work for a mere pittance, sometimes only for food. "The natives must not be paid more than they need for food, otherwise they will not work, they are too lazy," such are the ethics of the white employers of coloured labour.

We were told about the storm of indignation that was roused when American soldiers, who appeared in India in 1942, paid cabmen, rickshaws, and the natives generally, two and three times as much for their services as was customarily paid them. Even this pay was miserable enough, but still people said that "the Americans were flinging their money about," that they were "spoiling the labour market," and so forth. A rich Dutchman whom we met on a steamer in Cochin, in the South of India, and who owing to the war had been obliged to flee from his rubber plantations in Java, was particularly loud in inveighing against this "corruption of the Indians." Sitting on deck sipping gin and watching the overseas driving the coolies who were carrying baskets full of coal to the bunkers, this Dutchman tried to prove to us the advantages of cheap labour, claiming that it was "in the interest of the civilization of the coloured peoples themselves."

Whether it was the cheap labour or the general conditions in India I cannot say, but I shall remember for the rest of my life the sad spectacle presented by these lean, starving people, sickly, hollow-chested, with legs as thin as laths, their ribs almost breaking through their skin which was scarified by disease. I remember the exhausted-looking women who had lost nearly all their hair, and the puny children rummaging in garbage heaps for scraps of food.

On August 5 the Indian National Congress met.

Under a huge canvas awning several thousand delegates and visitors gathered. Tens of thousands of people and visitors gathered. Tens of thousands of people crowded the streets and squares. On the platform there was a microphone, a table, a sofa and carpets. To the right and left of the platform two daises had been erected. These were covered with carpets and furnished with low tables on which there were teapots and small bowls. They were set aside for the honoured guests. The

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ence of a place like that on a dais ranked from 1,000 to 10,000 rupees. Here reposed corpulent manufacturers, merchants and Indian celebrities who had demonstrated their devotion to the cause by meeting the cost of convening the Congress. These honoured guests either squatted or reclined on the carpets, sipped tea and munched something or other.

Speakers mounted the platform one after another, and greeted by the audience. Their speeches were often interrupted by loud cries of approval. When a speaker solemnly demanded independence for India, the entire audience rose to their feet. Nehru spoke, and also representatives of the various parties affiliated to the Congress. The loudspeakers carried their voices far down the streets, which looked like a heaving sea of heads. Thousands of people caught fragments of sentences and animatedly commented upon them.

Gandhi reclined on a sofa, almost naked, with only a white cloth covering his gaunt legs. His ribs stood out prominently so that they could easily be counted. He had a microphone in front of him into which he delivered his speech. He was listened to with bated breath, and was loudly applauded. He uttered protests and exhortations, and disclosed that secret preparations were being made to suppress the Congress.

Outwardly Bombay was calm, but the atmosphere was extremely tense. Indian troops had arrived from the interior, and it was said that they were noted for their ferocity and for their loyalty to the English. When these soldiers passed down the street the crowd hissed and threw stones at them. For all that there were no disorders while the Congress lasted. Mass meetings were held in all parts of the city. Students and workers, who were most prominent at these meetings, called for more resolute measures.

Everywhere the one demand, the one thought was: "We want independence! Leave India alone!"

The Congress ended late at night and next morning all its leaders were arrested. A wave of arrests and disorders swept over India. The newspapers carried long lists of names of persons arrested in Assam, Calcutta and the Punjab. Almost everywhere there were Indians who renounced "non-resistance" and began to wreck police stations, shops, trams and telephone lines. In Bombay crowds blocked the streets, pulled the drivers of the motor-buses and drove the passengers out. A general strike was called, and this spread from one branch of industry to another. Motorbuses were set on fire, windows were smashed and trains derailed.

Martial law was proclaimed in Bombay and other cities. The Indian quarters were surrounded by cordons of troops and barricades with the object of isolating the Indians from the centre of the town. Trucks carrying troops were covered with thick rope netting to protect the soldiers from stones. Europeans kept in their hotels, for it had become dangerous for them to appear in the streets. Some Europeans put on white Gandhi caps, the symbol of membership of the Indian National Congress. Demonstrations continued from morning till night. One of them was organized and led through the streets of Bombay by an American soldier, who carried a poster with the inscription: "Give India Independence!"

Rumours of serious armed clashes in many parts of the country spread through the town. It was said that the American soldiers were openly displaying sympathy for the Indians.

—

A New Attitude in Education

In an article in the *World Order* Phyllis Hall speaks of a new experiment in education in an American city:

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Dr. John Granrud, Superintendent of Schools, in the city of Springfield, Massachusetts, is the leader of an educational plan that was suggested to his community by the 1939 National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Springfield is a typical American city, where more than forty different nationalities and their fusions compose a tapestry of divergent backgrounds for its citizens.

Dr. Granrud's theory is that prejudice is a virulent disease of the spirit, based on ignorance, and that it must be prevented and controlled intelligently, just as we work to circumscribe the spread of contagious diseases of the body. His plan is to inspire honest and disciplined thinking in the community as a whole.

From the pre-school days to the graduation of the Springfield child, the school system attempts to help him eliminate the fear of the unknown with the tool of honest, courageous, friendly and spirited investigation.

The teachers themselves have no fear that racial, religious, or political prejudice will jeopardize their own professional positions.

In these classrooms the differences in the ethical origins of the boys and girls are not the cause of unfriendly suspicion, but rather serve as delightful points of departure, through which they, as a group, can explore more of the wonders of this wide world.

Thus the Springfield schools try to build a social structure consonant with the needs of this world, where the goal of brotherhood pyramids from a broad foundation of divergent allegiances and particular loyalties.

As the young people continue through the grammar grades in the Springfield, Massachusetts, public schools, another potent fear is subtracted from their social attitude, and that is the fear of making a mistake. Mistakes are faced as facts without emotional overtones.

The history of the world, the story of what their forefathers accomplished both in this country and in the nations of the old world, is studied objectively. They learn that then, even as now, mistakes were made, and they look at the results and try to render a just account. Although they find that none of the heroes of the past or of the present hold a flawless record, yet they discover that they can profit by their good example.

Here these young people learn to guard against the common human weakness of following blindly anyone who will put into words any dissatisfaction with life that lies voiceless in the heart. Through their studies, they discover the necessity for keeping informed, in order to guard against being hemmed in by misinformation.

When these children reach the Junior High School, the entire social science course is devoted to the study of how our own governmental procedures have grown out of the practices of older civilizations. Those whose ancestry stems recently from the countries abroad take particular pride in the contributions that their freedom loving ancestors have made in overcoming tyranny.

Further on in the course of study, the points of similarity in the great world religions are studied, and a sympathy and respect for the faith of their fellows replaces the ignorance and ridicule that too often attend sectarian belief.

On entering High School, these budding men and women, in further search for the common ground that binds them, first trace their own family trees, then study those of other students. Together, they learn the climatic conditions, history, language, tradition, thought and habits that differentiate the peoples of the world.

From this study of their own family lives, they trace the growth of human social evolution, trace it from the formation of tribal solidarity, through the constitution of the city-state, expanding into the institution of independent and sovereign nations.

Here in the microcosm of their classroom they can envisage the possibility of "a world organically unified in all the essential aspects of its life . . . and yet infinite in the diversity of the national characteristics of its federated units."

Dr. Granrud and his fellow educators in Springfield, Massachusetts, are helping the children in their schools to build an attitude of wide loyalty to the welfare of the generality of mankind. They create this feeling not with words alone, but by attempting to have the school community function in a manner that is imperative to the claims of a unified world, for only through function can effective structure be built.

Sun Gun

The scene was Allied press headquarters in Paris on a rainy summer day. Facing the half-dozing correspondents, Lieut. Colonel John A. Keck onetime Pittsburgh engineer and now chief of Allied technical intelligence on German weapons, began quietly: "This will make Buck Rogers seem as if he lived in the Gay 90's. He proceeded to unfold the improbable story of what German scientists were up to when V-E day interrupted them.

At a research center in Hillersleben a group of them were solemnly laying plans for a 'space station' 5,100 miles up, from which a 'sun gun' would have the whole earth at its mercy. Assuming that at that height a floating structure would be beyond the pull of the earth's gravity, they proposed to build a platform

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DOCTORS RECOMMEND—
BLOOD-VITA
FOR ALL RUN DOWN & WASTING DISEASES
ADHYAKSHA MATHUR BABU'S
MEDICAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
P. 23, CENTRAL AVENUE, CALCUTTA.
Blood-vita is synonymous with vitality, energy and good health, which means resistance to disease and infection.

launching rockets into inter-stellar space and for harnessing the sun's heat. By use of a huge reflector, like a burning mirror, they calculated that enough heat could be focused on a chosen area to make an ocean boil or to burn up a city in a flash. Their sun gun could also be used, they pointed out, to produce steam and electric power at global receiving stations.

German physicists had already figured out the sun gun's necessary size (3½ sq. mi.) and composition (metallic sodium). Presumably they also had ideas about how the space station might be kept under control (it would have to revolve with the earth like a satellite) and be supplied with air for its inhabitants. Unperturbed by Allied officers' skeptical cross-examination, the Germans coolly announced they were certain the thing could be done within 50 or 100 years.

In a learned editorial the science-minded New York *Times* painstakingly picked flaws in the sun-gun idea, concluded austerely: 'There is reason . . . to believe that the rocket experts were merely dreaming over their ersatz beer.' But what the Germans had already done was amazing enough. Lieut. Colonel Keck revealed a long list of discovered Nazi contraptions. Items:

A V-2 rocket which could be fired into the air from a submarine submerged 300 feet under water.

A 32-inch railroad cannon, probably the biggest gun ever made (and used by the Germans at Sevastopol), which fired an 8-ton shell.

An antiaircraft rocket capable of exploding within ten yards of a target ten miles in the air. (The British last week revealed a fantastic antiaircraft weapon of their own aerial mine-fields. Laid by old bombers just before an air attack, the air mines were suspended from balloons and small parachutes by piano wire, when a plane hit the lower part of the wire, the delicately attached mine would slide down and hit the plane. The British claimed that air mines downed at least a half-dozen German planes over London during the blitz. Once a small boy found a wire lying on the ground, yanked it, blew up a house six blocks away.)

An infrared telescope sight enabling snipers to see targets at night.

A rocket (almost perfected) with a range of 1,200-1,800 miles. (The German scientists said they were well on the way toward a rocket that would reach the U.S. were sure that within a few years mail and passenger rockets would cross the Atlantic in 40 minutes.)

Through a spy system, Allied officers got reports during the war on German scientific work, but there were still surprises. The scientists talked freely and most thought that Hitler had lost the war by diverting too much effort to 'screwball' weapons. Liet. Colonel Keck and his staff, all hardheaded engineers, considered the Germans' experiments, even the sun gun, no laughing matter. Said Keck soberly: 'We were impressed with their practical engineering minds and their distaste for the fantastic.'

Some of the 1,200 German scientists volunteered to go to the U.S. and Britain to continue their research. The Allies are discussing plans to assign many to work on new weapons against Japan.—*Time*, July 9, 1945.

History in Modern Dress

A novel suggestion comes from Educational Bulletins, Ltd., of Welwyn Garden City, which should be of interest to all engaged in teaching history. The *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* observes:

To those of us of the older generation history as taught in our school days was seldom a favourite lesson: it was mainly a thing of shreds and patches, of dates and names that meant little or nothing to us, of 1066 and all that—a dry skeleton that seemed as remote from life as the models of the skeletons of prehistoric monsters in the Natural History Museum. The aim of the Garden City experiment is to vitalise all this, to clothe the skeletons with living flesh. This is how they do it: a series of historical news-sheets is published each presenting a picture of a year well-known in history, commonly associated with one major event. The bulletin, however, in no way confines itself to the event, but ranges over a wide variety of minor topics illustrative of the contemporary scene. For example, the Bulletin A.D. 1789 not only reports the fall of the Bastille, but also includes paragraphs dealing with the mutiny in H.M.S. *Bounty*, the new constitution for the United States, a new cure for rheumatism, the latest Paris fashions, some literary notes (Mr. Robert Burns has expressed sympathy with the revolutionary movement in France, and this has endangered his position as an Excise Officer; Mr. James Boswell is understood to be engaged on a life of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson) and so forth. The idea is, as it were, to reflect the whole life of the times, to show the youngsters that all sorts of things were happening at the same time in such a year, just as all sorts of things are happening to-day, and that history is not merely a bloody chronicle of battle, murder and sudden death.

We understand that these bulletins are in series in use in certain secondary schools, it would be interesting to know with what reactions among teachers and taught. Everything will depend on the way they are used. The children, for example, might very possibly imagine that these are contemporary broadsheets, just as, on seeing *Hamlet* in modern dress, they might come to the conclusion that the Prince of Denmark wore plus fours. This conception will, no doubt, be carefully guarded against.

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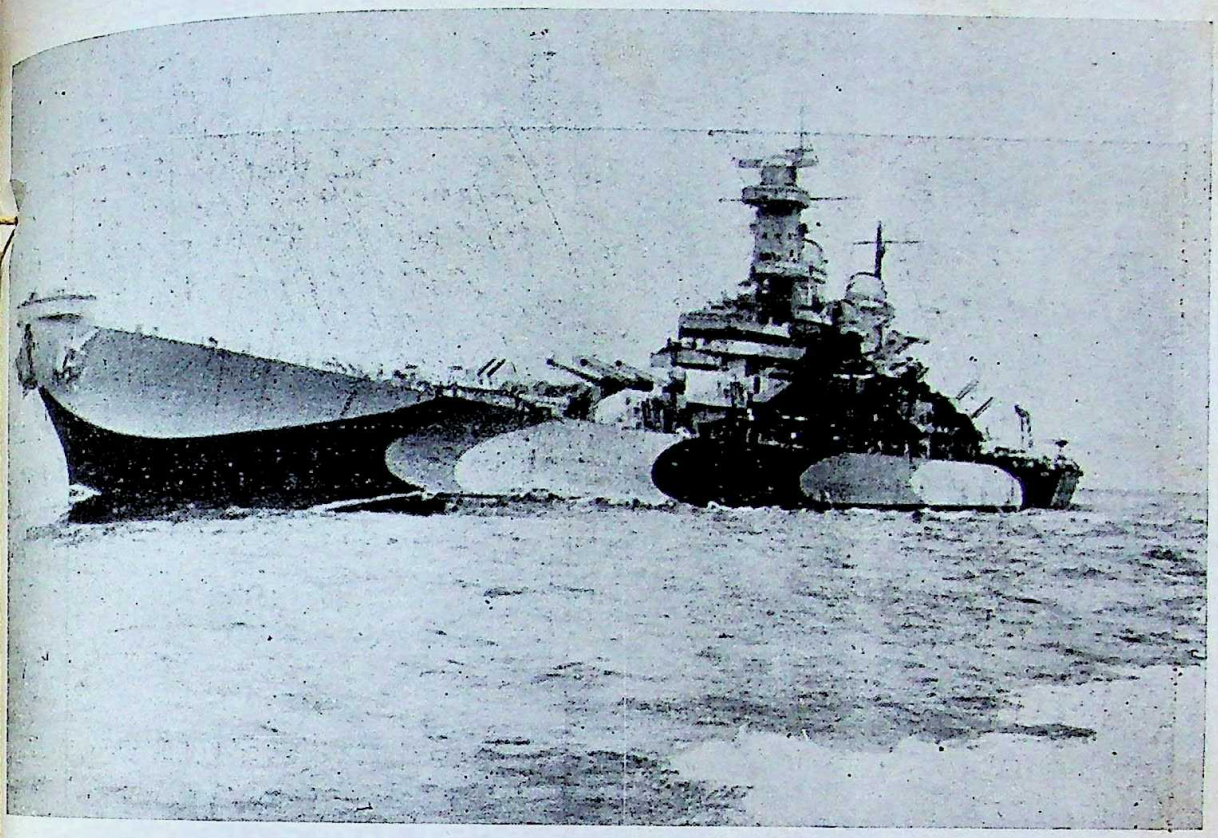

One of the four largest warships in the world, the 45,000-ton U.S. *S. Missouri* was the scene of the historic signing of surrender terms by the defeated Japanese and the victorious Allies

Keijo, capital of Korea. In the background of this street is the building of the main railway station

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GRANDMOTHER'S TOMB
By Sailendra Kumar Mukherji

Vishal Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1945

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NOTES

The Post-War World

Officially the global war has been over now for an appreciable period and judging from the home-going activities of American troops stationed in this part of the world, some people are already on the way towards enjoying the fruits of victory. But taken as a whole, politically and economically, Peace has yet to travel some considerable distance before she contacts this planet. The victorious powers are still at loggerheads on the questions of policy regarding the conquered nations and there is considerable conflict of opinion regarding the status of subject nations. As yet the Imperialistic Powers are not inclined to make any concessions to their subject peoples that might stand in the way of loot and exploitation in the traditional method. The old stock phrases and arguments are still being trotted out and old shibboleths being repeated *ad nauseam* in defence. France and Holland, two countries that were under the heel of the Axis for a considerable period, do not seem to have benefited much from their experience of foreign dominance.

Strange though the cases of France and Holland might be, stranger yet seems to be that of the British under the Labour Government. We do not profess to know all the terms of the Alliance between the "democracies" of Europe—specially about the secret treaties if there be any—but we confess that we have been unable to find any justifiable reason for the open aid given by the British to French and Dutch imperialism in their attempt at crushing the spirit of Freedom amongst the subject peoples of Indo-China and Indonesia. The case of U.S.A. is still more complex. President Truman has just recently made a statement of the principles for which the democratic peoples of the U.S.A. are supposed to stand. But in that statement there is no declaration of any kind regarding the attitude of the American Government toward delinquent erstwhile Allies. The peoples of Asia have had enough of noble sentiments served out from the Capitol at Washington for world-consumption. What they would like now and then, is a modicum of positive forward action in support of such declarations. Mere non-co-operation with erstwhile Allies will merely lead to another League of Nations and, by the same token, another World War.

The Russian Sphinx seems to have adopted the Asquithian motto of 'Wait and See" regarding the affairs of the world abroad. We have had no indication of the Soviet views on the world situation of late beyond that they have disagreed with all and sundry regarding this and that policy in Europe and Asia. Perhaps the paucity of news is due to the control of the news agencies by the democracies or perhaps it is because the Soviets do not want to make any open declarations until all that they want from the non-Soviets' world has been attained and converted into a *fait accompli*. In any case the executive of the Soviets seems to be working its will upon the peoples and countries that are their European neighbours, while Stalin is still meditating in the Caucasus. At the other end of Asia, China faces civil war of a particularly bitter type, with no prospect of any quick solution.

Economically the old world is now definitely heading towards chaos, with the New World scratching its head and looking on. As things stand the U.S.A. might decide to weather the storm by throwing all its International cargo—Lease-lend, loans, etc.—overboard and by retiring into isolationalism, while the European world degenerated into political and economic cannibalism. The British cabinet seems to be slow in realising that the Sterling Bloc is in reality a road-block in the path of economic regeneration.

Indonesia

The Dutch seem to have taken to heart the moral inherent in the statement of Mr. Churchill that he did not intend to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire. They have themselves felt the weight of the heel of the conqueror, and the gaining back of their independence was achieved almost solely through the efforts of their Allies. Yet they do not seem to understand that independence is the birth-right of every human being, whatever be his creed or colour. Greed and power-lust are ailments which with their accompanying symptoms of cruelty, treachery, and lying propaganda afflict every nation bent on Imperialism. And the lesson of history teaches us that Imperialism in the long run means degeneration even to the extent of oblivion. No nation has escaped that dread fate once it had trod the path of treachery and conquest, and we

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do not believe that there can be any exception to that rule. It is about time Mr. Attlee and his cabinet realized that the liquidation of British Imperialism means the liquidation of past sins and offences against humanity and a return to grace.

There is an Indian proverb that thieves do not listen to moral sermons, so perhaps there is no point in moralising. But there are matters of great import to us in the affairs of Indonesia which are far from being ethereal or abstract. The Dutch depend for all their fat dividends and undeserved wealth on the exploitation of Indonesia and the Indonesians. The British oil interests are equally concerned about the sources of their share of the loot from those unhappy islands. We Indians have neither the desire nor any incentive, sinful or otherwise, to oppress and injure the peaceful inhabitants of Indonesia, who happen to be our nearest relations in the matter of cultural heritage of the past. We owe nothing to the Dutch, or for that matter to the French, that we might be called upon to help them to regain territories that they acquired wrongfully from the people of the soil. They lost their empire almost overnight to their adversaries and they have regained their "right" to it with hardly any effort worth the mention, militarily speaking. And yet we find Indian soldiers being used to beat down the effort made by the Indonesians for the regaining of freedom. Further there are reports that Indian seamen have been forced to load ships carrying munitions to the Dutch East Indies at the point of revolvers by the Dutch.

We are powerless at the moment to aid the Indonesians in any way excepting by expression of sympathy for their cause. But we shall not remain in this miserable state of slavery for long. Indeed the dawn might be much nearer than most people imagine. Let us register a vow that we shall not forget these wrongs, unless the offenders make amends now.

Sm. Satyavati Devi

Sm. Satyavati Devi has died a martyr's death. She was, as the *Hindustan Times* rightly says, a jail casualty, having spent a substantial portion of her life in prison as a rebel against the British *raj*. Her last imprisonment crushed her frail body. To her, service of the people and suffering in the country's cause was literally and truly its own reward.

Sm. Satyavati was a revolutionary, politically as well as socially. In defiance of social taboos, she plunged into the Congress movement heart and soul in 1930, when she was just twenty-three. She was arrested in that year in connection with the Salt Satyagraha. Later, she was tried for making a seditious speech and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

During her incarceration, she contracted pleurisy which later developed into tuberculosis, She came out in shattered health but that did not deter her from resuming her normal Congress activities. In 1940 and 1941, she was tried twice for sedition and imprisoned. She had hardly been released, when she was again arrested in August 1942 and detained as a security prisoner until her condition became so serious that the doctors gave up all hope of her life. She was released, but directed by a prohibitory order not to enter Delhi. The order was so unjust that she refused to obey it and even Gandhiji supported her in her determination to defy it. She defied the order and was arrested while travelling to Delhi. She was later released and the case against her was withdrawn.

On October 21, she died of tuberculosis. Pandit Nehru visited her in the Tuberculosis hospital two days before her death when she said, "My only desire is India's freedom." She did not live to see her motherland free but her name will find an immortal place in the national history of Free India.

Unity in the Punjab Congress

The deadlock that existed for a long time past in the Punjab Congress affairs has been resolved by the Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad after prolonged discussions with the various opposing groups and individuals. This is a happy omen. We have no desire to enter into any discussion of the formula of settlement, but we are glad that the Punjab Congressmen have realised the need of the hour. At this critical juncture in the political history of India when the Congress is faced with reactionary forces, it is the bounden duty of all Congressmen to sink their differences, present a united front and speak with one voice.

Addressing the members of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Maulana Azad said:

> So far as the Punjab was concerned it was second to no other province in its enthusiasm, sacrifice and loyalty for the Congress, but the only shortcoming was its party spirit and warring mentality among the various groups of the Congress, which was a blot on the fair name of the Punjab. It was their duty to wipe out the blot and unless they had done so, the Congress could not succeed in the Punjab.
>
> From the enthusiasm and love which the various groups had shown, I hope that the partisan spirit would vanish from the Punjab and that the province would be humming with Congress activity so much so that it will attract the attention of the rest of India.

There are other provinces who have glorious records of service and sacrifice for the Congress and the country where similar party strifes still exist. We hope they will follow the lead of the Punjab, close up their ranks and present a united front at this vital hour of Indian political life.

Prospects of Defeating the League

The overall picture of the nationalist forces aligning themselves against the Muslim League, as it emerges from the recent discussions of Maulana Azad has been given by the *Independent* as follows:

> The Nationalist Muslim Parliamentary Board and the Congress Parliamentary Board will work in co-ordination with each other, both in the Provincial and Central elections.
>
> All Muslim parties outside the League have decided to abide by the decision of the Nationalist Muslim Parliamentary Board.
>
> It is reported that both the Khaksars and Ahrars will support the Nationalist Muslim candidates against the Muslim League.

From the recent statement of Master Tara Singh that Sikhs can come to a settlement only with the Indian National Congress and from the discussions which Maulana Azad is having with the Congress Sikhs, it is expected that the Sikhs also will offer a united front against the Muslim League.

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Visits of Sardar Baldev Singh, a Minister in the present Unionist Cabinet, to the Congress President and many reports of secret approaches by prominent members of the Unionist Party lend support to the view that the Unionist Party also is angling for co-operation from the Congress and the Nationalist Muslims.

The Nationalist Muslims of Sind have decided to put up candidates for every Muslim seat in Sind and they have set up a Provincial Parliamentary Board which is to seek affiliation with the Central Parliamentary Board of the Nationalist Muslims.

As against this, signs are not wanting to indicate the growing weakness of the Muslim League organisation. There is an open rift in the Sind Muslim League and Sir G. H. Hidayatuallah and Mr. G. M. Syed have fallen out on the question of election nominations. They are now awaiting a decision from the Muslim League Parliamentary Board.

In Bengal also all is not well with the Muslim League. The recent meeting of the Bengal League Council for setting up a Provincial Parliamentary Board was marked with stormy scenes on the first day. The differences came to a head on the second day when the old guard sustained a defeat at the hands of the younger section.

Yet another significant development is the reported decision of the Muslim League not to contest election to the Central Assembly from the Frontier Province constituency, ostensibly as a protest against the system of joint electorates. In reality, it is nothing but an admission of the inherent weakness of the Muslim League in the N.-W.F.P.

In Calcutta, the Leaguers' attempt to break up a Khaksar meeting, which was being addressed by the Khaksar leader Allama Mashriqui proved abortive.

Muslim League and the Elections

The Lucknow correspondent of the *Free Press Journal* gives an indication of how the Muslim League is preparing to fight the next elections. He writes :

> A foretaste of how the Muslim League is going to contest the forthcoming elections is contained in a confidential "Instrument of Instructions," which is being circularised by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary, All-India Muslim League, to the provincial branches of the League. The circular reads, *inter alia*: "This fight concerns the very life and death of the Muslim League. Whenever such occasions come in the life of a nation, its first duty becomes the preservation of life somehow or other, and for the achievement of the objective, every method of whatever kind it may be, is perfectly legitimate."
>
> This is virtually interpreted here in the League circles as absolute liberty to use all means, fair and foul, in conducting the elections.
>
> The Instrument of Instructions further enjoins that all local Leagues should immediately take up and raise communal questions wherever possible with a view to securing Muslim sympathies for the League point of view. The Muslims are clearly instructed not to feel worried if the raising of communal questions leads to undesirable consequences, as such issues will weaken the cause of the Congress and the Nationalist Muslims and strengthen the Hindu Mahasabha and the League.
>
> The Provincial Leagues are also instructed to publish pamphlets containing exaggerated accounts of real and imaginary "atrocities" committed by the Congress Government in pre-war Congress regimes, while the Central Parliamentary Committee of the League itself is compiling a series of such booklets for circulation in the provinces. These will be entitled "Living Space for Muslims", "League Not Responsible for Bengal Famine", "Achievement of League Ministries", "Place of Minorities in Pakistan", "Benefits of Pakistan", "Cripps Talks", "Simla Conference" and "Sikandar-Jinnah Pact".
>
> The Instrument of Instructions also lays down that as large a contingent of Moulvis and Ulemas as possible must be sent out to the villages for propagating views against the Nationalist Muslims and calling the latter *Kaffirs* or non-believers.

The *Dawn*, supposed to be the official organ of the Muslim League, in its issue for September 27, contains the following sentence in its leading article, "As regards the treatment alleged to have been meted out to the Maulana by the League leaders, we can only say that brickbats, rather than boquets, are always and in all places in store for puppets and show-boys."

After the publication of this article, Pandit Nehru said, "The Muslim League is perfectly free to indulge in its own variety of polemics supported by brickbats, My only concern is to know if the *Dawn's* statement represent the official and carefully considered policy of the League." This statement remains unreplied. Instead, reports of clashes, often of a violent nature are coming from all parts of India where the Leaguers seem to have taken a leading part.

Arab League Opposed to Pakistan

Azam Beg, Secretary of the Arab League, has expressed himself totally opposed to the idea of Pakistan and said that the Muslim League cannot expect any support from the Arab League in this respect. He said :

> The Arab League does not support the Muslim League in India because the Arabs feel that the unity of India must be maintained at all costs, and the Pakistan idea is moonshine. Let Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim Leaguers realise that in the Arab League there are people belonging to all religions and yet they are all united for a common purpose.

This is how the Muslim League is judged in the homeland of Islamic religion and culture.

The nationalists of Egypt also do not seem to be pleased with the communal separatism of the League. Sending a message of goodwill to India, Nahas Pasha says :

> Egypt and India have a single aim, that of realising their national aspirations. I have had many relations with India, with the Indian political parties, and with my many Indian acquaintances, Muslims and Hindus. The advice I give them is to set aside all questions of conflict and of religion and to get together in a close frank union and co-operation, to realise their national aspirations.—*Bombay Chronicle.*

Religion Cannot Be the Basis of Self-Determination

In a statement to the press, commenting on the sommersault of Mian Iftikaruddin of the Punjab, Prof. Abdul Majid says :

> It is tragic but true that those Muslims who join the Indian National Congress with mental reservations or with ulterior motives are apt to sink back at the time of elections under separate electorates which throw up the worst type of fanatics, and deepen discord. That is why Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, essentially a man of peace who disdains picking unnecessary quarrels, as a true lover of free-

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dom and democracy, believes in combating unflinchingly the fascist and aggressive mentality behind the slogan of Pakistan.

Prof. Majid points out that Muslim "areas" have been brandished in order to support the League's self-determination claim, but the word "areas" where the Muslims are in a majority has been deliberately left vague by the League. He then adds :

> Obviously "areas" do not mean boundaries of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, which in terms of the Muslim League Working Committee resolution of April 1942, have been formed from time to time for administrative convenience and on no logical basis. Besides, in Assam the Muslims constitute a minority of 33 per cent. What justice-loving nationalist India rightly dreads is that *if a minority of 33 per cent, is allowed to disregard the wishes of 67 per cent inhabitants of Assam in 1945, then, in 1950 the Muslims who form about 25 per cent, of the entire population of this country, will completely dominate 75 per cent non-Muslims.*
>
> In the history of the world, it is something unheard of to give the right of self-determination to a minority section of the population, only on the basis of religion. Self-determination means the wishes of the inhabitants who are in a geographically contiguous area and have the same race and language. In the Punjab both Hindus and Muslims belong to the same racial stock and speak the same language and similar is the case of Bengal.

Self-determination, Prof. Majid rightly asserts, can never imply that a religious community of 59 millions should be determined to disfranchise another community of 49 millions on a tremendously vital issue like the vivisection of their country. There is no denying the fact that the Muslim Leaguers are out to reduce the majority community to a state of permanent political impotence or to the status of mere grass-cutters. The latest pamphlets published from Cambridge by Rahamat Ali, the originator of the Pakistan idea, shows that the next plan is to use the Pakistan areas as jumping ground for the conversion of the entire country into an Islamic land. The name of India will be changed to Dinia.

Punishing Corrupt Officials

Corruption in officialdom from top to bottom is now a common feature of the present-day British Administration in India. One or two honest and well-meaning officials express their uneasiness here and there, but they seem helpless against a machinery steeped in wholesale corruption. In Bengal, the Rowlands Committee has admitted the existence of widespread corruption in the administration and suggested that an official found in possession of property and wealth which is unusual for a man of his position should be asked to explain how he came about it. This very sensible suggestion was not accepted and enforced by the Bengal Government. Only a pious wish for the eradication of corruption has been expressed from time to time.

Administrative corruption is rampant all over India, and particularly in these war departments which deal with ready money. Nobody is immune, whether Indians or Englishmen. Recently, the Secretary of the Civil Supplies Department of the Punjab has gone a step further and in a press conference tried to explain what he did for dealing with this menace. Here is the substance of what he said :

In the very difficult matter of bringing corruption to light and punishing corrupt officials engaged on civil supplies work, figures show a marked progress from year to year. During 1943 one official was suspected of corruption and discharged. During 1944 eleven cases were detected. Six of them are still under enquiry and the staff concerned is under suspension. This includes one Civil Supplies Officer and an Office Superintendent against whom a judicial enquiry is in progress. The cases which have been decided include one Civil Supplies Sub-Inspector who was found guilty and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. In the other four cases, employees were dealt with departmentally and punished in various ways including discharge, dismissal from service, reversion to original appointments, etc. None of them is now in the Civil Supplies Department. In the current year there have up-to-date been 20 cases. Nine cases are still under enquiry, and the persons involved are under suspension. The cases already decided include that of one Civil Supplies Officer with a bad reputation who has been discharged from service. Departmental punishments include discharge, reversion, and in some cases dismissal from service.

The above figures do not include action taken by District Magistrates against the clerical staff of the department.

In some cases action has been taken against officials abusing their privileged position to get a larger share than is due to them of commodities in short supply for themselves and their friends.

On the Rationing side, there have been about 20 cases of corruption or allied mal-practices during the current year. The offenders included officials of all grades, including one Ward Rationing Officer. Judicial enquiries were instituted in five of these cases while others were tried departmentally, punishments given departmentally include dismissal from service.

Government welcomes public co-operation in exposing dishonesty whether on the part of officials or non-officials and is determined to punish corruption with severity but a very important difficulty had been the collection of adequate and reliable evidence on which to base action. Punishment is only possible where reliable information is forthcoming and people are willing to give evidence even at the cost of some personal inconvenience. On the other hand, in order to encourage honest officials it is most desirable the false and malicious complaints based on hearsay should cease.

Sir Archibald Rowlands on Corruption

We appreciated the Punjab Secretary's well-meaning intention to stamp out this dangerous evil, but in his concluding remarks, we are sure, one would read the working of the unrealistic mind of a British civil servant who has no connection whatsoever with the people. It is absurd for the Government to expect help from a person whom it has tied down to one particular shop for its rotten food, to another shop for its adulterated mustard oil and to a third for his coarse garments. Sheer instinct of self-preservation will compel him to humour his suppliers in order to get better supplies for himself. It is a strange mind that can imagine that such a harassed man will ever come forward with "reliable information" against those very persons on whose favour his existence depends. He cannot risk his for helping a "State" which he finds working for the benefit of foreign interests and on whom he has no at the other end ? Why do they not follow the value

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suggestion of Sir Archibald Rowlands who said in his report, (para 229 iv) :

That a new offence should be created providing that if a public servant or his dependents are known to have become possessed of a sudden accretion of wealth, the public servant concerned would be deemed guilty of the offence unless he could prove that the accretion of wealth was innocently obtained.

He also suggested that offences under the bribery sections of the Indian Penal Code should be made cognisable.

None of these recommendations have been acted upon by any Provincial Government in India. Instead, under the D. I. Rules, ample protection has been granted to corrupt officials indirectly by making a government sanction necessary prior to launching a prosecution against that class of officials who in this country are known as public servants but wield the master's power over the public on behalf of a foreign absentee landlord.

The Punjab Secretary like all other similar secretaries, has lamented about the "inadequacy of reliable evidence." Sir Archibald has himself replied to such lamentations in para 228 :

> Officers should exercise the strictest supervision of those staffs employed on duties likely to expose them to temptation. In such cases, the officers in charge should inspect their offices not only frequently but thoroughly.
>
> Much more resolute action should be taken in any case where suspicion is aroused. Evidence has been tendered to us that, at present, *officers in authority are little disposed to pursue prima facie cases for investigation.*

We firmly believe that corruption can be stamped out in no time only if the superior officials exerted themselves actively and created conditions under which public confidence to the Government could be restored. It is the defeatist attitude of the top rankers in the civil service which is primarily responsible for this state of affairs. Sir Archibald remarks :

> So widespread has corruption become, and *so defeatist is the attitude taken towards it,* that we think that the most drastic steps should be taken to stamp out the evil which has corrupted the public service and public morals. Anything less is a denial of justice to the poor people of the province, who comprise the bulk of its population and who, in the end, have to pay for the bribes which go to enrich the unscrupulous and dishonest.

Some months ago, a European writing in the *Statesman* calculated that Rs. 60 crores annually pass as bribes. The Government want the public to believe that the British officials of the steel-frame called the Indian Civil Service and the British Police Superintendents called the Indian Police know nothing of it and the Government which seeks to crush four hundred millions of human beings under their heels, is powerless to detect and punish thieves, swindlers and profiteers !

Clive on Corruption

Corruption in the administration is nothing new in India, particularly after the rise of the Christian power in this country. Corruption might have existed in India before the coming of the British, but we find no historical evidence that they were so widespread and deep-seated as they have been since the British East India Company became administrators of Bengal. The only change that may be noticed is that the Indian nuts and bolts fitted to the British steel-frame have become equally rotten. We give below an account of the state of affairs prevalent in Bengal when Clive came for the last time. His own words are :

> Upon my arrival, I am sorry to say, I found your affairs in a condition so nearly desperate as would have alarmed any set of men whose sense of honour and duty to their employers had not been estranged by the too eager pursuit of their own advantage. The sudden, and, among many, the unwarrantable acquisition of riches, had introduced luxury in every shape and in the most pernicious excess. These two enormous evils went hand in hand together through the whole presidency infecting almost every member of each department. It is no wonder that the best of riches should readily embrace the proferred means of its gratification, or that the instruments of your power should avail themselves of their authority, and proceed even to extortion in those cases where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity.
>
> The sources of tyranny and oppression, which have been opened by the European agents acting under the authority of the Company's servants, and the numberless black agents and sub-agents acting also under them, will, I fear, be a lasting reproach to the English name in this country.

Imperialistic Science

The contributions of Prof. A. V. Hill to the advancement of scientific knowledge have earned him the admiration of the scientific world. He has been awarded Nobel Prize in recognition of his researches in physiology. This scientist was an M.P. in the last Parliament. He had come to India some time ago and it is really painful to find him in company with traducers of truth about India like Sir Jeremy Raisman and Mr. J. C. French who seem to hate everything Indian except Indian money.

In an article in the *Picture Post*, Prof. Hill has given a "study" of the Indian population problem. His study is as follows :

> In the year 1600 the population of India was probably about 100 millions, by 1750 about 130 millions, by 1850 about 150 millions, by 1900 it was about 300 millions, to-day it is over 400 millions and increasing by 6 millions annually.

He does not quote his sources from where he drew his comfortable figures for 1750 backwards but cooly presents it with a very clever "probably". Then he goes on to deduce his conclusion :

> We must remember that the increase from 150 to 400 millions in 100 years is a consequence of orderly government and of transport, communications, irrigation, agriculture, public health and the control of famines and epidemics ; and of the fact that India, for the first time in her history, has been working more or less as a single organised unit.

Even as an attempt to "dress" truth the above effort is crude, and it is all the more painful because they come from a scientist of the highest order, holding the responsible office of the Secretary of the Royal Society of London. We wonder if the professor in his sallies into demography had ever heard of the unique researches made by the Princeton Office of Population Research

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and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Their studies reveal that the world's population has quadrupled itself during the last three centuries from 500 millions to over 2000 millions. They again say that whereas population growth has slowed down in the western countries as a result of rapid rise in the standard of living, population in the Asiatic countries has been increasing "at an abnormal rate". This increase has been for biological reasons, had no relation whatsoever to good government and is perfectly natural. The following percentages of increase of population in various countries during 1881-1931 will show that the increases in Asiatic countries like Japan and India has not certainly been "abnormal". They are :

England	..	..	50
Holland	..	..	90
U.S.A.	..	..	186
Japan	..	..	74
India	..	..	35

Infant mortality rate, which is greatly reducible in the modern world, may surely be taken as a test of good government. Here are figures for three countries :

	Deaths per thousand Infantile	Maternal	Mean expectation of Life
U. S. A.	54	8·5	62
England	58	4	63
India	162	24·5	27

We have on the authority of the All-India Conference of Medical Research Workers, 1924 and 1926, the statement that in India the number of deaths annually resulting from preventible diseases is about 5 to 6 millions ; that the average number of days lost to labour by each person from preventible disease is not less than a fortnight to 3 weeks in a year ; that the percentage loss of efficiency of the average person in India from preventible malnutrition and disease is not less than 20 per cent ; and that the percentage of infants born who reach a wage-earning age is about 50 whereas it is quite possible to raise this percentage to 90. The wastage of life and efficiency which results from various preventible diseases costs India several hundreds of crores of rupees each year. Malaria alone is calculated to entail an economic loss of Rs. 106 millions annually on account of the diminished earning capacity of the workers. While malaria thrives on the fertile soil of India, Dutch Kina Bureau continues to sell quinine in this country at exorbitant rates and the Imperial Government whose cause Prof. Hill so ardently champions holds quinine production down in India for the benefit of their blood-brother in Imperialism. This is only a fraction of the fulfilment and achievement of British rule in India.

Prof. Hill has boasted of the Indian transport and communication systems. True, they were introduced by British people and were done at a fabulously high cost. A glance at any short history of Indian Railways will convince anybody that a veritable loot went in at the early stages of Railway expansion. Indian people had to spend Rs. 8,000 millions for the few thousands of miles of railways which even to this day are operated primarily to serve the needs of the Imperial Government and the British merchants and industrialists. Indian people's voice finds a deaf ear in the running of the railways, is manning of the superior services, the fixation of railway rates or the purchase of railway stores. Only two years ago the Bengal famine had illustrated the utter inadequacy of the Indian transport and communication system and the inability of the British autocrats to act efficiently in times of stress.

Prof. Hill has boasted of the Indian irrigation system. Here are facts :

Year	Govt. Irrigation (million acres)	Private Irrigation (million acres)	Percentage of Irrigated area to total area sown
1902-03	15·6	28·5	19·5
1939-40	25·1	29·8	22·5

During two centuries of British rule, her champions can boast about a ten per cent irrigated area all over this vast sub-continent where the indigenous crude methods of irrigation by tanks and wells still account for over 50 per cent ! In a free India, irrigation was far more wide and scientific. We take this opportunity to refer Prof. Hill to Sir William Willcox's Readership Lectures in the Calcutta University from which he will find enough evidence that much more harm than good has been done to the Indian irrigation system by the British Engineers in this country.

As regards "control" of famines only a few instances may be cited offhand. During the regime of the Company, there were about 15 famines of which the most devastating were those of 1770, 1784, 1802, 1824 and 1837. After the assumption of the Government by the Crown, the great famines were :

1860—North-West India
1865—Orissa (50 millions affected and 1 million dead)
1868—Rajputana
1873—Bihar
1876—South India (5·2 millions dead)
1896 and 1899—All India, but Bombay, Madras and Central Provinces mainly affected.
1907—United Provinces
1912, 1918 and 1920—Ahmadnagar
1943—Bengal (5 millions dead).

According to one calculation, the number of deaths caused by wars in the whole world in 107 years from 1793 to 1900 is 5 millions, while the number of deaths caused in India by famines in 25 years from 1876 to 1900 is 19 millions.

Besides regular famines, there has been in large parts of India a perpetual scarcity, a state of chronic starvation. From 80 to 90 million people do not know what a full meal means.

Prof. Hill has lastly asserted that "India for the first time in her history has been working more or less as a single organised unit." We are sorry to find that the learned professor had not had the opportunity to come across even a small school text-book on Indian history, not to speak of bigger and better volumes. Even British traducers of Indian history have fought shy to utter a nonsense of this magnitude. The Maurya and the Gupta Empires under Hindu Rulers and the Mughal Empire under Akbar down to Aurangzeb, to name only a few, were wider and more organised than the present boundaries of British India.

Prof. Hill's final judgment on the Indian question

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There is no doubt of our responsibility. Hundreds of millions of people are now alive who would not be there at all had we never gone to India. And if, like Pilate, we washed our hands off the whole business and cleared out (say) on October 1, 1946, it is more than likely that faction and disorder would set in and the population of India would have to revert to what it was before India became a single organised whole.

These observations clearly identify Prof. Hill with group to whom he has sold his conscience and there- does not call for any further reply. Let him read sign of the times. Almost all the leaders of Indian nalism of the early nineteenth century had faith British sincerity and goodwill. Today *Quit India* is only slogan on every Indian lip and there is nothing unmitigated hatred for the British "Trusteeship" n.

hers-in-Law for British Industries !

The extreme difficulty felt by the British Labour in proceeding right along Imperialist lines with Imperialist slogans in their mouth is now manifest. few questions answered by Mr. Attlee and Lord wick-Lawrence on their India policy and the nalist conflicts on the Asiatic Continent have re- ed all doubts as regards their political ideas and ations. The formation of working parties for sh Industries as a half-way measure to placate both capitalist and the labour, and a straight declaration he President of the Board of Trade that national- on of major industries would not be undertaken made it quite definitely clear now that they have ly decided not to go against the capitalist vested ests.

The *Commerce* gives a good account of the Work- parties. Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board Trade, has made a statement to the House of mons that "the major industries of Britain will ally come under the investigation of tripartite king Parties who are to examine means of improv- organisation and output." Working parties have proposed for cotton, pottery, hosiery, furniture boot and shoe industries all of which are export stries. This, we are told, is only the first batch, it is proposed to pick up month by month new until all the major industries are subjected to a ing review.

The fundamental object of appointing Working es, is, to quote Sir Stafford Cripps, "to get the stries of this country (U.K.) in the best position eet the very hard competition which is coming out two years' time. When this easy sellers' market e, we shall come up against it and I want industry e ready, highly organised and in fine mettle to competition." The Labour Government of Britain, fore, in the words of *Commerce*, "realises not only cessity of exports to the country but also of the rtance of maximum productive efficiency as the and the most effective method of *regaining and retaining* its export markets." By its decision not ionalise major industries, the British Government es that it would be better to leave clear to private alist enterprise that field which depends on a world petitive economy.

In the post-war economic competition, Trusts and Rings would come to play a very important role. If British industries want to live, they must make common cause with the other big capitalists and enter as many of the rings as they possibly can. Peace must remain on the labour front. The present Labour Government has shown that it is easy to demoralise the whole labour movement if the vocal sections of the Labour are admitted into the administrative machinery and thus given a finger in the pie. The differences among the British Labour Party ranks and the World Trade Unions are unmistakable pointers to this new development in Labour politics. The Working Parties are being formed ostensibly with the object of doing team work to solve Britain's post-war industrial problems but we are almost sure that its main result will be to split Trade Unions in order to weaken them. In a meeting of the Associated British Chambers of Commerce, Sir Stafford Cripps elucidated his ideas in the following words :

> The team consists of employer, employees and the government, all equal partners, each of whom has its peculiar contribution to make. Employers must see that their business works in the national interest, for that is the keynote of the team's objective.
>
> From the employees, we ask their intelligent interest in their work and their continued application to the job in hand. We need their skill and craftsmanship and their contribution to the efficiency of the productive processes. This means good and understanding co-operation in the factories themselves, and this can only be brought about by up--to-date machinery of consultation.
>
> The Government is now coming wholeheartedly in as a third partner, representing the national interest and stressing the consumers' needs. For these purposes the *Government must create the orderly conditions by which private enterprise can make the most effective contributions to the nation's economic welfare.*

So far as the constitution and functions of these Working Parties are concerned, only those relating to the cotton mill industry have reached us. The Working Party for cotton consists of four representatives of employers, four of the trade unions and four independent members and an independent Chairman appointed by the Board of Trade. The four independent members consist of an economist, a labour welfare worker, a scientist and an efficient expert (management). The Chairman of this Party is Sir George Schuster, ex-Finance Member of the Government of India. Their functions include everything except the question of nationalisation.

The British Labour Party had, till the end of the war, been champions of democracy and freedom. In office, they deny the same freedom to subject peoples for which they pretended to fight. The Labour Premier of England now talks about "our obligation to the Allies" and supplies men and arms for the suppression of freedom movements in Asia and the restoration of lost territories to their former Imperialist Governments. In this context, Sir Stafford Cripps' intention of betraying labour for the perpetuation of Imperialism is understandable. But how he eypects a heterogeneous body, like his newly produced Working Party, to work successfully has been beyond the comprehension of many in this country as well as in England. We quote only one comment which is sufficiently illustrative.

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Financial News, (now *Financial Times*) of London, writes :

> For many years, the technically practicable field of stage management, as against indirect control must be severely limited and can cover at most two or three of the major industries. What then of Working Committees in all the rest of the industries ? Is it necessary to have a mother-in-law billetted on every branch of private enterprise ? Will it be conducive to the greatest efficiency ? It depends partly on the mother-in-law, of course, but the prospect is not particularly inviting.

Finance for Building Houses

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning Member for the Government of India in the course of his recent address to the General Policy Committee, referred to the building industry in this country, which came to a standstill during the war and which has to be revived and expanded. He stated that the Government of India was actively considering a scheme for the housing of its industrial labour and that a Building Research section was being set up by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. In the usual official manner therefore, the Government of India were only considering what other countries were translating into action. An account of how Australia has set a splendid example in the matter of providing financial assistance to stimulate construction of houses, has been given by the *Commerce* :

> Early this century, Australian State Governments began to recognise the need for better provision for housing the low income group, and in the various States, legislation was passed to establish State or semi-State authorities with power to make advances to assist persons of limited means to buy or erect houses to live in. The legislation which these bodies administer was expressly intended to give people of limited means the opportunity to rent or buy a home on easier terms than those offered by private enterprise. Australian banks have taken an active interest in this matter. Five banks have administered Government funds for both building low cost homes and lending sums on liberal terms for home purchase. These are, the Agricultural Bank (Tasmania), the Rural Bank (N.S.W.), the State Savings Bank (Victoria), the State Bank (S.A.) and the Savings Bank of South Australia. The Commonwealth Bank also has made funds available for housing in four ways : by overdraft to individuals from the trading bank department, by advances to individuals from the savings bank department, by advances to co-operative building societies and by advances to housing authorities. Besides all the nine trading banks also, which operate in Australia, make advances for housing, generally by way of overdraft. As a rule, advances are not much higher than 60 per cent of the bank's valuation of the land and dwelling, with the result that people of low incomes are seldom helped. Life insurance companies are a little more liberal, and advances are made on table mortagages for periods of up to 30 years and up to 75 per cent of the security. In addition, a large number of private building and investment companies make finance available for home building but their interest rates are high.
>
> In addition to these, there is also in existence two types of building societies. The first, called a "terminating" society, receives subscriptions from members and makes loans free of interest to members. The second type is a permanent holding society which is of indefinite duration and is purely an investment organisation. It issues shares and makes advances for building in the same way as any other investment organisation.

These organisations have, however, been found inadequate to meet the housing needs of the people and it has been felt that the increasing demand for building construction called for State assistance. Accordingly, the Federal Government set up in 1943 a body called the Commonwealth Housing Commission to report on the subject of house-building. This Commission has now submitted its Report recommending that the Federal Government should subsidise houses erected by Government authorities, so that the payment made by the occupant should not exceed one-sixth of the family income for rental and one-fifth for home purchase. It says that a subsidised dwelling should not be of less than the approved standard. It hopes that the payment of a subsidy will stimulate investigation into approved building methods and eventually cause the cost of building to be reduced to a level where the payment of a subsidy will become unnecessary. The Report also states that persons buying houses, which are not Government financed, could be helped in the following ways :

(*a*) Abolition of Sales tax,
(*b*) Government advances to semi-Government institutions and certain private organisations for lending for home purchase on easy terms and conditions,
(*c*) Making technical advice and services available at a low cost, and
(*d*) Government guarantees of an approved portion of advances made by certain financial institutions for home purchase.

The Australian Government regards it as necessary that the State should render assistance for house-building although it does not express its opposition to private agencies undertaking the task.

It is not yet known whether all these proposals have been accepted by the Federal Government, but available reports suggest that they will be very favourably considered.

The Elections

The Congress has been flung willy-nilly, at very short notice and with very severe handicaps, into the Elections. As such we have to regard all its moves with a far less critical eye than in normal contests. One word of caution has to be uttered, however, regarding nominations. The record of all candidates should be critically examined as far as possible and there should be every attempt to bring in younger men with a fresh and vigorous outlook on the nation's political life. Mere obedience to party manifesto and similar old standards that obtained in the previous elections should not prevail now. The Congress must realize that this election is only the first move in the terrific contest that lies ahead and a great deal will depend on the right selection of men. Men of action are needed everywhere and we hope we shall not again see a galaxy of "yesmen" replacing actual workers.

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uis Fischer on Coming Indian Elections

Louis Fischer, the famous American writer, in an le specially contributed to the *Tribune* (Oct. 7), sses the Indian political problem and the coming ion campaign. In the beginning he gives a vivid re of Churchill and describes him as a product of nineteenth century. He says that contradiction een democracy and poverty does not torment rchill. Contradiction between freedom in England bondage in India does not bother him. Yet these radictions must go if democracy and peace are to reserved on this planet. The British people know It is clear now that the people in Britain fought o-front war. They defeated Hitler with Churchill. they defeated Churchill. The historic purpose of chill's defeat is to take England out of the nine- h century and move her into the twentieth century. Fischer believes, is the Labour Government's ry task.

Fischer thinks that this is also India's greatest m. Independence is India's urgent need. But endence will merely open the door to a solution dia's numerous problems. All those problems can lled together and expressed in one sentence: India lift herself out of the sixteenth century (feudal autocrat native States) and out of the eighteenth neteenth centuries (agrarian and industrial back- ness) and start living in the twentieth. India is, fore, the testing ground for the new British Labour rnment. The results so far have not been much uraging, but it is not yet time to pronounce the ment.

Fischer points out that the statements which mier Attlee and Lord Wavell made on September ave aroused unusual interest in the U.S.A. This plained partly by the importance of the matter and partly because the negotiations now proceed- between American experts and Lord Keynes on ind's financial future are intimately related to the ense sterling credit which India has accumulated London during the war. Fischer expresses Indian when he says that Attlee made a mistake in hasising continuity between the new policy and the ps proposal of 1942. Actually the new policy is ent because the war has ended and the Cripps offer aining a most unsatisfactory interim arrangement the duration of hostilities has therefore no validity. The most significant portion of his article is given w:

> Lord Wavell's declaration of September 19th makes it plain that he will consider with Indian representatives any alternative to or modifications of the Cripps proposal which they care to present. Also, he said that the form of the constitution-making assembly is subject to change. In effect, this means that the Cripps offer can now be altered and, possibly, altered beyond recognition, which would certainly be all to the good.
>
> These stipulations in Attlee-Wavell announcements afford Indians an opportunity for constructive statesmanship. At least for the next period public opinion outside India expects Indian leaders and parties to be engaged in constructive thinking and show the British Government how the rejected Cripps scheme can be amended to meet requirements of the present situation.
>
> From all I was able to learn in India in 1942 and since leaving India Sir Stafford Cripps did not negotiate with Indians. His line of 'take it or leave it' could not promote understanding. It is much better to negotiate with the Viceroy than with Sir Stafford Cripps, who, to put it mildly, did not enjoy the co-operation of the Viceroy. In India in 1942 I had several talks with Lord Wavell and Lord Linlithgow. Wavell is an improvement on Linlithgow. The Labour Government, one hopes, is an improvement on Churchill's Coalition Government.
>
> Indians have ample reason to regard Britain's intentions sceptically. But a person or a party that never deviates from the strategy of erecting road blocks is condemned to political sterility and frustration. The order of the day is a fair examination of the potentialities of Attlee-Wavell declarations. There will be plenty of time to return to attack, in case circumstances warrant it.
>
> The central issue in the forthcoming election campaign is India's future, not India's past. A re-warming of bygone grievances, mutual recrimination and demagogic appeals to narrow communalism will produce much heat, but no light to guide the country's forward progress. Positive programmes are now of better service to India than fruitless wrangling.
>
> The real job is to expose the undesirable and unacceptable features of the Cripps proposal and show why they should be discarded: Secondly, to advance new features in place of those discarded. The weakest and most dangerous provision in the Cripps plan is the right accorded to any province or State not to adhere to the new constitution. No constitutional assembly operated on this basis can ever draft a constitution. Any group of provinces or States, indeed any important province could, by threatening to secede, terrorise and paralyse a constituent assembly bent on establishing free unified India. Any province, certainly several provinces together, could dictate to the assembly by using their right to secede as pressure. This provision, therefore, should be dropped. Instead, constitution must grant the broadest possible autonomy, inside federation or confederation, to all provinces and States. Each province or State, however, will guarantee fair treatment to minorities. Any province or State may withdraw from the Indian Union after the trial period of five or more years.

We cannot agree with the concluding remarks of Fischer. We firmly believe that any provision which might be construed as granting the right of secession under any pretext whatsoever will be detrimental to the best interests of the country. Whatever might be the degree of centralisation that would be agreed upon between the parties at the coming constituent Assembly, it must be clear, specific and thoroughly understandable. The dubious language in which Congress resolutions on self-determination are still being clothed, ought to be finally shed, and it must be plainly told that no secession would be allowed during the formative period of Indian independence. Since the Muslim League's Lahore resolution of 1940, there has been enough talk on secession these five years, and every political mind, Hindu, Muslim or Christian, with reason and without motive, has expressed itself against the creations of Pakistan. Secession and Pakistan has been the battle cry only of the worst reactionaries who have entered the political field for gains in cash and kind.

British Export Drive of Consumer Goods to India

The slow and steady trickle of British made

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consumer goods into this country is being transformed into a growing stream. The success of the Hydari Mission is now apparent. British cloth and other goods are now on the market. Free from the fetters of the rationing orders, it will be easy for British cloth to fill the carefully maintained vacuum in the cloth market.

The Special London Representative of the *Leader* writes :

> The Labour Ministry has eased the situation regarding coal for the winter and accelerated the demobilization programme so that on the domestic front the Government stands on solid ground. It has made a particularly good impression through the activities of the Board of Trade in promoting a big export drive.
>
> Yesterday I visited about a dozen wholesale shops. 'What is the price of the nice overcoat', I asked in one shop. 'No sir, these coats are to be sent to Calcutta and Simla', was the reply. These are nice frames for glasses, can I have one of them'? 'No, sir, they are booked for export to India, we have none better than what you are wearing for our home trade.' Wholesalers in ties and socks told the same story. Their best material has been allotted by the Board of Trade for exports particularly to India. Well, there is a mighty drive for exporting *consumer goods* to India and *not capital goods*.

It has been difficult for the consumer to forget that during this war, the Indian manufacturer has let him badly down. He had to pay five times the normal price for putting an additional five per cent in the war profiteers' pocket. But the present danger is far more serious. For every rupee sent out of the country, the manufacturer and the consumer will be equal losers. From the newly started Buy Swadeshi campaign, it appears that our manufacturers have at last come to realise their blunder. Let them now atone for their past wrongs and jointly with the consumers devise means to guard against the avalanche of British exports coming to India.

Industrial Expansion in Indian States

A meeting of the Princes and their Ministers has recently been held in Delhi. A delegation of the Princes met the Viceroy and had talks with him on the constitutional position. As the members of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes have withdrawn their resignation, the old impasse has automatically come to an end. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Leader* reports that important questions, apart from the political ones, concerning the future industrial policy of the States have emerged as a result of these talks. The States feel that their attempts at industrialisation had been obstructed by the Government of India during this war. Sir Manubhai Mehta was the Chairman of the Ministers' Committee. The correspondent writes :

> The States are anxious to develop industrially and for that purpose have already sent delegation to Europe and America for purchasing machinery. In an article which recently appeared in the *Asiatic Review*, Mir Maqbool Mahmud, Secretary of the Princes Chamber, made a special appeal to British industrialists and financiers to help in industrializing the States. The Government of India have, however, been insisting that the States should bring up their taxation and other economic laws and regulations to standard as British India. They are certainly right in principle in demanding that as there can be no such thing as industrial planning or economic unity for the whole country without this approximation, the States should not lag behind British India. With low taxation, cheap labour and such other advantages, the States may, for the time being, prove very tempting for the starting of new industries, but in the long run it is bound to unhealthy competition and conflicts which in this common interest they would both do well to avoid. Sir Manubhai Mehta accepted the need for approximation, but he asked whether it was fair on the part of the Government of India to ask them to follow policies and measures in the shaping of which they had no voice and whether the States should not be given sufficient time for the levelling up process. It is clear that some machinery has to be set up for facilitating this process of consultation and proceeding with industrial expansion on a basis of friendly co-ordination. At the same time it cannot be forgotten that if the Indian States are also to develop economically and raise the standard of living of their people, they must also embark on big schemes of industrial expansion. Sir Manubhai complains that the Government of India had been using their powers during this war period to obstruct industrial growth in the States.

The Princes have come to realise their political and economic helplessness. They, however, lamentably lack the boldness to present a united front against encroachments on what they consider their rights. The sooner they realise that their real interest is identical with the larger interests of the country, it would be the better for all. Subservience to the "Paramount Power" has earned them nothing but humiliation and degradation.

Strangling of Indian Industry

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning, Government of India, has announced that the Government had under consideration the establishment of a Tariff Board to examine the claims for assistance or protection to wartime industries. India, therefore, has decided to do something after the end of the war what other countries in the British Empire itself accomplished shortly after the outbreak of hostilities.

Sir Ardeshir stated that the Government were also considering the establishment of a Government shipbuilding yard for the building of merchant ships as well as vessels required for the future Indian navy, an industry for the building of aircraft for civil aviation as well for the requirements of the Indian Air Force; an Indian Finance Corporation for financing medium and large-scale industries; and provincial institutions on similar lines for financing small-scale and cottage industries.

It is now quite clear that the industrialisation of India will have to take place in the face of strong opposition from: (*a*) the constitutional protection enjoyed by the British capital under the Government of India Act and (*b*) a combined denial of capital equipment to India by the U.K. and U.S.A. Sir Ardeshir's statement to the Policy Committee on Industries shows that there was capital equipment available in the U.S.A., Empire countries like Canada and Australia, and "neutral" countries like Sweden and Switzerland. In the scheme for the registration of capital goods 651 applications, totalling Rs. 34 crores and 90 lakhs had been accepted,

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needs capital goods and there are countries who d supply; but they cannot be brought because U.K. s not want India to build her own consumption stries instead of purchasing consumer goods from This is plain enough even to the man in the street. The relevant portion of Sir Ardeshir's statement iven below, which is revealing :

There was one source, he said, from which it ight be possible to secure capital equipment in the ear future. "When in the U.S.A., I had interviews ith the American disposals authorities, who informed me that nearly *ten billion dollars worth of dustrial plant and machinery would be rendered rplus at the end of the war.* I have made arrangements with the Supply Mission at Washington to eep in touch with the disposals authorities and to form the Government and industrialists in this untry of the character and amount of the material at may be available for disposal from time to me.

Apart from the U.K., there are two countries the British Empire *from which capital equipment ay be available,* namely, Australia and Canada, and vestigations for this purpose are being made. It of course, open to industrialists to make their n enquiries. The Government will render any sistance that they may require. *Switzerland and eden are two other countries from which there are me possibilities of securing capital goods,* but in eir case the question of the availability of exchange ill have to be fully examined.

Indian industrialists should now change their out- Instead of depending on foreign countries for the y of capital goods, they should start in right st to manufacture such goods in India with what- materials they now possess. We are glad to learn such attempt has already begun. Sir C. V. Raman, address to the Indian Chamber of Industries and merce at Bezwada, said that Mr. C. V. Reddy of ada had produced complete machineries such as pellers and many such useful things in his own nies. The whole course of our economic negotiations ely to change as soon as our industrialists unite make an earnest start in manufacturing machinery is country.

t India and the Official Economic Plans

With the intensification of the Quit India slogan, provincial governments have been busy in producandiose schemes of economic reconstruction costeral crores of rupees. As was only to be ted the government of Bengal has produced the est scheme. A realistic note about these schemes last been struck in Orissa by Pandit Godavaris ex-Finance Minister of the Province. After the nor had delivered his inaugural address constitutPlanning and Reconstruction Board saying that pular ministry, when it would come, would be to consider the materials prepared to the best ts of Orissa and that the continuity of the effort remain intact, Pandit Misra expressed the fear that tinuity which the Governor wished to last might respected by the popular Ministry which would med after the elections fought on the issue of India. He thought that the most important plan the country was the Quit India plan.

Pandit Misra pointed out that Congressmen were d to join the Board but they refused, evidently because they had their own National Planning Committee under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who had lately written to the Government of Orissa for the resumption of the usual grant to their committee. The speaker emphatically added that this planning under Pandit Nehru would have precedence over all other plans. That was why he doubted the continuity of the present plans after the advent of the popular Ministries.

We have had opportunities to go through only telegraphed summaries of other provincial plans, and to glance through the Bengal Government's plan. At the first sight this planning does not seem to be balanced according to people's needs. Thus Scheme No. 178 aims at the provision of "greater hospital facilities, especially in rural areas" and admits that the existing number of 6,400 permanent beds for 60,000,000 people is "most inadequate". It has, therefore, been planned to provide 500 new permanent beds during each of the five years of the plan, putting the target of the increase at 2,500 more beds only. The planning authorities, therefore, probably believe that 8,900 beds for 60 million people would be "adequate" and they feel content in providing a total sum of Rs. 125 lakhs out of the total planned amount of Rs. 159 crores for this most important and urgent reform. Rough estimate of cost for this plan will be :

Capital	—	Total Rs. 50 lakhs
Recurring	—	„ Rs. 75 lakhs
		Rs. 125 lakhs

This may be compared to the cost of only two items of reform provided for the Police Department. These provisions are :

			Total
Construction of building for the Police	Capital cost	Rs.	64 lakhs
Construction of building for Calcutta Police	„	„	52·5 lakhs
Strengthening of the Calcutta Police	Recurring cost	„	85 lakhs
		„	201·5 lakhs

About Rs. 44 lakhs have been provided for the expansion of jails alone.

Every provincial government has, in declaring the plans, made it clear that the newly constituted Planning and Reconstruction Boards will be only Advisory Bodies, and will have nothing to do with the execution of the plan. Bengal, in its usual way, has gone one step further and has already imported a British expert to advise them as to whom they should invite for shouldering this arduous and difficult task. Two British civilians were entrusted with the drafting of the plan and presumably on these or similar people will rest the power of execution. Good advice is inevitably lost with them. The public have been kept completely dark about the report submitted by Dr. L. K. Elmhirst who had offered his honorary services for the drawing up of an Agricultural Improvement Plan. Will the Bengal Government tell the people if he had submitted his report and if not why not? We have seen Mr. J. R. Symonds, Deputy Director of Rehabilitation, leave his job in disgust. He finds it impossible to do any good to the people of the land with the help of the present

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machinery at work at the Government Secretariat. Here in Bengal, the more inefficient a District officer is, the bigger and the more important is the nation-building portfolio allotted to him.

The people have come to believe, with good reason, that most of these provincial plans are mere camouflage calculated to hide the gross inefficiency and failure of the administrative machinery during the past six crucial years.

Reward for Yes Men

The *Associated Press of India* has expressed the view of certain political quarters that the appointment of Sir Chandulal Trivedi as Governor of Orissa marks the "beginning of the Labour Government's new policy." The special correspondent of the *Bharat Jyoti* says that well informed political quarters at New Delhi do not share this view. He says:

> These quarters say that Sir Chandulal Trivedi has been the ideal Indian Civilian from the British point of view during the 1930 movement and as Chief Secretary to the C. P. Government when the Congress was in power. Moreover, he has been a loyal War Secretary to Lord Wavell and General Auchinleck.
>
> It is well-known in Delhi that Sir Chandulal belongs to the old school of Indian Civilians who believed in carrying out the British policy in India without a dissenting note even in files. He was selected as the Secretary of the War Department in preference to Sir Gurunath Bewoor who had been appointed Secretary to the newly created Defence Department, as it served the Government better to have a "yesman" without political or social contact than an Indian Civilian who was popular among the members of the Assembly.
>
> Thus it is believed that the policy of the Government is to appoint as Governors only those Indian Civilians who have unbroken records of loyalty to the British regime in India.

Another significant high appointment also deserves notice. Mr. M. K. Vellodi, the Textile Commissioner, who has succeeded in maintaining the much desired vacuum in the cloth market under a garb of bungling, has been appointed to hold the office of Deputy High Commissioner for India in London. Manchester and Lancashire most certainly need a man of his description, experience and "loyalty" at a moment when shipments of British cloth has just begun. A Churchill government could hardly have made better selections.

So far as Labour's new policy is concerned, India remembers that only a year ago the Labour Party Conference endorsed the right of India to independence and demanded the liberation of India's political prisoners. The people of this country have not failed to notice that Labour proposals for India declared by Mr. Attlee and Lord Wavell have carefully avoided the word *independence* and thousands of political prisoners still remain in jail.

A Typical Case in Bengal

The kind of communal partisanship indulged in by responsible Imperial officials holding charge of districts has recently come to light in a case in Bengal. The case arose out of a rioting in a village in the Mollahat Police Station in the district of Khulna, a few hours' journey from Calcutta. Ninety Hindus were being tried for nearly three months on various charges including rioting, burning of houses, causing grievous hurt and killing a number of Mahomedans. They have all been acquitted by the Additional Judge of Khulna.

The prosecution case was that on April 25, 1944, there was a serious rioting between the Hindus and Muslims in a village within the Mollahat Police Station. The officer-in-charge of the police station, a Hindu, appeared on the scene and succeeded in quelling the riot by resorting to firing. Next appeared the District Magistrate, a Muslim, named Mr. Hamid Ali and the Superintendent of Police, another Muslim named Mr. Ismail in another village near the village of occurrence on April 26, the day after the riot. They interviewed some leading Muslim residents of the place. Next day, *i.e.*, on April 27, fire broke out in the Hindu locality of the village a place within two miles of the spot where the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were staying. Towards the afternoon of the same day, some Muslim houses in the village were on fire and this was followed by looting of Muslim houses and murder of a number of Muslims. Ninety Hindus were then arrested and sent up for trial.

It transpired in evidence that the District authorities on their arrival took no step to prevent the recurrence of the riot or to find out the real culprits of the riot of April 25, but simply contented themselves by interviewing some influential Muslim residents of the locality. The defence suggested that the presence of the authorities who were all Mahomedans and their interview with the Muslim leaders encouraged the Muslim rioters to begin the riot afresh and they commenced their atrocious activities by burning and looting Hindu houses and murdering a number of Hindus in the morning of April 27. The Hindus being exasperated at this sought for police help in vain and had no other alternative but to run away leaving their hearth and home behind and the District authorities appeared on the scene only when rioting and incendiarism spread out in Muslim areas. It appeared in evidence that no attempt was made by the authorities to stop the fire in the Hindu houses and the Hindu dead bodies were said to be lost. No inquest was made to identify them.

It also transpired in evidence that on the evening of the day of occurrence the officials assembled in a house, the owners of which were the leaders of the local Muslim community and dead bodies were also kept there. The dead bodies were not sent to Khulna or Bagerhat for postmortem examination but to Gopalganj in the district of Faridpur, the medical officer of which was a Muslim. The defence suggested that the Hindu dead bodies were not really lost but passed for those of Muslims. Some of the injured persons got first aid at Patgati dispensary in the district of Faridpur (which is very near to the place of occurrence) but the doctor who gave the first aid was not examined and the defence suggested that he was not brought because he was a Hindu.

All witnesses on the prosecution side were Muslims. A special arrangement about the trial was also made through whose exertions we do not know. Although Khulna is a "jury district", the trial was held with the help of assessors which was done under a special notification of the Government of Bengal. We have not seen that notification; it matters little whether the Muslim League Prime Minister or the League's patron—British officaldom—passed it.

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The Judge found all the accused not guilty on all the charges and acquitted all of them.

Such cases only illustrate the rotten state of affairs the present-day administration run by British officials and grounded on communal system of recruitment.

Document on Indian Settlement in South Africa

The Pegging Act in South Africa is now in operation. One Indian has been convicted and the second case is proceeding. After a violent outburst of hardy anger, Dr. Khare is silent. The Pegging Act is the culmination of a prolonged attempt by a section of the White people in South Africa to oust the Indians from that Dominion. A letter from C. F. Andrews written to Nepal Chandra Roy, which has just come into our hands, shows how important men in South Africa have protested against the vilification of Indians and have expressed ardent desire to have Indians in their midst. Of the two documents referred to in the letter, one is presumably lost. It could not be traced among the papers of the late lamented Nepal Chandra Roy. The other is given below :

Mombasa,
January 10th, 1920

My dear Nepal Babu,

These are two very important documents, which completely dispose of the Economic Commission Report finding against Indian settlement in Africa. The first is that of Dr. Albert Cook, who is perhaps the most famous Doctor in all Africa, and has written much on the subject of venereal disease in Africa. This disposes of the charge of moral depravity and vice against the Indian.

The second is the signed document from the Uganda Parliament, stating that they *do* want Indians. As this is the only articulate and self-governing body of Africans in Central Africa, their voice should be quite final in such matters. I am sending both documents to the Colonial office and also copies to the India Office.

Yours very affectionately,
C. F. Andrews

P.S.—Could you get these explained and published in the Bengali vernacular papers if you think well. The greatest proof of all that the change of immorality brought against the Indians, is false in this that in the whole volume of evidence of the Report there was not one single word (in all the indexed passages about 'Indians') on the subject of immorality at all.

The first document, Dr. Cook's letter could not be found. The second one, written by the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of Uganda to C. F. Andrews is as follows :

Lukiko, Mengo, Uganda,
22nd December, 1919

Dear sir,

With reference to our meeting with you in our native Parliament this morning, we beg to confirm in writing our opinion we expressed on the following two points which came out, namely :

(*a*) We *do* want the Indians to remain in our country, as we consider that their being here would improve our country, and would do us a lot of good, and would do no harm to the country. Besides, we find them moral people. We would, of course, like better Indians.

(*b*) We do not want our country to be united to any other Protectorate, for, we consider that if this was done it would greatly interfere with our Uganda Treaty, 1900, and our customs. We have other reasons besides. Therefore, we would very much like this protectorate to remain as it is.

We thank you for your coming to see us and our native Parliament, and we wish you a pleasant voyage.

Yours truly,
Apolo Kagwa, Prime Minister,
Staislos Enganya, Chief Justice,
Ministers of the Native Parliament.

Neglect of Bengal Fisheries

Bengal lives in villages and fish is a vital food for a Bengali. At no time in the history of Bengal did fish become scarce and a luxury food for the rich and the profiteer. In an address to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. S. L. Hora, Director of Fisheries, Bengal, gave reasons for the present high price of fish. He attributed several reasons of which we consider one, *viz.*, the daily offtake of a constant maundage of fish from the market to be the most important. With the progress in the demobilisation plan, this offtake is gradually diminishing and the fish prices are showing definite signs of weakness. To this might be added another important reason, transport difficulty and shortage of ice. With the removal of these difficulties, the price of fish is bound to touch the normal level in no distant future.

An energetic Fisheries Department can no doubt do much good to the people. Unfortunately, however, this Department has suffered much neglect. Any talk of activising this department has resulted in a multiplication of fat-salaried officers. Some months ago, Dr. Baini Prashad had been appointed Fishery Adviser to the Government of India. He had recently been travelling in the U.S.A. arranging for seats for prospective Indian students who might go over there to study about fish. This was, and still is the kind of attention bestowed by the Central Government to the development of fisheries. This is what Dr. Hora said about the past neglect of the fisheries department :

> In spite of great efforts that are now being made and honest and hard work that is being put into the development of fisheries, some of my intimate friends, either jokingly or in earnest, attribute the present scarcity and high price of fish to the establishment of a Fisheries Department in Bengal and to my appointment as its head. I think, even after the revival of the Department of Fisheries in May-June, 1942, if we had not suffered from neglect on the part of Government we may have been in a much better position to-day to handle the present problems more effectively. In 1923, when the defunct Department of Fisheries was axed, it had a technical staff of two Superintendents, two Zoological Assistants and four Fishery Officers. Hope was then expressed that in order to make an impression on the problems presented by the fisheries of the province, besides an expert head, a much larger organisation was required. From the time of its revival in 1942, the present Department was starved for two years and had only two District Fishery Officers and 5 Field Assistants. Schemes for its expansion, worked out by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst jointly with myself were agreed to only about a year ago. In the organisation of a scientific department, both money and machinery play an important part but, above all, there is the necessity of trained personnel.

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The development of fisheries should, therefore, be regarded as a long-range project to be worked progressively according to well-planned 5-year programmes. Short-term schemes for immediate production could be dove-tailed into long-ranged projects. What the public must realise is that fisheries cannot be developed in a moment and that continued and fully sustained efforts will be needed over several decades to achieve the desired objectives. Collection and collation of scientific data must precede the formulation of any policy of fishery development.

We have doubts about the success of the Department simply by adding more officials. We believe that best results will be obtained by developing fisheries along co-operative lines. The fisherman ought to be aided in his day-to-day activities and his needs for improved equipments met. What he really needs is help and sympathy and not lessons in his own job from inexperienced foreign experts. Time, men and money will certainly be needed to develop any comprehensive scheme. The expansion must be made from the foundation upwards as Dr. Hora seems to be doing.

Mr. Casey's Attempt to Reform Bengal Administration

Mr. Casey had a Press conference to announce his scheme of Bengal administrative reforms. An enterprising Anglo-Indian contemporary has published the report of an exclusive interview granted by Mr. Casey while in England on leave. The people must be grateful to Mr. Casey for the thoughts that he had been giving on the different problems of Bengal—economic and administrative. They must be still more grateful that he has ventilated his views through Press conferences and special interviews to specially selected newspapers. It must be admitted that Mr. Casey had a distinct advantage over his predecessors in office. He is an Australian and thus he is not an out and out partner of the exclusive Imperialist British group that normally shoulders the "white man's burden" of a far-flung Empire and shares in the profits accruing therefrom. But as a nominee of Mr. Churchill's Tory Government, Mr. Casey was always looked at with diffidence by the average Bengali. In spite of various initial difficulties, Mr. Casey has been unfailing in his attempts at the betterment of this province but has failed in every sphere because the machinery of his government has been singularly unsuited to undertake any task which may lead to the welfare of the people. Besides, he failed to acquire local knowledge in spite of his incognito visits to markets and bustees. He had further started with a handicap under the trained tutorship of a hardened group of people known as the Indian Civil Servants. In reality, however, they are neither Indian, nor civil and certainly not servants. The Montague-Chelmsford Report rightly called them the "Ruling Corporation". Certain Indians have no doubt been taken in this group in order to Indianise the I.C.S. but great care had been taken to de-Indianise the Indians who were permitted to enter the service. Any Indian who gave the slightest sign that he wanted to remain an Indian found the door to the Executive Branch of the Service shut. It is but natural that this service will be unable to solve any single problem or to carry any nation-building scheme to fruition. Any scheme drawn up by these men means forging of some new fetters and the addition of some more weight on the over-weighted back of not the Bengal Camel but the Bengal Skeleton.

The British bureaucracy is the agency through which Imperialism in this country is exercised. The complete centralisation of all powers in their hands —the hands of the white bureaucracy—has been the one single aim right through the administrative change of the nineteenth century. The complete sterilisation of national aspiration in the government services and absolute dependence on this group of officials have been the inevitable result of this process. The consequences have been disastrous to this country.

Mr. Casey's remedy is bound to be abortive. His whole scheme is a further multiplication of office and officers from Union Boards and Circle officers to Additional Chief Secretary. He will split up districts and multiply thanas. He will split up the Secretariat and multiply portfolios with an additional contingent of fresh hierarchies. He will have a Development Board and that completely manned by officials with a show of Advisory Bodies who will certainly be the usual nincompoops that are found gathering round officials with some personal axes to grind. The whole scheme is absurd and is calculated to strengthen the white bureaucracy's stranglehold on the entire system and reduce the powers and influences of the nation's representatives to a bigger mockery than what it has been for all these years. The Secretariat's sinister eagerness on the eve of the formation of a new popular Ministry, to arrogate all powers to themselves with a pretension to leave the Ministry free of all administrative burdens has been too thin to cloud even a fool's vision. The unseemly haste with which this tightening of the grip is proceeding is clearly manifest and is bound to be considered as indecent.

It is not in the number but the quality of men—not the foreign careerist but the national worker—on which depends the future of this country. A complete change of the administrative machinery from a foreign bureaucratic ruling system to an indigenous national corps devoted to the service and resurrection of a Free India is absolutely essential now. No repair, not even an overhaul of the present system will do. Mr. Casey believes that "too much has been expected from too few", but the people will return the answer that "too little has been done by too many" of the officials, towards real national regeneration for this past one century and over. The Bengal famine has been a visual demonstration of the so-called efficiency, competency and capacity of the whole bureaucratic ruling system. What is really needed is a complete liquidation of the present system and a substitution of a real, genuine and national system in its place.

Social Inequity a Prime Reason for Islamic Proselytisation

A very revealing statement made by Mr. Krishna Rao, Secretary, South India Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Madras, about mass conversions of harijans into Islam has been published in full in the daily *Nationalist* of Calcutta, dated October 12. We give below a summary of this very important document which shows how oblivious the Hindu Society still is about its own welfare and how through sheer neglect mass conversions into other religions are taking place. The Hindus must have themselves to thank if they still permit such mass decay in their numbers which is having serious political and economic repercussions. Mr. Rao says:

Tinnevelly is the headquarters of the district

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with a population consisting of 90 per cent of Hindus, 6 per cent Christians and 4 per cent Muslims.

Depressed classes of this district consist of Pallans, Pariahs and Chucklers of whom Pallans are considered to be a little superior. Nadars who are in large numbers though considered as non-Brahmins are not allowed into the temples. Besides the Brahmins, there are Vellalas and Marawars. The latter were once a warlike nation and are still considered to be such. The Marawars are economically poor though there are certain rich people and some are zamindars. Criminal Tribes Act is applicable to certain groups of these people.

Nadars are the people who fall an easy prey to the Christian missionaries on account of the disadvantageous social position among the Hindu community. As for Pallans the main reason for changing the faith is on account of their being oppressed and suppressed by the Hindus on account of their birth. This tendency is more marked in the villages. They are not allowed, even without any exception for the women, to go into the streets with their upper cloths on. All these people are illiterate having no knowledge as to what caste is.

Of late the Muslim League has been carrying on a vigorous propaganda and a special mission is working backed by financiers. A magazine by the name of *Munetram* is being run for the benefit of the people of the locality. Meetings are held for the propagation of Islam where Hinduism is condemned. The immediate cause for the conversion appears to be the poor social and economic condition prevailing among the Pallans and the facilities which the Muslims were ready to give. In spite of the exertions made by the various people, only one family stuck to their original faith in spite of the tyrannies of the Hindus and assault by the new converts. I met all the members of the new converts including the leader and also the old Muslims of the village. The new Muslims seem to be satisfied with the new religion and they may not come back unless the attitude of the Hindus towards their community entirely change, since the Muslims are giving them equal treatment.

Scheduled caste people appear to be neglected. Unless the Hindus of the place are educated about the disadvantageous position they will be put into if the depressed class people go out of the Hindu fold, we cannot stop this mass conversion at this place. I had a talk with the leading men of this village and their attitude was very encouraging and any movement started by us at this place will be helped by the people of the locality. Their immediate requirement is the starting of a school for the children of these villages.

The next village I visited was Chemangulam. Here 20 out of 50 Hindu Pallan families and 70 Christians from 15 Christian families numbering about 90 persons have embraced Islam. I met all the new converts. Their main cause for yielding to this conversion is only their oppressed condition. Even the Christians have complained that they are in no way better in Christianity than the Hindu Pallans because even in Churches there is separate treatment for Vellala Christians, Nadar Christians and Pallan Christians while they are treated equally in their new faith.

In all the villages where I met these new Muslims, I find them fully dressed in lungis and shirts, dressing in the Islamic fashion in contrast to the Hindu Pallans who walk about with their loin-cloth and without any covering for the bodies. This is really an inducement to the uneducated Hindus who do not know the A. B. C. of religion except their own proverty-striken condition and social degradation.

In general, I can say these conversions are mainly due to the acts of the Hindus who never took these poor people to be human beings. Added to this is their poor economic condition.

In the history of Bengal for the Muslim period we notice one very significant fact. Two waves of serious proselytising attempts have passed over this province resulting in mass conversions and both of these attempts were led by two Hindu converts into Islam. One of them is Sultan Jalaluddin, son of Raja Ganesh and the other Murshid Quli Khan, a Brahmin convert into Islam. Social inequity in the Hindu society and the social and economic oppression of the low caste Hindus by the higher castes provided the most fertile ground for this proselytisation. Intelligent observers might have noticed another significant fact in Bengal. Most of the scheduled caste members in the Bengal Legislative Assembly have as a matter of course sided with the Muslim members and it has been very difficult for Caste Hindus to win them over to their side.

Rationing Under A Bureaucracy

Bombay had so long been held up as an example to the rationing world. All eyes turned to that fortunate city and official after official ran there from Bengal to gain knowledge and experience in the working of the Bombay Rationing Scheme. Shrewd observers, however, wondered how a beneficial measure could work to the benefit of the people of the land under a bureaucracy manned and run by foreigners who had virtually no sympathy for the people of the land. Recent revelations made in the Bombay Municipal Corporation have still more confirmed the popular belief that no nation-building measure can work with success unless it functions under an administrative machinery which is a part and parcel of the nation and enjoys the full confidence of the people.

Two resolutions were passed. The first one reads :

> That the Mayor be requested to submit a suitable representation to Government, inviting their attention to the inferior quality of foodgrain supplied under the Rationing Scheme resulting in adversely affecting the health of the citizens as could be seen from the increase in number of cases of scabies and other itching ailments, etc., and to stress the desirability of providing good quality of foodgrains in the interest of the health of the citizens.

The second resolution is :

> That the Mayor be requested to submit a suitable representation to Government, inviting their attention to the bad quality of Rationed Rice sold at Re. 1-8-0 per Pylee which quality of grain is mixed up with dirt and stones which when removed leaves about half a Pylee of good grain available for consumption, and to prevail upon them to consider the desirability of getting these grains cleansed before they are distributed to consumers at such a high rate.

In the course of the discussion it was alleged that apart from foodstuffs, sugar supplied at the rationing shops was entirely unfit for human consumption as it contained dust and earth. One councillor pointed out that vegetable ghee supplied to the city was also responsible for the deterioration of public health. He said his information was that vegetable ghee contained fish-oil which was responsible for skin-diseases. Another councillor alleged that Bajra was not sold at all for some

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time and the Jowar sold to the public was found to be old. This Jowar, he said, was sent to Bijapur for famine relief last year or year before last. The surplus stock had come back to Bombay and was being sold to the public. The same trick was applied in Calcutta rationing last year. Sale of wheat at the local ration shops was restricted in order to get rid of a large stock of rotten atta. A general enquiry made by the Calcutta Relief Committee showed that it had resulted in a wholesale deterioration of public health all over the city. The enquiry was conducted by eminent men like Dr. B. C. Roy and Mr. Jnananjan Niyogy and the informations were obtained from practising physicians including the foremost practising medical men of the city. A general summary of the inquiry was published in these columns some time back.

Capitalist Ownership of Newspapers

Speaking at the Journalists' Club, Bombay, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand gave an impression of the British Press to-day. He said :

> Journalism in the west since nearly ten years before the war had failed to live up to the ninteenth century ideals of promoting the idea of true democracy. This was very blatant when the non-intervention policy with regard to Spain was being followed and a tissue of lies was being foisted on the people. The Press in England was concentrating in the hands of just three or four people who owned 22 out of the 25 national dailies. This fashion of perpetrating lies reached a classic example during the Finnish war when overnight a hatred for Soviet Russia was created in the British people who were not told why Russia really attacked Finland. It was fascinating to compare this with the second period when Russia actually entered the war and the British Press overnight became its ardent admirers.
>
> Even now despite six years of hard war, the Press is still being wielded in a way different to what the people will. The Labour Party came to power despite 22 big papers being ranged against them and indulging in the most mendacious and putrid propaganda that had ever taken place.
>
> With regard to India, Dr. Anand said that very scant attention was being paid to it. Even the Bengal famine trickled in only after 6 months. When the British people did hear of it, a wave of sympathy arose and they became conscious of their guilt. They came to believe that after all a slogan like "Quit India" meant somehow or other that they were not wanted in India. He said that the British Government had poured more money into propaganda against India after 1942 than ever before. That was why the British people never get to know of the real happenings in India.

This undesirable feature, the ownership of newspapers by big business, is appearing in India as well. Indian journalism, for the last one hundred years, has developed along the lines of service to the country. The profit motive was singularly absent. During this war, things have entirely changed. A newspaper is now more a profit-making machine than a vehicle for the organisation of public opinion and the ventilation of public grievances. The acquisition of newspapers by big business must portend a dark menace for the Indian public life.

Press Advisers Must Go

The *Tribune* reports that Madras has won the distinction of being the first province in the country to abolish the post of Press Adviser. The functions of the Press Adviser were usually those performed by the Press censor. If he was not called by his proper name that was because camouflage was in vogue and the bureaucracy did not want the world to know that the Indian press was a censored press. Many items of news did not see the light of the day or came out in a mutilated form virtually devoid of any meaning because they were not 'press advised." The lead of Madras should be followed by all the other provinces, as well as by the Central Government, without any further loss of time.

Employment to be Alternative or Additional ?

Mr. Gaganvihari Lal Mehta writes in the *Social Welfare* :

> Agriculture undoubtedly is and will continue to be the most important industry in the country. While industrial development can only be broad-based on a strong and progressive rural economy, it is also true that planned industrialisation is essential to lift the people off the overcrowded land. We need industries in order to provide alternative sources of employment and augment the productive capacity of the country. We require them for developing national resources and utilising raw materials so as to raise the people from the subhuman level of existence to a decent standard of living and to achieve a balanced economy reasonably free from dependence on foreign markets and foreign sources for its economic well-being. But today we also want industrialisation for stability and continuity of employment as well as to prevent the collapse of economic activity leading to a deflationary spiral.

We have doubts regarding Mr. Mehta's idea of what he calls planned industrialisation. The real need of the Indian villager is the restoration of his additional employment through the age-old cottage industries. An alternative source of employment granted to him by uprooting him from his land will not certainly augment his economic condition. Such alternative employment ensured in factories has not so far succeeded in removing the dire poverty and uncertainty of life among that class as well. Indian economic life from time immemorial, had been based on two simultaneous sources of employment, agriculture and industrial activity at the hearth.

English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy

For about half a century, the works of Raja Rammohun Roy are out of print. It is regrettable that the writings of this great leader of modern Indian renaissance are beyond the reach of the people whom he had served. Many of the Raja's English tracts are of enduring value. His tract on modern encroachments on the ancient rights of females according to the Hindu law of inheritance will be of special value at the present moment when the Draft Code on Hindu Law is before the public. We are glad to find that the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj has undertaken to publish the English works of Raja Rammohun Roy under the joint editorship of Dr. Kalidas Nag and Sj. Debajyoti Burman. The first part has been published and it contains the Raja's tract on Hindu female's property right just referred to.

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THE DEMAND FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

ll employment in the United States is the first on the road to permanent world-wide peace. Other ons look at the tremendous economic power of the ed States, at the violent fluctuations in the American iness cycle, at the previously demonstrated ineptitude he American Government in dealing with the pro- and after seeing all this and looking toward the re, they shudder and pray—pray for full employ- t in the United States, not because they love the but because they know that without full employ- t here there is worldwide trouble." With this broad- Henry Wallace opened the campaign for full oyment in the U.S. which nearly lost him his ent job, and even when the job did come to him it with all its dollar-teeth pulled out. But in spite of he panic and furore of the big interests, the idea s to have come to stay and in fact is taking definite e. President Roosevelt's target of 60 million jobs senator Murray's Full-Employment Bill are the t result of this idea.

The sinister background which has led up to this not however be lost sight of. It may stagger a good y coventional-minded people to be told that the . is regarded as the economic sick man of the post- world by all thinking individuals in every country. titanic productive capacity can make or unmake rest of the world. If the U.S. lapses back into its malady of flooding the world markets through orts, giving credits freely while at the same time ng high tariffs and restricting imports, then it will e again disorganise its own economy and begin rting unemployment as it did in the early thirties. solution is therefore obviously "Full Employment". A similar slogan is echoing in other parts of the d. At San Francisco two of the British Dominions, ralia and New Zealand, were amongst those who sored the establishment of the economic and social cil, one of whose functions would be to create litions for "Full Employment" on as large a scale as ble.

Its need has already been stressed for Britain by William Beveridge in his scheme, for his plan makes employment an indispensable precondition. Without achievement his plan falls to the ground. Sir eridge has followed up his earlier report on Social rance and allied services by a very thought- oking treatise on this burning topic of Full Employ- t. To Britain as to the United States, this problem become one of crucial interest. Britain's economic r has become considerably crippled as the result of war through the liquidation of her major assets d, loss of the means of production due to destruc- during the war, decline in the shipping and financial es and the like. Several of the essentials that in depends upon such as food, dairy products, in types of textiles, wines etc., have to be imported abroad. These up to the outbreak of World War II been met by the income from investments abroad the various services. With the present decline in it is obvious that Britain has no option except to either borrow or increase her exports. As she is already a heavy debtor-nation, she has no stomach for further borrowing. So she is forced to fall back upon a 50 per cent increase in the exports to meet the deficit. This again means adequate demand and working at full productive peak which is possible only with full employment.

Thus Full Employment has long moved from an academic issue to one of immediate practical realisation. Thus on January 22, we find Senator Murray introducing his Bill in the U.S. Senate, the major objective of which may be briefly stated as follows :

> "The full utilization of the national resources of the country and provision of full time employment of all those seeking work. The responsibilities of the Federal Government for achieving these objectives would be : adoption of policies and programmes calculated to stimulate the highest avenues of employment through private and state effort ; preparedness for federal investment and expenditure to ensure continued full employment. For this purpose the Bill provides that the president be required to transmit to Congress a national production-and-employment Budget, which would estimate the total number on the labour market, the aggregate value of expenditures required to provide employment opportunities for this number, the anticipated value of expenditures both private and public, and where the last is not large enough to provide full employment, the President to recommend legislation toward contributing to filling up this gap through monetary, trade and fiscal policies ; and finally if this is inadequate, the Government to suggest additional federal expenditures and investment to provide for the potentially unemployed."

But before we understand the full implication of this we must be clear as to what is meant by full employment. According to Beveridge, in a free society, it means an overwhelming number of employed over the unemployed. According to his definition, full employment is designed to operate in the institutional pattern of private enterprise, the price system, and freedom of choice of occupation for each individual. It must be realised that under these pre-conditions as envisaged in a "Free Society" (as opposed to totalitarian) the problem in a way becomes more complex than under rigidly worked out regimented procedures of a dictatorial state. Flexibility both in the selection of jobs as in mobility of movement being a pre-condition of free society, under the present economic structure, a certain amount of unemployment at any given moment is inevitable. Sir Beveridge thus argues that England must expect even at theoretical full employment, not less than 3 per cent of the labour force of the country to be unemployed. This is governed in the main by seasonal fluctuations by frictional unemployment and by the tides in overseas demands, which could not be overcome completely even by planned programmes. On this basis the figures for unemployed at any given moment in the United States would be 2½ to 3 million or 5 per cent

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of the total U.S. labour force. This inevitable feature can therefore be met only by unemployment insurance.

The first condition of a full-employment programme is adequate demand or theoretically, total demand. The second, controlled location of industry and allied to it, organised mobility of labour. The first is greatly dependent on the purchasing power of the largest section of society, which means that money wages shall rise as rapidly as productivity increases. But it should not be to the extent of increasing prices, for that merely works back adversely to the workers. Thus a machinery has to be devised for the purpose of regulating wages through strong, well-organised unions and the practice of collective bargaining on the one hand and maintaining stability in the cost of living on the other.

But to start with, all of this works back to the realities of production, that is outlay to ensure the creation and maintaining of the required number of jobs to secure full employment. The responsibility for this is increasingly coming to be recognised as that of the State, and this to be achieved through a national policy. This calls for a cardinal break with the old conventions which have regulated the past economy in keeping down State expenditure. In fact a government which aims at full employment should be ready to spend more than what it takes away from the people in the shape of taxes. The State outlay must be designed with a view to laying low the social evils that haunt society today such as want, disease, overcrowding, ignorance and the like through a bold and comprehensive programme of public investment and construction. The economic returns will be as big and sound and real as the social. Economists are agreed that planning this way on an expanding scale will reduce the cyclic fluctuations. We shall presently see why.

Full employment gives each individual who is able to produce, the opportunity to do so. Thereby we ensure the maintaining of the desired standard of living for as large a section of society as possible through the supply of the required goods. It also means non-wastage of economic resources. Moreover, a condition under which there are more jobs than worker-applicants, is of greater advantage to the workers and likely to augment their bargaining strength. The outlay is in no way an additional burden as is often mistakenly supposed. Therefore, the question whether a government can afford the plan or not hardly arises. In reality unemployment is caused by the uneven distribution of spending power which gets transferred from the pockets of the many to the pockets of the few. With the result, demand declines and industry deteriorates and workers get thrown out. For full employment this process has therefore to be reversed so that the national income may be redistributed as to increase the purchasing power of the many who are today deprived of it. Where private enterprise falls short of the volume required to keep industry up to the mark required for full employment, the gap must be filled by government investments and constructive schemes. In fact the principle now recommended by several economists of note is for the government to maintain the normal procedure of keeping all factors of production in full operation. At all times unemployment can only be tackled by the government undertaking expenditure. It would be decidedly more economic in the long run to prevent unemployment than institute inadequate measures, such as the WPA, PWA, FERA, etc. in the U.S.A. Keynesian economists therefore insist that unless measures to keep spending up to income earned in a given period are enforced, there will not only be unemployment but it is bound to spread cumulatively. For instance, if in a certain period the income is 100 million and the spending only 80 million, there is bound to be a 20 million reduction in demand and those affected by this drop must in turn reduce their expenditure and thus the cycle of depression widens.

Although the first condition to a full employment programme is total demand, certain other requisites are equally necessary. Location of industry for instance is of the utmost importance not only from the point of rational planning of land and resources, but also of solving the complexes of structural unemployment. Where industries spring up haphazardly especially in and around large cities, groups of communities are left without jobs in other parts. At the same time overcrowding in itself creates so many serious social problems and a high mortality.

The third condition is mobility of labour, that is movement of labour from trade to trade, and industry to industry, which means flexibility of the labour supply and sufficiency of demand. That is labour in accordance with the requirements of dynamic economy, will be moved rapidly and directly to new jobs when required, in an organised manner. This implies removal of all restrictions that make such movements rigid, and provision by the state for the necessary training which can make such required changes possible. Otherwise there may be an over-supply in an old industry and scarcity in a new one, with considerable economic damage to industry and labour alike.

Basically however we work back to total demand, for without it the rest fall to the ground. For this all economists, social and labour workers are agreed that the responsibility must devolve on the government essentially and to an increasing extent. For what Sir Beveridge describes as a free society has yet to be realised, in which there would be *free* competition, no monopolies, with flexibility of prices and wages, and complete mobility of capital and labour.

The struggle to achieve this, however, gets primarily centred round the basic right of every adult to a job versus the supremacy of private enterprise. It is, however, now clearly recognised that private enterprise by itself cannot fulfil the conditions for full employment. In fact it is being found increasingly difficult to fit private enterprise into any systematic planning. It is to achieve this that the new type of budget is now called for, one in which are included: private consumption outlays; private investment outlays at home; balance of payments abroad; tax-financed public outlays; loan-financed public outlays, etc. But where private concerns are involved, the factors become uncertain, although some like Sir Beveridge have hopes of securing a high degree of stability through the regulation of a National Investment Board, for internal private enterprise, is problematical in itself not to speak of the fluctuations of foreign balances, which are admitted on all hands to be almost beyond control. The only alternative seems to be socialised State control. For that would ensure not merely the increase of production and adequate jobs, but at the same time the best use of the productive resources, the highest standard for the largest number and above all, social priorities in the financial outlay itself, that is expansion of the public sector of the economy in terms of social services.

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SOCIALISM AND GANDHISM

Some Aspects

By Prof. ANATH GOPAL SEN

xian socialism, as we all know, does not recognise ate property or personal profit. All instruments of ction such as land or factory must belong to the e, and all trade and commerce have also to come r its management. The role of all citizens there is ork as paid employees under one single all-embrac- employer—the State. The underlying object of this lutionary concept was to do away with the invidious nction between the rich and the poor, the exploiter the exploited, or to use the more precise termi- gy—the Bourgeois and the Proletariat and to place nembers of the human race on an equal footing emoving all inherent causes leading to this painful nality by means of offering equal economic oppor- y, political power and social status to all. It was decided to do away with all honours and titles uring of special power and prestige. And as the rch formed a subsidised adjunct of the State and its great moral support in all its activities upheld and glorified the submissiveness and lity of the poor and the oppressed with a halo of ity in the name of religion, so religion also came or much criticism and was a taboo in this newly eived society. They went further, and lest the er feelings, the nobler instinct or the old traditional l precepts and practices make the members of this society susceptible to any kind of weakness in revolt against all past principles and practices, entiments and emotions which reflected our moral and guided our social relations so long, were de- d counterfeit. So it was permissible for a husband ivorce his wife or a wife to divorce her husband dropping a post-card in the Post Office and to take sh wife or a fresh husband was only a matter of w minutes by attendance at the Marriage Regis- s office. It followed therefore that love was a kind ndesirable weakness or a sort of prejudice which ld not be acknowledged as the basis of relation een the two sexes. And to parade their view that sex only mattered in their relations, many young ple intoxicated with such ideas went to the length olesting the other sex in broad daylight in public oughfares (p. 215 of *Mother Russia* by Maurice ins): The immortal literature of Tolstoy, Push- Chekhov was also to be boycotted lest they might ken our minds through our finer aesthetic sense and bility. What bitter and fiery feelings of revolt st the past,—thanks to the vice and corruption, ersy and heartlessness, exploitation and oppression ant in the so-called civilised society of today! it must be admitted that these dangerous and me feelings having achieved their object through ocess of terrible vendetta were trying to curb and ust themselves in a more dispassionate frame of d. Strange though it may seem, the swing of the olum is now rather on the opposite direction. past history and culture which were abandoned their association with the old Bourgeois class, are now being reintroduced with new zeal and vigour from which the heroic tales and parables of the long-dead kings and Emperors, of the much-hated Tsars even, are not excluded. Internationalism which was the very basis of this new powerful creed is already giving place to an intense feeling of nationalism. Internationalism now exists there almost in name, as a political stunt, as in other imperialistic countries. Inequality in wealth, power and status is already making its reappearance, the only difference being that in place of the old rich and aristocratic class, a new class has reared its head from amongst the Proletariats as Managers and Directors of collective farms and State factories. This new class is now confronted with a new kind of problem. Their problem is how to spend or invest the large income which they are now permitted to draw as wages from the State, as both the old methods of expenditure and investment are yet denied to them. There is a limit to the purchase of consumers' goods in case of each individual within the country and their export from abroad by private citizens is not permitted. How are they to spend or invest money—is therefore their problem. It may be invested in interest-bearing Government bonds, but if this additional income cannot be utilised in any private enterprise or spent according to individual desire for purchasing movable or immovable property or any other fanciful thing, it will be an additional burden to him making his brain a devil's workshop, as his materialistic creed does not permit him spiritual or even aesthetic pleasure. On the other hand, there is already the problem of surplus production in some industries in Russia. Thus on the one hand, there is surplus, unusable money in the hands of the richer people, on the other, there is unwanted production in some spheres. The probable tendency of such a situation is towards reopening of foreign trade on capitalistic basis. That is to say, production should be only for consumption of the people and not for sale in terms of money throughout the world with a view to making profit.—this fundamental principle of socialism is to be abandoned and they are to revert to the first step towards State capitalism and international trade rivalry. The next step is Imperialism and inevitable recurrence of world war. Of course, they are trying their best to avoid such a deplorable situation but the circumstances in which they find themselves today, seem to be beyond their control and it is doubtful if they will be able to keep some of their most fundamental principles inviolate.

Let us now examine why it is so. They were trying to mould man and society like cast-iron in a new steel-frame and with that object in view they proceeded to enunciate their theory based on certain assumptions which are unfortunately themselves untenable. Let me state these assumptions one by one. First, there are two and only two classes of people living in human society, the rich employer and the poor employee and the one oppresses the other. Besides these two, no

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other class, nothing else exists. Secondly, the physical hunger of the man alone counts and the history of human civilisation is the history of the physical struggle for existence. The eternal search of man for the divine unknown and the unknowable has little or no place in it. Thirdly, all inequalities in human society have resulted from the present social arrangements and can be entirely removed by a radical change in social structure. Here also they seem to take no notice of the existence of natural inequality. Fourthly, they take it for granted that the end justifies the means and if the end is noble, means,—foul or fair, violent or non-violent, do not matter. Last but not least—the sense of possession ingrained in men, is capable of being uprooted completely. Basing their faith on these a priori assumptions, they brought about a terrible bloody revolution in the conspiring darkness of the night and by confiscating all private property by force, transferring them to the proprietorship of the State, reduced all men to the same level and prepared the ground for a fresh race for existence for all citizens of Russia from the same starting point. Though terrible, it is a great and memorable landmark in the history of human society and we take our hats off to the leaders of this revolution. So long, the struggle for existence was an extremely unequal one ; some were on bike, some on horseback, some were riding motor cars, some even were flying in planes, while the overwhelmingly large masses of toiling, starving people of the world equipped only with a dangling pair of legs, were asked to keep pace with them ! This is an intolerable situation and undoubtedly deserved radical change. Marx, Engel and Lenin have established their claim to eternal gratitude of these dumb, down-trodden millions of mankind by raising their thunderous voice of protest and unfurling the banner of revolt against this inequality and inequity born of murderous greed and loathsome selfishness. They have opened a new chapter in the progress of social ideas and concepts on behalf of these countless havenots and all thanks to Russian revolution for that. But lo and behold ! What is again happening there ? Even after the most unexpected had happened—after the poorest and the lowliest have secured equal opportunity with all his fellowmen, to start life's race from the same point, the race is again taking a bad turn for many. For, to offer equal opportunity to all is not the same thing as to keep all people's growth at the same height for all times. While the former should be the ideal of human society and is the foremost demand of the times which should be carried into actual practice without delay, the latter is impossible of achievement even by force. If we however insist on this impossible demand, we shall have to prepare steel jackets of the same size and imprison all men in them just as the Chinese would cripple the lotus feet of their womenfolk by putting them in iron-shoes. In that case we may have all men of the same standard height just like the lilliput feet of the Chinese girls. But what specimen of humanity ! Can such fight against nature succeed or if it succeeds, what good can it bring to us except suicide of the human race by an indirect slow process.

Gandhiji fully realises this and hence he says :

"My ideal is equal distribution, but so far as I can see, it is not to be realised. I, therefore, work for equitable distribution."

He further says,

"The idea of inequality, of 'high and low' is an evil, but I do not believe in eradicating evil from the human breast at the point of the bayonet. The human breast does not lend itself to that means."

The truth is we can not maintain the physical and intellectual capacity of all men stationary on the same level for a pretty long time. Even if all of them are given the same opportunity and equal start in life, some are bound to go ahead and acquire more power and influence than others in course of time. The remedy does not lie therefore in keeping them suppressed by force or violence or by doing away with private property and private enterprise altogether, but in so remodelling our economic structure and social ideal which while allowing reasonable outlet for the human instinct of personal enterprise and possession, will serve as an automatic check to the accumulation of all wealth and power in increasingly fewer hands as at present. Russia has realised the weakness of her methods and are now trying to retrace her steps and readjust herself as I had already indicated. But as some of her basic propositions are weak and unsound, I am afraid she will no longer be able to lead the suffering world to her original goal of international and classless society based on true democracy though she has attained for herself a first rank position in the world and may retain it for some time. She is again before cross-roads.

Let us discuss her position in more detail. The obsession that human society is divided into two classes only—the capitalist and the labourer—was one of her weaknesses ; because alathough this obsession may be considered natural in view of all the miseries and sufferings that followed the nineteenth century Industrial Revolution from widespread social disintegration, it was not essentially true. If it is at all possible to classify humanity into different groups according to their qualifications and professions, then I think its division into four classes made by Sree Krishna in the *Gita* is more scientific. It would probably not have mattered much if instead of four, Sree Krishna created eight or more Varnas ; because in so doing we would only be recognising the diverse character and manifold activities of the human race. But it does matter when any state or society cannot provide all classes of its men and women with a reasonable standard of food, clothing, education and medical aid along with the fullest scope for self-development. The Marxian socialists thought that if out of the two classes of people which comprised the entire human race, they could exterminate the one, *i.e.*, the Bourgeois by expropriating their property and making them slaves of the State, there would remain only one class and a classless society would therefore automatically emerge. But the job was not so simple as they originally thought it to be. And although they had succeeded in exterminating the Bourgeois class by a bloody revolution, neither classelsss society nor democracy, nor internationalism has yet resulted therefrom. The old aristocratic class has no doubt gone to the wall, but a new similar class is growing in its place. The Tsar was killed with all the members of his Royal family, but a dictator, many times more powerful than he, has taken his place. Our hearts became dry and desolate like deserts and were yearning and longing for some things which we could regard as our own, decorate and beautify and whereon we could bestow our love and tender care. Now we have got them back,—

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y cow and my hen, my garden and my home have been returned to me. I have also got back my motor car and my bank pass-book. We denied and decried religion, showed scant courtesy to the old accepted moral principles but the late American President had forced us to swear again by religion in a moment of national crisis during the last war. We wanted to efface and black out completely our culture and history of centuries, prior to October revolution ; but we are now again busy with the past ransacking it for all our inspirations. We wanted true democracy wherein disciplined men and women could live with their full personal liberty in complete mutual understanding and co-operation, and where the State would exist only in name, utimately to wither away. But we have received in its place a ruthless dictatorship. We wanted world revolutions so that the peasants and labourers in all the countries might be free and happy, but we now find that that chapter must now remain sealed, as we have got to appease our friends, Anglo-America. Our resolve was to crush imperialism out of existence from under the sun and to establish close-knit fraternity among the Proletariat class of all countries. But in a strange irony of fate, we now find that the greatest imperialistic nation of the world is our friend and ally. We thought that we should be able to offer some amount of leisure and peace to our workers and peasants but alas ! war intervened and this hope was also dashed to the ground. The tragedy is that we see no prospect of peace and leisure even in the near future, because no knows, that he who is our friend and ally today, will not unsheath his sword against us and be our fierest enemy tomorrow. So we must remain armed to the teeth and also learn to make and use the devil's bomb in six months' time. We did not want aggression but self-defence has forced us to surrender some of our cherished ideals. What could we do ? This is modern politics. I must live myself first before I can think of such nobler things as world salvation.

We quite understand but our apprehension is—will anything remain of your ideals if this fear complex, mutual distrust and armament race are not brought under control, with a sort of come-what-may determination ? Here we are to turn to Gandhiji for this complete fearlessness and trust. Even if they betray us, they cannot harm him one thousandth part of what distrust, fear and modern war can do and are doing. Because we have seen that victorious or vanquished, little what we value in life—material, moral or spiritual—can be saved by fighting modern wars. Once we deviate from truth and follow in the slippery path of European power-politics, the ultimate fate is bound to be what has overtaken Soviet Russia today. There is no escape from war or from its attendant horrors, however much we may swear by the highest ideals of socialism. I will not speak of non-violence here, because our rational and scientific conscience are likely to be shocked. But I can not help mentioning of truth, though here the practical men of affairs have no faith in it as a rule. They dare not condemn it openly but to them it also smacks of spiritualism and they don't like it stench in business affairs. But whatever their conviction about the utility of truth in political or worldly affairs, we cannot live without it. In fact, truth rightly understood is not really a spiritual thing but truest science and highest logic. It is the concentrated essence of rationalism of which we are so proud as modern men. The function of science is to ascertain the law which upholds and directs this universe. The correct knowledge about that law is truth. In this living universe when we find the existence of both matter and spirit, there is no reason why physics alone and not metaphysics should be regarded as science and why the forces working in the mental, moral and spiritual spheres, the story of their actions and reactions, their growth and decay should be regarded as irrational faith or a blind prejudice. If we fail to recognise the spiritual forces and do not care to develop, control and utilise them, the fate of all human efforts for the uplift of human society will be as fruitless as ever and socialism to the extent that it is not based on truth, can not also reach its desired goal. So long we have watched with admiration and wonder the amazing achievement of Soviet Russia, but we are afraid we have to watch with a grievous heart her grand preparation for suicide along with other capitalistic nations unless there is a complete change of heart on their part. However noble and high, the goal of Soviet Russia may be, no power on earth can fight against the law of nature and achieve lasting results by the strength of man-made laws.

Now let us turn to Gandhism. To secure the rights and liberties of the underdogs is also the life's mission of Gandhiji. But to achieve his goal he is not prepared to use any means which can not stand the test of truth and non-violence. What is truth and what is non-violence is the subject of his lifelong research and for the political and economic salvation of India, nay of the whole world, he is experimenting with them in a spirit of an ascetic or a Fakir keeping himself above all personal desire, possession and greed. We underrate truth and non-violence, even deride them, because we have never cared to understand or study them. Truth is not the exclusive property of the spiritual world not to be introduced in matters mundane. It is an equally powerful weapon in politics, if one desires permanent peace and eternal strength for mankind. Neither non-violence is cowardice or a meaningless fad, having no application in national struggle or in war of offence or defence. To quote Gandhiji,

> "Non-violence is not passivity in any shape or form. Non-violence, as I understand it, is the most active force in the world. Its hidden depths sometimes stagger me just as much as they stagger fellow workers."

These are no vain words of a vain politician but they are words wrung out from the deepest depths of a lifelong seeker of truth, of a great hero and a lifelong fighter. It is not possible for me to unfold here in detail the hidden strength and beauty of truth and non-violence which Gandhiji has been able to explore by his untiring experiments with them by means of total self-denial and self-effacement.*

He has realised this much from his experiments (with truth and non-violence) that the life-current of the universe can not be ordered by any human power to flow in a particular channel according to his desires. This evolutionary force is not subject to any convention or theory however carefully prepared and adopted by the most learned men. He has seen that by divine will, light and darkness, truth and untruth, life and death, live side by side, one as the counterpart of the

* Those who are intesested, will kindly read his *Non-violence in Peace and War*; *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*, published by the Oxford University Press; *Practical Non-violence* by Mashruwala; *A Discipline for Non-violence* by Gregg.

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other. You can not think of one without the other. But the eternal march of man is from darkness to light, from untruth to truth, and from Death to Eternal Life and Bliss. We cannot drive darkness, untruth and death altogether out of existence by force, but we can rid them of much of their poison and make them harmless. Because we can do it, so has it been possible for us still to exist. However much and aloud jealousy, greed, egotism, senseless bigotry and strife may shout and proclaim themselves as the masters of the situation, the principal actors of the stage, they are not the real heroes, or the moulders of the world-destiny. They are not even in majority, though it may be admitted that in recent times their activities have increased to a fearful extent. But the tragic fate of Hitler and Mussolini, of Tojo and many others ought to serve as a timely warning to those who are still blinded by greed and power. The Anglo-American and Russian heroes may also learn lessons from it. Churchill's fall from power is also a good pointer. The writings on the wall are quite clear.

In this setting, the advent of Gandhiji is probably not a mere accident. There may be a divine purpose behind it, *viz.*, to save humanity from the kind of tragedy we are passing through. But how will he do it? He has no army, no police at his back. He would not apply any force on the miscreants. He would not take away the wealth of the rich by force and give it away to the poor. He does not believe in such gifts. He thinks that it only leads us from one injustice to another, from one oppression to another oppression; because two wrongs do not make one right. Yet he must improve the lot of those-who-have-not, who are down-trodden. But the question remains, how can he succeed, if he will not apply any force or violence? The rich will not give away their superfluous ill-gotten wealth to the poor simply because Mahatmaji wants it or by mere sight of him? Quite true. But who says that Gandhiji has no power or will not apply force? If he had no power, how could he move and sway millions of Indians as he pleased, how could he be the undisputed leader of the largest mass of humanity in the present-day world, though halfnaked, with a crutch as his only outward support? Why does the mighty British Government have to declare war against him again and again and negotiate a settlement with him, in spite of an Indian army of one crore of men and all the valiant and learned Indian Knights standing behind and in support of the Government? His power is a dangerous power; it does not cut outwardly, but causes internal haemorrage. We do not know that power, nor have we tried to know it. So he has not yet been able to gather the laurels of victory for us, but he has neither been defeated, because the cause of Truth can never be lost. Look at the West. See how they are losing their costliest victories attained by beastliest methods. That is the way of God, the way of Truth. So, Gandhiji, though outwardly defeated, is really advancing. You may depend on it. The enemy has no peace of mind even after achieving so-called victory over him. They know the brute force, can fight against it without any qualms of conscience or any weakness of heart, can enjoy a brutal pleasure after victory. But by shooting the followers of Gandhiji, breaking their heads or putting them in jails in thousands, there is no peace of mind. Besides, the people of the world have begun to behave strangely! Their heads sometimes ache for Gandhiji, Jawaharlal and Azad and they do not even refrain from asking unpleasant and unsavoury questions about India, in spite of crores of rupees spent in world propaganda in favour of our friends' benevolent activities here! Truth is inexorable. It is not afraid to face the combination of all the dangerous weapons of warfare invented by men, not even the atom bombs; because truth is divine law, or if we are shocked in the name of divinity and think it as 16th Century trash, then call it the law of nature or the law of the universe. So, if we deviate from this law, we are sure to come to grief in the long run, though we may achieve temporary success. "Permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence," says Gandhiji. To him, to quote his own words, "There is no wall of separation between means and end . . . Realisation of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means."

It is in this respect that Gandhism differs fundamentally from socialism. It is for this reason that he is against forcible expropriation of the wealth and property in the possession and control of private individuals, although he is equally eager that the existing inequality and inequity must cease without delay. To achieve this object we need neither kill the capitalists or the rich, nor seek their favour. We are only to rouse the dormant consciousness of the working masses to enable them to realise their strength, only to impress on them a very simple truth, which they have been made to forget that "no person can amass wealth without co-operation, willing or forced, of the people concerned. The moment labour recognises its own dignity, money will find its rightful place, *i.e.*, it will be held in trust for labour. For labour is more than money." Gandhiji proceeds:

> "If capital is power, so is work. Either power can be used destructively or creatively. Either is dependent on the other. Immediately the worker realises his strength, he is in a position to become a co-sharer with the capitalist, instead of remaining his slave."

Let me quote also from a well-known western authoress, Ethel Mannin:

> "The masses, the world over, do not have to seize power, since it is by their toil that the wheels go round and the earth brings forth; this is their power; their strength lies in their realisation of it. With the withdrawal of their co-operation the whole machinery of the social system ceases to function, and the power of politicians breaks, eventually, under the pressure of the moral force of public opinion. No general strike, no rioting, was necessary on the part of the British working classes in 1920 to break the Government's intention of intervention against the revolutionaries in Soviet Russia; the Government was defeated by the great weight of opinion of the common people who poured out into the public squares and into meeting-places in mass protest. The shameful Hoare-Laval pact during the Abyssinian war was similarly defeated by the great weight of popular opinion against it. The power of moral force has not yet been fully tried out, though in India one old, frail man has demonstrated its potentialities—as the early Christians demonstrated the potentialities of co-operative living according to the law of love."

So, we have not to use bombs and revolvers, we have simply to withdraw our two arms of co-operation. But the question will arise—How can we arouse these

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elings in the minds of the common men ? The Agents f the Imperialists and exploiters are standing on the ay. But whom will they oppose ; and for what offence? Nobody is conspiring a bloody revolution to overthrow e exploiters. What we are expected to do is to orga- se and improve agriculture, village crafts and indus- ies, primary education and health of the villagers in true spirit of service and non-violence without greed, thout rancour. Where is the crime ? If even this is nsidered a crime, then how many people will they prison without real offence and without trial ? A few rs back, it was dangerous to utter the word *Swaraj.* is now on everybody's lips, in every line of the wspapers. It may be still intolerable for our rulers' derlings. But how many mouths will they gag ? And w many pens will they snatch ? They are multiplying mistakably and outnumbering and outwitting the lice. Where there is no crime, no sin, on the contrary, ere sin and crime lie on the other side, there Truth st slowly but surely establish its own victory in its n inscrutable way.

What we require today for our victory is the return our active faith in the invincible strength of Truth. we can invoke or rekindle that faith in us, no power earth shall be able to resist it. The day has come en Truth should be resurrected from the cold storage spirituality and applied on the material plane.

That is why Gandhiji considers the expropriation the existing private property by violent means necessary and wants to treat the rich as the Trustees public funds and thus give them a chance for using ir wealth for the good of the people. If they do not have themselves, they will be removed from the stee's position by a court of law. If, on the other nd, they discharge their trust conscientiously and nestly, they may be entitled to draw a remuneration 5 to 6 per cent out of the net income or profit of e trust property, applying the rest to public cause. cording to Gandhiji's idea, the highest income of y one should not be more than 12 times the lowest come, whereas in Soviet Russia the disparity between e maximum and the minimum incomes is already 80 11 Their highest figures compare quite favourably h the corresponding figures of the richest capitalistic ntry, U.S.A.! The question may be raised—where the sanction to enforce Gandhiji's formulae against e rich so far as we, Indians are concerned ? Our ly is that if the power of Truth and the non-violent can achieve Swaraj, then it would be an incompar- y easier job to deal with the rich capitalists and land- ds of the country. But if we fail to achieve the stance of self-government, then the question of what do with the capitalists and other Indian exploiters omes irrelevant. Because they will continue as ore to thrive under the patronage of the ruling perialist power. Those who talk of crushing the dian exploiters first and dealing with the British wards are playing into the hands of our enemies order to dupe the poor Indians under Moscow garb.

Gandhiji is called a visionary and his ideas are ribed as utopian by many. But in reality he is one of the most farsighted practical men that ever lived. That is why he writes :

> "I cannot picture to myself a time when no man shall be richer than another. Even in a most perfect world, we shall fail to avoid inequalities, but we can and must avoid strife and bitterness."

That is why he says in advance that though his ideal is equal distribution, he works for *equitable* distribution. And his method of work does not follow the line of violent treatment (आसूरिक चिकित्सा) after the malady has been allowed to flourish by the patient's own folly, but offers automatic check of the disease itself by means of timely preventive measures. As long as there are huge machinery and monster factories for mass production, whether under capitalist or socialist system, so long there is no escape for humanity either from greed or from war. Not that he wants the people to go to the primitive conditions of life or to live without modern comforts ; but he thinks that unless we dismantle these huge factories and send them to the countryside in small manageable forms and parts, capable of being handled and managed by common people, we cannot transfer power to the proletariat nor stop their exploitation and slavery.

Decentralisation of production in smaller units in villages (barring of course production of machine tools, and other heavy industries under State management) along with the decentralisation of constitutional machinery, shall be not only in keeping with the natural creative instinct of all men and their urge for personal enterprise, but it shall also automatically stop accumulation of fabulous wealth and enormous power in the hands of the few. Millions of men and women will not then have to hand over all their earthly possessions to an all-powerful State under a Director and in lieu of food and clothing serve as slaves of the machine-monster as before, deprived of personal liberty and personal initiative. So long as socialists pin their faith on brute force and rely on mass production and competition, they will have neither peace for themselves nor for others and the world chaos and anarchy will continue in spite of their new panacea which once raised so much hope in the minds of have-nots of the world.

We should do well to remember before we conclude that though Gandhiji is against confiscation of private property by violent means, he himself renounced all his personal properties moveable and immoveable, before he threw himself heart and soul in the fight for the oppressed and down-trodden Indians in South Africa, about half a century ago. Personally, he is the greatest out-and-out communist that ever breathed ; but as a practical man, he recognises the constitutional weakness and needs of human body and mind and have, therefore, been striving for India's freedom and world brotherhood on the basis of Truth and Non-violence. All other ideologies and "isms" of the world seem to have resolved themselves into "atomism" and the coming conflict is probably between the forces representing atomic bombs on the one hand and Gandhi's Truth and Non-violence on the other.

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THE BANKING BILL

By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

The Government of India is shortly calling a number of banking experts to tender their advice on the Banking bill before the present Assembly. In order to understand the implications of this bill which is of far-reaching importance, I have endeavoured to analyse its main provisions which may be of interest to the general reader.

First, we shall briefly examine the recent progress of legislation in the direction of control of Indian banks. The first landmark was the Reserve Bank Act in 1934. According to this Act, the practice of scheduling banks which fulfil certain requirements and come up to a certain standard was started. These banks were required to submit weekly returns of their liabilities and to keep 2 per cent of their time liabilities and 5 per cent of their demand liabilities as statutory balances with Reserve Bank, failure to maintain which resulted in the imposition of certain penalties. This measure was not intended to safeguard the depositors by laying down adequate provision of liquid assets, but was meant to give the Reserve Bank a certain amount of control over the banks. It has now practically lost its utility as the banks are maintaining far more reserves with the Reserve Bank than statutory balances. In 1936, the Indian Companies Act was amended and provisions specially applicable to banks such as the form of balance sheet, submission of returns and statements to the Registrar of Companies and such minor matters were attended to. In 1944, at the suggestion of the Reserve Bank, some very important measures were passed by an amendment of the Indian Companies Act in the addition of a new Part XA. The most important provisions in this were (1) the prohibition of employment of Managing Agents, (2) prohibition of issue of shares other than ordinary, (3) restriction of the right of voting at shareholders' meeting in exact proportion of the capital contributed by each shareholder, (4) prescription of the minimum limit of paid-up capital at half the subscribed capital and of the subscribed capital at half the authorized capital. Then there was also the capital control order issued in 1944 under the Defence of India Rules which prohibited fresh issue of capital except under permission from the Central Government. The present bill before the Legislature takes account of the rapid development of Indian banking and is intended to safeguard the interests of the depositors. It provides for the repeal of the provisions of Part XA of the Indian Companies Act (mentioned above) as they are incorporated within the present bill. We shall now examine its main provision in some detail.

Section 4 empowers the Central Government to suspend the operations of the Act on representation by the Reserve Bank in an emergency. This power is wisely taken and is an improvement on the practice which prevailed in Britain in the later half of the nineteenth century, when the operations of the Bank Act were suspended by a letter from the Treasury but had to be later confirmed by Parliament.

Section 5 defines banking as the accepting of deposits repayable on demand and differs from the earlier definition in the amendment to Indian Companies Act, as deposits withdrawable by cheque. This section also defines a managing agent in wider terms so as to include Managing Directors and/or person, firm or company entitled to the management of the whole affairs of the bank by virtue of an agreement with the company.

Section 10 prohibits the employment of managing agents (defined above) and of persons whose remuneration or part thereof takes the form of commission or share of profits in the company or whose remuneration is on a scale disproportionate according to the normal standards prevailing in banking to the resources of the company (this is a sweeping classification and vague and is likely to lead to disputes between the banks and Government) or any person having a contract with the company for its management for a period exceeding five years at a time. This section is a salutary provision designed to prevent the evils of the managing agency system, (the bane of Indian industry), in banking. By limiting the period of contract for Managing Directors to five years at a time, it places a useful check upon the latter, who by virtue of a long-term contract are apt to become irresponsible.

Section 11 prescribes the minimum capital standards and has caused a good deal of controversy. Clause 1 lays down that a bank having branches outside its province must have a paid-up capital and reserve of not less than twenty lakhs. This is a commendable provision, as it will prevent the growth of mushroom banks whose Directors forgetting their meagre resources indulge in increasing their branches. Clause 2 provide for a minimum capital of Rs. 5 lakhs if the bank is to be located (head office or branch) at Bombay or Calcutta and a capital of two lakhs, if it has a place of business in towns having a population of over 100,000 in respect of each town and a further Rs. 10,000 in respect of each place of business elsewhere. So far as these provisions apply to banks with branches, no weighty objection can be adduced against them. It has been pointed out that prescribing the capital of the bank in relation to the number of people in the place of its business is not scientific but then this is the only satisfactory and simple way. The controversy centres around the addendum to clause (c) which lays down that banks operating only in towns of population less than 100,000 people and having no branches shall have a paid-up capital and reserve of one lakh. This provision is deemed to militate against the small banks and has aroused protest from all over the country. In his presidential address at the South Indian Bankers' Association last year, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari pointed out that the small banks had played their part well in regions where the big ones could not profitably operate and were gradually ousting the rapacious moneylender. Every opportunity should be given to these banks to develop rather than that their existence should be cut short with a legislative measure prescribing an abnormally high figure of capital and reserves for them. On the other hand, a tremendous number of small banks are in danger as they fall more easily into the hands of unscrupulous and uneducated people and

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any event can hardly stand a crisis. The experience America has proved to be highly unfavourable to the ablishment of small banks. However one lakh, consiring Indian conditions, is rather high for small banks hich are doing useful service. Clause 2 requires foreign nks (except British) to deposit a sum equal to the nimum capital prescribed in case of Indian banks n the Reserve Bank. Clause 3 repeats the minimum ndards of 1944, Amendment of Indian Companies and further lays down (a) that the capital of the ks shall consist of ordinary shares only and that ng right should be in proportion to the capital tributed by shareholders. These provisions are most come as they will do away with certain evil practices ceable among new banks. For example, in some ks, voting has been confined to only one particular s such as ordinary or deferred shares the majority which are held by one or a few persons. The control a small group is made easier by the comparatively ller capital raised on such shares.

Section 13 prescribes that non-scheduled banks ll maintain a reserve fund and out of profits of each r transfer 20 per cent to the reserves until reserves al the paid-up capital. I do not see why this benefit uld be reserved for non-scheduled banks. In fact the d for such a provision in the case of scheduled banks ven more imperative for a number of new scheduled ks are not making much provision for reserves. I st this section will include scheduled banks as well ndeed the object of this bill is to provide greater urity to depositors. Section 14 provides for maintance of a cash reserve by non-scheduled banks at per cent of time liabilities and 5 per cent of demand bilities. This obligation cannot be deemed too harsh ecially in view of the fact that non-scheduled banks also now having a greater proportion of demand posits than time deposits. Section 18 provides for the ntenance of liquid assets by all banks at 25 per cent their total deposits. These liquid assets comprise of h, gold and unencumbered approved securities. re will be a good deal of controversy around this vision. Some would regard the fixing of 25 per cent o as too high and would argue that a statutory limit not make for flexibility in the day-to-day working a bank. In a time of crisis particularly this hard- would be great and a bank technically insolvent yet be very solvent, given sufficient time. On the r side it may be urged that in terms of this clause ks are already maintaining as much as 65 per cent id assets for their investment in approved securities e is as much as 50 per cent or more. They are also ntaining a cash ratio in the neighbourhood of 15 cent. Even before the war the liquid assets of banks wellnigh 30 per cent and we may therefore say 25 per cent is the bare minimum below which no should normally fall. A satisfactory feature of clause is the word unencumbered, as it may very happen that a bank may show its securities pledged other banks as a part of its liquid assets when in it is not so, for clearly the pledgee bank is entitled ount its holdings of securities pledged with it as d assets. It is also pointed out by Mr. T. T. Krishchari, M.L.A., in his article in the 1944 *Annual ew Number of Commerce* that this section (14) ates against small banks engaged in the financing griculture which particularly during the harvesting on work on a much lower basis of liquidity. ally, in the absence of a bill market, and ready availability of rediscounting of commercial and agricultural paper these banks would find it difficult to maintain this percentage. It is clear therefore that the small banks may be justifiably excluded from the operation of this section or bonafide commercial and agricultural paper bearing two signatures may be included in the list of liquid assets for the purpose of these small banks. Section 15 prohibits the forming of subsidiary companies by a bank, except for the execution of trusts and prohibits their holding more than 40 per cent of issued and subscribed capital of other companies. This is a very satisfactory measure in view of the evils of intertwining interests with other companies. Section 16 prohibits a bank from giving a loan on the security of its own shares or granting unsecured loans to directors or firms in which the latter are interested. *In order to ensure the carrying out of this requirement as also of others noticed above a periodic or a surprise inspection of bank's records will be necessary.* Section 17 requires companies incorporated outside British India and United Kingdom to obtain a licence from the Reserve Bank which is empowered to cancel the licence if there is infringement of rules laid down in the act. The only snag here seems to be that while banks from the United Kingdom will be exempt from the provisions applying to Non-British Indian banks, banks floated in Indian States will obviously have to obtain a licence like other foreign banks. Section 19 prescribes that the assets of every bank in British India shall be not less than 75 per cent of its total liabilities in British India. This provision may be found to be hard for banks floated in Indian States but which have majority of their deposits in British India, for clearly they should like to employ more of their funds in their states rather than in British India. Section 28 lays down the rules regarding inspection. The Central Government if it has reason to believe that the interests of the depositors are in danger or that a bank is unable to meet its obligation or commits an offence in terms of the Act may direct the Reserve Bank to inspect its books and report to the Central Government which may prohibit the bank from accepting fresh deposits or direct the Reserve Bank to apply for the winding up of the banking company. The provision in respect of inspection is not sufficient to deal with the situation that has arisen on account of the new banks. It appears that in the interests of the banks themselves the procedure will be found to be cumbersome and it will in practice prove to be, calling in the doctor after the death of the patient. Inspection should be a regular feature of the control of banking and whether periodic or casual will do a lot to remove the present unhealthy practices of a number of new banks. I do not see why the banks should object to such a course for if they really are run on sound lines they have no reason to be afraid. It does invest the inspecting authority with a great responsibility which may only be shirked at the cost of grave consequences. The inspectors should be appointed by the Reserve Bank which will be in a position to direct particular lines of enquiry if need be. Section 38 empowers the Central Government to make rules consistent with the Act.

These are the main provisions of the Banking Bill before the legislature and we have seen their strong points and shortcomings. It is to be hoped that our legislators will give this bill the attention it deserves; for a sound banking system is a prerequisite for any drive for prosperity, such as one to which we are pledged.

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WAR-TIME BANKING IN INDIA

By K. P. THAKUR, C.A.I.I.B. (Bom.), C.A.I.B. (Lond.)

Yet another year has rolled by, adding momentum to the velocity of increasing Bank profits in India, I mean 1944. The net profit on the working of the premier Indian Joint Stock Bank, the Central Bank of India Ltd., during the year ended 31st December, 1944, was Rs. 1,17,00,000 or above, a record achievement in the annals of Indian Banking. The second place of honour goes to the Bank of India Ltd. with Rs. 65,00,000 or above at its credit. The Bank of Baroda, Ltd. and Punjab National Bank Ltd., have been able to show a net profit of Rs. 24,00,000 and Rs. 23,00,000 respectively. The contributions of other big and small banks are also satisfactory: Statistics of their working would provide an interesting reading no doubt but for want of space. Thanks to war conditions and inflation.

No survey on Indian Banking would be complete without reference to the Imperial Bank of India. But, I think, Imperial Bank of India, except by its name, does not, in fact, represent what we should understand and mean by an Indian Bank. By virtue of the supreme position which it occupies by being once the Government's Central Bank prior to the inauguration of the Reserve Bank in 1935 it stands as a class by itself and even to-day it acts as a Bankers' Bank of last resort in places where Reserve Bank is not established. The working of the Imperial Bank during the half year ended the 31st December, 1944, resulted in a net profit of over Rs. 94,00,000 but this figure must include the colossal amount of commission earned as a result of its acting as the agent of the Reserve Bank. Although it is difficult for insufficiency of details furnished in its published Balance Sheet to apportion the exact amount earned during the period we may get a fair idea of it from the statement made by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in the Central Assembly on the occasion of the debate on Banking Bill in November, 1944, that the amount of commission under the above head amounted to Rs. 56,00,000 in 1943. The privilege of being the sole agent of the Reserve Bank functions like an "Aladin's lamp" to brighten the prospects of the Bank even in the dark days of depression, if they are to re-appear in the post-war era. Readers, I presume, will agree that owing to the difference in status the Imperial Bank of India does not represent the state of affairs obtaining in an institution what we call Indian out and out; and therefore, in dealing with the activities of Indian Joint Stock Banks I shall leave the Imperial Bank of India out of the orbit of the present discussion. The gravity and significance of the problem appears to have lately received the attention of the Reserve Bank authorities. As reported in *Capital* of the 3rd May, 1945, the agency agreement between the Reserve Bank of India and the Imperial Bank of India which was due for revision at the end of April last (1945) has in fact now been revised and under the new arrangement the latter will get considerably less than what has been the case in the past.

Were profits earned the only factor in the monetary observatory to report on the weather condition of the financial firmament it could have been established that the prospects of Indian Banking have come to stay. But that would have been a layman's outlook. Just as the financial stability of a concern does not depend entirely on the extent of the dividend paid by the company, so also the soundness of a bank does not rest exclusively on the profits earned. To feel the pulse of a bank we must see how profits are earned and how these are spent. We must see the expense ratio for earning such profits and also the distribution of these and thus finally to weigh the efficiency with which Indian banks are managed.

The economic outlook of India has been dynamically changed due to the impact of war. The peace-time economy of the country has gradually been replaced by war-time economy. The dear money of the pre-war era yielded place to cheap money of the present days. Notes in circulation as on 29th December, 1944, stood at Rs. 1009·60 crores which represents an increase of 453·38 per cent over the pre-war figure of Rs. 182·44 crores. And where can this money find a shady nook? Part of India was then under Japanese menace. Owing to shortage of supply of building materials house construction was checkered. Conversion of currency into land and buildings was not appreciable. Value of scrips of companies dealt in the Stock Exchanges reached to such an un-precedented high pitch that genuine investors felt shy to put in any money in any fresh deal: only buying and selling of a speculative character was undertaken by bulls and bears. Sales of gold which provided an outlet for investment have been undertaken only lately by Government. Thus part of this enormous inflow of currency was consumed by subscription of public loans, part of it was buried in the ground and the remaining had to come, without any other alternative in the hand of banks. The deposits of scheduled banks were in the neighbourhood of 236 crores of rupees in pre-war (Sept. 1939) days which by the end of December, 1944, grew up to the staggering figure of 819 crores of rupees, an increase of 583·00 per cent. Aided by such deposits, it is natural to expect that bank-profits will tend to rise and against such a background we are to test the efficiency of banks.

The increase in bank deposits has been commensurate with development of banking both in regional exploration and numerical expansion. The number of scheduled banks in India was 61 in 1939 and by the close of 1944 they were 84. The number of branches of scheduled banks was 1277 in the first year of war (1939) and by 1944 they had 2443 offices; out of which 1943 offices are owned by scheduled banks, 80 by Exchange Banks, the rest belong to Imperial Bank of India. The position is explained in the tables below:

Table No. I

Number of Scheduled Banks

	1939	*1944*
Exchange Banks	16	16
Other Scheduled Banks	45	68
Total	61	84

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TABLE No. II

Branches of Scheduled Banks (including Head Offices, Pay Offices and Sub-Offices, etc.)

	1939	1944
Imperial Bank	No details	420
Five Leading Joint Stock Banks	,,	563
Exchange Banks	,,	80
Other Scheduled Banks	,,	1380
Total	1277	2443

Now let us see how the assets and liabilities of banks are distributed as compared with the pre-war days. The position will be well-explained in the comparative table below :

Scheduled Banks' Consolidated position
(In crores of rupees)

	29.12.44		1.9.39	
	Rate p.c. to total Liabilities	Amount	Rate p.c. to total Liabilities	Amount
Total liabilities in India		819·01		236·60
Cash & Balances with Reserve Bank		106·07		31·87
Advances	28·81	236·00	44·91	106·00
Bills Discounted	1·58	13·00	1·69	4·00
Excess of balance with Reserve Bank over statutory minimum		38·74		16·41

The first impression that a reader gets from the above figures is that the volume of advances in India has increased considerably since the outbreak of war. Much has been said about this mounting up of advances in the last few years and even the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank as early in June 1943 struck a note of warning to banks against erratic and fitful advances by them. Series of measures to put a stop to the activities of banks to help speculation were adopted. Banks were advised by circular letters not to encourage loans against bullion and as a result of various controls introduced under Defence of India rules advance against commodities and produce became a business of the past. Consequent on the foregoing reasons and due to transport difficulty the bills portfolio of banks could not thrive. Although it cannot be denied that figures under both these heads have gone up I do not agree that there has happened anything unusual or frightening in these matters. The ratio of advances of scheduled banks in 1939 was 44·91 per cent to their total liabilities whereas the same in 1944 is 28·81 per cent only. Similarly the percentage of bills discounted was 1·69 per cent to the total liabilities in 1939 which in 1944 stands at 1·58 per cent. Then where is the increase ? Figures, however, tell a different tale.

The published accounts of the scheduled banks in India suffer from a great deal of paucity of information: among them is the want of details of their investments. The proportion of their investments to total liabilities is a problem to find out. When statistics for the consolidated position is not available we may look for the next best alternative *i.e.*, investments of certain representative banks. By this method our understanding of the matter would not be absolutely complete but it would throw a good deal of light into the affair. In the table below are given the deposits, and investments of a few banks in India which have earned the prestige and goodwill of being sound and solvent, as on 31st December, 1944 are compared with their figures in 1938:

Figures in lacs

	1938			1944		
	Deposits	Investments	Percentage of investments to Deposits	Deposits	Investments	Percentage of investments to Deposits
Central Bank of India Ltd.	3102	1450	46·74%	9449	5687	60·18%
Bank of India Ltd.	1724	805	46·69%	6082	4136	68·00%
Bank of Baroda Ltd.	712	334	46·80%	2693	1639	60·86%
Punjab National Bank Ltd.	678	181	26·60%	3776	2270	60·11%
Indian Bank Ltd.	336	147	43·75%	1052	574	54·56%

It is, therefore, seen that whereas in 1938 investments represented about 46/47 per cent of the deposits, in 1944 investments represent about 60 per cent of them. Even then banks are not short of funds. The excess of the scheduled banks' balance with Reserve Bank over the statutory minimum amounted to 60·54 crores and 38·74 crores of rupees in 1943 and 1944 respectively as compared with 16·41 crores of rupees in 1939. And this is obvious. Owing to ever increasing currency inflation and with the various controls in force, banks do not see their way how best to utilise their funds.

The high percentage of security portfolio of banks on the other hand, has beset the financial aspect of the country with some difficulty. Once the controls are withdrawn there will appear a great demand for industrial finance. Naturally banks will be approached with proposals for advances against diverse projects. The loading of securities now held by banks may have a depressing effect on the giltedge market. Such a situation is not welcome either to Government or to investors whose steadiness in price is what everybody desires.

In England, however, this contingency is removed by the issue of T.D.R. The Treasury Deposit Receipts represent loans to Treasury repayable in six months. This method gave the Treasury a direct access to the Joint Stock banks for short-term accommodation without the intervention of the discount market and to the consequent savings of unnecessary expenditure on the Exchequer by way of commission. In case of need these are rediscountable at the Bank of England at the official rate though with certain reservations they carry interest at ⅛ per cent.

The issue of T.D.R. has changed considerably the distribution of assets of London Clearing Banks. The following table published in the *Economist* shows the

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gradual change taken over British Banking during the years 1938-43.

Combined Statement of London Clearing Banks
(£ *million*).

End of	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Deposits	2254	2441	2800	3329	3629	3032
"Quick" Assets.	723	901	1196	1598	1812	2214
of which T.D.Rs.	—	—	314	758	896	1307
Investments	635	609	771	999	1120	1154
Loans	966	1002	906	807	773	743

Thus it will be observed that loans and advances due to war conditions are on the wane whereas "quick" assets which comprise of cash, cheques, call loans and short bills are growing in volume and represented by the close of 1943, 55 per cent of deposits in comparison to their 1938 figure of 32 per cent. With the return of peace and with the abolition of war time measures industrial finance will be provided with the proceeds of T.D.Rs. on maturity. The method is likely not to disturb the market price of Consols and other Government Securities.

To return to Indian condition, dealers in money cannot keep it idle pure and simple just as a businessman may not sit over his stock without turn-over. The deposits in current accounts call for provision of interest except in the case of Imperial Bank of India; cost of stationery, paper, etc. being high, expenses have gone up. Expenditure under the head of salaries is now greater due to war and emergency allowances paid to staff. To provide for these extra cost, competition is keen amongst bankers to secure as much business as possible providing simultaneously as much facility to parties. Now that banks of sound standing are more than one, clients also do not forget to take advantage of the situation with threats to close the account if their demands are not fully complied with. It is, indeed, a matter of regret that in contra-distinction with the English companies Indian business houses on whom the scheduled banks bank, do not exhibit by their action any special attachment to the institutions with which they happen to be associated for long. The bigger banks have some sort of unwritten law which they endeavour to observe. The smaller or the newer banks cannot expect to snatch any customer from the field of the old banks unless their rates, terms and conditions are more favourable. The Indian customers are prone to fall victim to such proposals and unhesitatingly transfer their business partially if not in whole to the newer institutions. Just as Indian houses have not in reality what is known as "goodwill" except in rare instances of the Tatas, Birlas, Singhanias, etc., it is difficult for Indian banks to place confidence on any customer as being their own. It is not understood why customers attached to one bank should ordinarily go in search of another. The relationship between a banker and a customer is of reciprocity. Customers require banks for facility of their business so also banks need customers without which they have no *locus standi*. If any cause of misunderstanding or complaint really arises, it is desired that customers should also take steps and co-operate with the bank authorities to remove it and revive the old relationship rather than leave it. The cause of complaint may arise from the action of an individual officer or clerk—but that can be set right without any loss or damage to the customer.

By adopting this shifting mentality customers, in a few cases, may no doubt reap little benefit and instances are galore where the axiomatic truth repeats—I mean the adage—Penny wise Pound foolish.

The effect of this movement has reflected adversely on the earning possibilities of banks. Today rates of Commission and Exchange charged by banks for remittance and agency work are on an average low in comparison to the rates prevailing in prewar days. We may feel complacent thinking that service to community has become more humanitarian today than what it was before. But banking, it must not be lost sight of, is also a class of business with a difference that its stock in trade is money instead of commodities. In the absence of any suitable expression we may quote the analogy of "what the traffic will bear." Unless the rates charged by banks are remunerative at least to the extent of the expenses incurred and a reasonable profit for the shareholders there may not be any idea behind running the institutions till nationalisation of banking is declared as the accepted official policy of the land.

Another evil of a far-reaching character is that the cumulative effect of rate cutting has moved the monetary machine out of gear, I mean the bank rate. With the outbreak of war, cheap money condition was the target of the fighting nations. Among the other measures adopted the bank rate in Britain and U.S.A. was reduced on the 26th October, 1939, and 29th October, 1942, from 3 to 2 and from 1 to ½ per cent respectively. In India, however, although on 28th November, 1935, the bank rate was changed from 3½ to 3 per cent it has since then remained unaltered. This may appear to be creditable to the Government but a rate which has no existence which exercises no control over the market rate is tantamount to having no rate at all. For a long time past, the scheduled banks have been lending against Government securities below the bank rate varying between 2 and 2½ per cent as against 3 and 3½ per cent in pre-war period. The rates for one year Fixed Deposits do not go above 1¼ per cent as compared to 2 per cent quarter of a decade ago. The Treasury Bill rate has not been above 1 per cent whereas during the pre-war days, such rate used to go up to 3 per cent. It is admitted that under easy money conditions bank rate is seldom effective and on the short-term money rate it has no direct bearing but undoubtedly the bank rate indicates how and where the wind blows. Readers will also fall in line with the argument that the present Reserve Bank of India rate is lop-sided and is on the high scale. It is also true that unless steps are taken to create a regulated and organised discount market, the bank rate has no prospects of ever being effective. Instead of being the regulator of the financial meter it shall have to play a second fiddle in the game: not making the market rate follow it but itself following the former or lie ill at ease unconcerned with the movement abroad. Against the avowed Government policy of borrowing at low interest rates, an early reduction in the bank rate will give it a more realistic colour from its present fancy accoutrements.

Now let us see how this lack of cohesion between the bank rate and advance rate of Scheduled Banks have affected the earning aspects of them. For this matter also want of statistical details stand in our way in order to form an idea of the consolidated scheduled banks' position and here again we are to depend on certain banks who may be accepted as representatives

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their lines of business. We shall try to find out ether the percentage of gross profit and net profit proportion to the bank's aggregate resources, capital serve deposits, etc., are increasing and whether the pense ratio is falling. If it is found that the percentage of net profit on the total liabilities is increasing, we may arrive at the conclusion that banking is thriving else we should be jubilant over an achievement which is illusory. Let us consider the following comparative figures :

	Ratio of gross profit to total Liabilities		Ratio of expenses incurred to total Liabilities		Ratio of net profit to total Liabilities		Percentage of salaries to Gross Profit	
	1938	1944	1938	1944	1938	1944	1938	1944
entral Bank of India Ltd.	2·15	2·55	1·33	1·48	·82	1·07	34·3	25·03
nk of India Ltd.	2·01	1·74	·88	·72	1·13	1·01	27·1	18·01
nk of Baroda Ltd.	1·74	1·41	1·08	·59	·66	·81	32·5	28·08
njab National Bank Ltd.	2·91	2·94	2·22	2·43	·69	·41	—	32·06
dian Bank Ltd.	2·35	3·00	1·57	2·01	·78	1·01	57·1	25·30
ited Commercial Bank Ltd.	—	1·64	—	·98	—	·65	—	24·37
ndusthan Commercial Bank Ltd.	—	1·82	—	1·38	—	·43	—	36·81

Thus from the foregoing table it appears that ept a negligible fractional increase in the case of the ntral Bank and the Indian Bank Ltd. the rate of gross fits has gone down in the case of the Bank of India and the Bank of Baroda, Ltd., and on an average as remained practically stationary. Similarly with exception of Bank of India Ltd. and Bank of Baroda, expense ratio of the Central Bank, Punjab National k and Indian Bank, Ltd., has gone up and on rage it has increased.

As a result, the percentage of net profit to total bilities does not show any remarkable augmentation the extent of the funds available with banks. The king of the Bank of Baroda, Ltd., the Central Bank India, Ltd., and the Indian Bank, Ltd., shows a ter return in 1944 compared to their 1938 activities ereas that of the Bank of India, Ltd., and the njab National Bank Ltd., shows a decrease.

The older banks in spite of their earlier start and ater experience have not been able to testify their ter business capabilities vis-a-vis banks started ently. On the contrary, figures show that the working the newer banks, say United Commercial Bank Ltd., the Hindusthan Commercial Bank Ltd., are not se off in their line of business. The obvious reason having no great disparity is that the scope and ere of activities of banks in India are more or less e. There may be a difference in degree between ks and banks but not of substance. Indeed banks India, according to the established practice, borrow ey from the public at a low rate, maintain adequate reserve to meet day-to-day drawings of their stomers, employ as much as possible in loans, ances, cash credits, bills, etc., the residue being verted into giltedge, debentures, and other market- securities. This stereotyped routine of business given us the best it can and unless newer ways are lored prospects of banking in the post-war era will lack-lustre. Banks should launch in foreign exchange siness despite the fact that the path is beset with culties and probable opposition from foreign banks were enjoying the privilege of monopoly in the We have no industrial bank in our country except only in name whose activities are nothing else but commercial nature and their name makes them- es ridiculous in their own eyes.

A uniformity of practice is however observed in fact that all banks have been able to reduce consi- ably the percentage of salaries to gross profits to a ingly low level in comparison to their pre-war es. The war allowance paid to the bank's staff in comparison to their colleagues in other commercial and industrial undertakings fall too short in proportion to the risk and responsibilities undertaken by them. Indeed the safety and soundness of a bank depends on the satisfactory discharge of duties right from the token clerk to the Bank Manager. The weakest link of the chain may have opportunities enough to saddle the bank with loss or damage. Howsoever alert and efficient may be the Board of Directors and topmost men they cannot go ahead successfully unless each of the office-bearers is true to his job and faithful to the institution whose banner they carry. To cite an illustration : of the services rendered by banks, collection of negotiable instruments on customers' account is one. The volume and frequency of the business does not overshadow its importance and responsibility, which banks carry as "Collecting Bankers". But who does the job ? A clearing Babu with a pay of Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 and at any rate not exceeding Rs. 100. Alas, this important item of the managerial portfolio does not attract the attention it deserves. Bank-clerks are still low paid. The uneducated or poorly educated bank-employees of the past decade are being gradually replaced by educated young men of the universities. Every year hundreds of bank candidates are obtaining qualifying certificates from the Institute of Bankers but in giving position and promotion something else than qualification seems to be the standard. Although the Indian Institute of Bankers is composed of a council consisting of the "head men" of important banks the very same person do not seem to pay attention for promoting the prestige of the institute in their distribution of responsible positions to their staff without discriminating between qualified and unqualified members. Appreciation made only on office files does not encourage a worker unless it is accompanied by better pay. Of late much is being talked of trained personnel of bank staff. Banking is a highly technical business. Theoretical and legal knowledge is pre-requisite of a successful banker. Unless due recognition is given to deserving candidates the profession will fail to attract new competent entrants.

In fine, it may be pointed out that wanton competition between banks should go once for all. What we should think is that the different Indian banks are but branches of one big enterprise. If one Indian bank does well that should not be the cause for jealousy to another institution, what we should guard against is the diversion of business from Indian to non-Indian hands. Our aim should not be clash amongst ourselves but co-operation on a wider scale for protection against foreign competition.

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THE UNITED NATIONS

By NAGENDRA NATH CHANDA

The organisation of the United Nations as evolved at San Francisco is apprehended to be a plan for ensuring economic and imperial domination of the Big Three, who really hatched the scheme at their Dumberton Oaks conference in August, 1944. The promised fight for Four Freedoms has overnight changed into a definite conspiracy against Four Freedoms so far as small states and dependencies are concerned, peoples with whose sacrifices the war has been won. The United Nations like the old League of Nations, which it replaces, has an Assembly, a Council and an International Court of Justice (for disputes of legal nature), but unlike the old League it has an Economic and Social Council as well. But the institution is far from being democratic in frame and spirit. The Assembly in which every member state has a vote is not the sovereign body though it is vested with powers of electing the non-permanent members of the Security Council, all members of the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council as also of making recommendations with regard to maintenance of international peace and security. It is the Security Council that is clothed with real powers, for it will not only regulate armaments but settle international disputes by blockade and ultimately by military force (with the help of the Military Staff Committee as composed of the Chiefs of Staff of only the permanent members of the Security Council, namely, Britain, U.S.A., Russia, France and China) to which the contribution of each member state is to be determined by the Security Council itself, in all this vital work the Assembly having no control. And though in the old League of Nations every State had a veto, here it is the above big five only that have been given that monopoly as a result of which without unanimity of the big five no enforcement action would be possible to be taken though non-permanent members passed it by a majority. And further there can be no amendment of this constitution without the unanimous support of the Security Council. This will show that the scheme is not democratic in spirit and conception, but is only a show of the big five of whom the big three count actually.

But experience shows that international disputes have often been sought to be settled by big powers in furtherance of their individual interests. That does not encourage any impartial settlement of disputes by this machinery. Here of the big five some are notorious for their designs of imperialism and exploitation. In view of this what sense of security the smaller powers may have in the intervention of this coterie? Unanimity of the big five (which may prove a myth) being an essential condition in enforcement action, their intervention may at least be in the common interest of all the five precluding onesided encroachment by one of them to some relief of the smaller nations at times. Anyway the conflicts of smaller nations may be possible to be composed (no matter in the interest of whomsoever) by this organisation as was also possible by the old League of Nations.

But the disputes of the big ones are calculated to break down this organisation as they broke the old League. The bigger powers have ever been the greatest scourge of world peace. When the big few will prefer selfish encroachment to joint encroachment on smaller nations or on themselves, the United Nations will be impotent to prevent it, for any such prevention will require the consent of the aggressor here. In the contingency of such a conflict the old custom of different blocks and groups of States will automatically glide in. The real cause of both the world wars has been not encroachment of the big on the small but rivalry of the big. The real test of the United Nations will be in the success of composing the disputes of the big.

Unlike the old League this organisation by dint of having a common military force and an Economic and Social Council has assumed the character of a loose world federation no doubt, but it is after all a League of the big few, the smaller nations being tagged to it as ever to subserve their will. The whole tragedy is that this constitution was stated by the big three in their self-interest and the smaller powers had to agree to it willy-nilly. It is for this that the veto has been preserved and that for the big five alone. It is for this again that intervention in colonial hegemony has been tabooed.

The unanimity provision (of the big five) is some guarantee against unilateral encroachment no doubt. But there is little practical provision in the scheme of eschewing encroachment itself. Unless designs of imperialism and exploitation are forsaken and outlawed, it can not secure the world against further wars. In this tempo of the situation disarmament even will not serve as a deterrent to such future wars. Where selfishness remains entwined with brutality, wars are bound to accrue any way, with nails and teeth if not with arms. In the above background of self-aggrandisement and mutual fears proposed disarmament efforts also are bound to fail as did the Disarmament Conference of 1932-33 and the Naval Treaty of 1936.

One test question of the utility of this organisation will be furnished by the Japanese war. As a menace of world peace the United Nations should arbitrate in the matter and eventually if required declare war against the recalcitrant party, be it Japan or the Anglo-American bloc, which may mean Russia going into war against Japan in spite of her neutrality pact, for in Chapter XVI of the constitution of the United Nations it is specially provided that "in the event of a conflict between the obligations of members of the United Nations under the present charter and any other international obligations to which they are subject, their obligation under the present charter shall prevail." This delicate question will perhaps be shelved by the veto provision of the constitution. Or will this issue be sought to be kept even outside the competence of the Security Council in the name of "regional arrangements" as per provisions of Chapter VIII of the constitution?

World peace demands that it should not be merely an organisation of the victors and their satellites. Permanent world peace can not be secured by designs of self-aggrandisement on the ashes of others. It must be broadbased on the due recognition of the importance of all powers as divested from colonies. Without powers

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Germany, Italy and Japan as also Spain, Ireland Thailand this world fabric can not be complete. is curious that Russia, who was expelled for attack- Finland from the old League of Nations (which wed war after failure of arbitration), has been en, in spite of her swallowing one-third of Poland, ermanent seat in the Security Council of the United ions (that outlaws such grabbing for good).

Portents show that war as an instrument of setting onal disputes is not going to be forsaken. It is ap- ended that if the policy of self-gratification of the few be obstructed any way, by the United Nations, will perforce secede away from it (as did the group from the old League) and form a bloc of own. Egoism of the big will thus write the final aph of this altruistic cloak.

The sham of the show has been further exposed by position of India. The United Nations is an orga- ion of free nations with "sovereign equality of all members." And India is an original member thereof virtue of her war sacrifices. How can the subjugation a member, namely, India, may be tolerated by it n it is specifically mentioned in the charter that "fundamental human rights" are to be ensured and that "all members in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present charter." Winning India's contribution (both annual fee and war help in case of any war of the U. N.) or giving a second vote to Britain is not certainly the point. India's subjection under Britain comes under the category of international disputes and calls for necessary action against the subjugator. If India were not a member of the United Nations, her case could have been precluded by the mischievous provision of non-intervention in the "domestic jurisdiction" of a state, namely Britain, as envisaged in Chapter I of the charter. India's case is not merely a case of sacrifice of ideals as in so many cases pointed above, but one of constitutional compulsion. In enforcement of its own constitution of "sovereign equality of all its members" the United Nations can not but guarantee the independence of India now. It has only cause of fear in keeping India under subjection to the falsification of the ideals of Four Freedoms.

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THE CALL OF THE COUNTRYSIDE IN MODERN POETRY

By Prof. PRADYUMNA C. JOSHI, M.A., LL.B.

ose who have read Washington Irving's essay need be told of the Englishman's love of the countryside. atever be the form of literature a writer adopts, he never been able to get away from the expression of ght that he derives from the familiar sights and nds round about him. If there is any other theme recurs oftener, it is as is natural for an island ple the call of the sea. Never before and nowhere are these calls obeyed with a greater alacrity than the pages of English literature.

Love of nature need not necessarily mean the love the English landscapes. In a poet like Tennyson we often get descriptions—even though inaccurate at es—of places which the poet had only heard of (as passage in Enoch Arden describing that tropical den of all plenteousness"), but such departures may prove the attraction of nature for them and only phasise the English love of natural beauty. Even ere there is an attempt at an imaginative recreation beautiful picture, the constituents of that picture invariably derived from the local topography, er as symbolic of the land of heart's desire or the limation by a negative process. All the same the ius loci is a strong ingredient in the warp and woof English poetry, and much more so in the modern ry.

The call of the country has been expressed in a rsity of manner by the poets of today. Perhaps the significant difference is the localisation of the scenes er than a generalisation of the local landscape which find in the earlier poets. The movement which saw rise in fiction with the creation of Wessex in the els of Hardy and the Five Towns in Arnold Bennet d its counterpart in the writing of poetry.

God gave all men all earth to love,
But since our hearts are small,
Ordained for each one spot should prove
Beloved over all.

Belloc therefore recalled the great hills of the South Country and Kipling took care to circumscribe his territory as

Such lands as lie 'twist Rake and Rye,
Black Down and Beachy Head.

It is by this means that he can call up with legitimate pride the exquisite picture of

Our blunt, bow-headed, whale-backed Downs,
But gnarled and writhen thorn—
Bare slopes where chasing shadows skim,
And through the gaps revealed,
Belt upon belt, the wooded, dim
Blue goodness of the Weald.

It is this same tendency that we find in the love of Devonshire in Newbolt ; the love of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire in Edward Thomas, with the whole county represented in the fleeting glimpse of "willows, willow-herb, and grass, and meadowsweet and haycocks dry" and a blackbird's song, the love for the Downs with its pealing organ of the sea, the shrill ringing of the wire winding alone in its airy journey and the noisy South Wind wafted from the sea to land which we get in Davidson.

The choice of a landscape is at times very characteristic. Graves likes above all the country of the rocks and water and lean heather which he describes in the minutest details, as ruled by the bird of prey inspiring fear in its sentient population, a place beyond pity and tenderness and the sway of Time, a place not for comfort and rest,

Trampled by no hard hooves, stained with no blood.
Bold immoral country . . . .

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To Drinkwater appeals the slow regular life of the Midland valleys "wreathed under limpid hills in moving light" gradually getting clearer as day advances and showing the life that has gone on for centuries with unchanging, steady, uninterrupted pace until

the last light upon the wolds is done,
And silence falls on flocks, and fields and men.

Or we may take that American poet, Frost, and his delight in pale orchises, the lonely wood and the bright green snake. Only in his case the shy revelation of beauty characteristic of the English poet which we notice in a poem like the *Linnet* of Bridges gives place to an obstreperous *bon homie* which delights in drawing attention to things that we ourselves have noticed:

Visions of half the world burned black
And the sun shrunken yellow in smoke,

or the golden brown gum which turns to pink between the teeth. That is due to the instincts of the town which are also manifest in the contrast that Binyon provides between the murky, gloomy surroundings and the light and gay happiness of childhood in *Little Dancers*.

Whatever the method that is adopted, and there is always a variety of approach, the delights of the poet are circumscribed within the ambit of a specified area. With Rupert Brooke, the English poets seem to say

God! I will pack, and take a train
And get me to England once again!
For England's the one land, I know,
Where men with Splendid Hearts may go;

And thereafter they become bards of their own particular territory. Once again we see the realism of the modern poet assert itself as against the vague, though intense desire which finds expression in poems like *O, to be in England, now that April's there.*

We may also note in this connection the love of the pastoral scene as it is evidenced in poems like the *Mowing* of Frost, or *the Poor Man's Pig* of Blunden. The accuracy of these descriptions, the desire to depict the actual, the bareness of the picture and the exactness of the phrase are the prevailing characteristics of these poems. The poet does not hesitate to complain of the poorness of this life, if there is no time to stand and stare. He shuns to rake up bogeys and feels that even in things which are usual and commonplace, beauty can be found and joy derived. He is satisfied in describing

Nothing but simple wane and change;
Your tread will wake no ghost, your voice
Will fall on silence undeterred.
No phantom wailing will be heard,
Only the farm's blithe cheerful noise.

And when it does bring the other-worldly note, we part company and follow the footsteps of W. W. Gibson and Walter de la Mare.

The delight in Nature has had different modes of approach. I may say that they are of four types. Firstly, it is purely a nostalgic outburst as we get in the description of the countryside in Hardy's *Weathers* or even more in Bridges or Yeats who would live alone in their bee-loud glade and allow

No sharer of my secret
Lest ere I come the while

Strange feet your shades defile. (There is a hill)

Here an imaginative spell is woven, a picture is invested with longings and hopes of man. It is a place of refuge, a place of escape. The second method is a photographic description of the places we love. It is the product of our partiality which for the moment at least rests on rational grounds and the poet takes pains to exhibit all the good points and even compare them with other places. Such is Brooke's *Grantchester*, and Belloc's *South Country*. To this class also belongs Kipling's poem, *Sussex*, and even Hopkin's *Inversnaid* may reasonably be included.

These poems are best characterised by the delightful revelations that suddenly spring upon us and take us completely by surprise:

They see the Severn strong,
A-rolling on rough water brown
Light aspen leaves along . . . .

or

The violets suddenly bloom at her feet.

Or if we take Kipling—

Only our close-bit thyme that smells
Like dawn in Paradise.

In these poems we get all the flora and fauna—

Violets of undercliff
Wet with channel spray;
Cowslips from a Devon combe
And Midland furze afire—

of all which no better example is to be seen than Davidson's poem, *A Runnable Stag*, with its reminder of Hardy's Egdon Heath and the individuality of Nature.

Though this is the commonest mode in modern poetry—a faithful representation of the place in all its splendour and magnificence, there is yet another method which is employed. It is the representation of the *genius loci*—an effort to reproduce the atmosphere of the place. Examples of such an effort are the *Listeners* of De la Mare or the *Charcoal Burner* of Edmund Gosse. It divides itself in two strains—first, where the place is invested with the feelings excited in the mind of the spectator. The feeling in this case is temporary, a result of some unusual tradition, a mental reaction in abnormal circumstances. Hardy's *Beyond the Last Lamp* is a good example of this type. Secondly, the feelings are perennial, ever-recurring, the product of associations created in the mind by some emotional necessity. It requires a mental picture, a previous acquaintance with the place to bring all its charm to the reader. This is partly shared by Kipling's *Sussex* with its local references. But the finest example of this genre will for ever remain Matthew Arnold's *Scholar Gipsy*, with its mine of immortal association for the Oxonian.

To sum up, the call of the countryside has been too strong for the poets and has invariably been obeyed, however much the difference in the outlook or the method of approach among individual poets. It has brought intimate pictures of the life in the country, of the contrast to the conditions in the town, and the sheer delight in natural beauty. In the poetry of today, with the growth of the horizon of the poet's consciousness, there has been a localization of the patriotism and a particularization of the enjoyment in Nature. But whereas the local was the background for the universal picture that the earlier poets drew up, the individuality of the modern poets in no way militates against the canons of beauty in the absolute. It was merely the product of critics and keenness for accuracy in modern writers as of the growing individualism of the age.

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ON SOUTH INDIAN TURBAN

By L. N. GUBIL

Turban is a unique Indian sartorial speciality. It one unforgettable ornament for everyone on every ional social function. Not only the Durbaries and urtiers of a Maharaja but the poor peasant of a village when he has to attend a marriage or a village festival puts on with great glee his usual turban without which he would rather absent himself from the function than be disgraced. The lace turban of the Mysorean,

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore

S. Satyamurti

the Mahratta turban of the Poonawallah, the imposing Punjabi puggree of the Pathan and numberless other

A. V. Ramanatham,
Minister, Mysore State

Rao Bahadur M. Ramachandra Aiyar,
Retired Deputy Chief Auditor, S. I. Ry.

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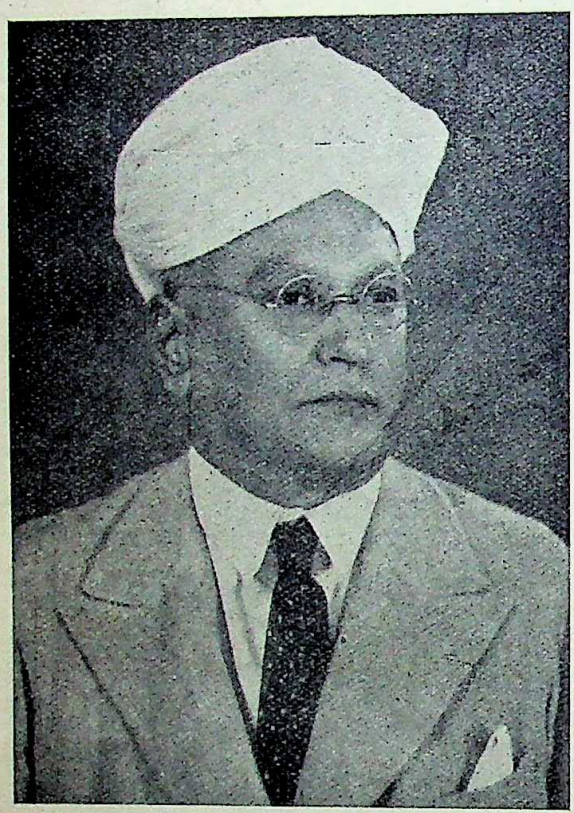
varieties have rightly become famous in India for their grandeur, originality and uniqueness.

The turban or the *puggree* or the *thalappa*, as it is termed in English, Urdu and Tamil respectively, mainly the headgear of the Indian. It has its peculiar charm and beauty. It is worn by all sections of the Indian community, the Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Sikhs or Parsis. Only those who are accustomed to the



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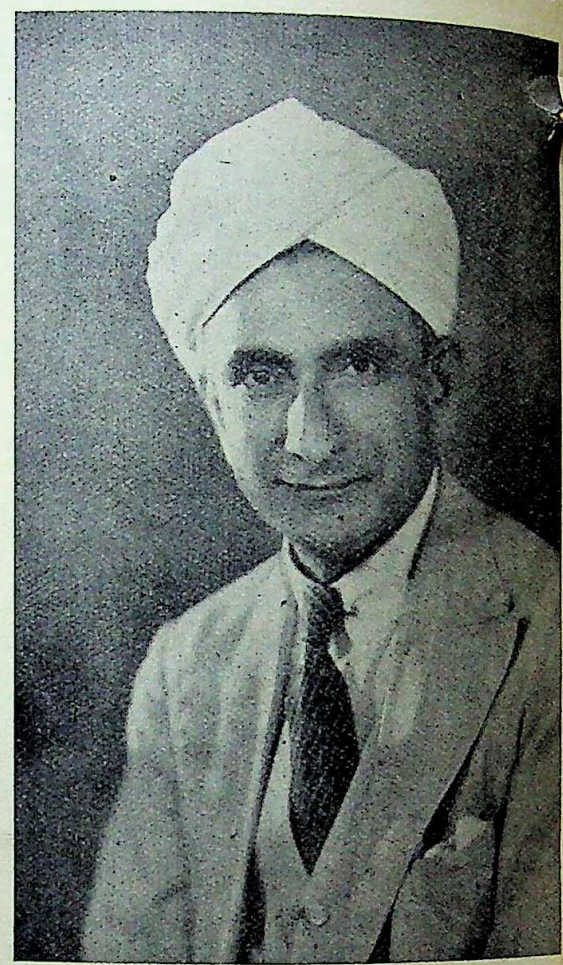

Rao Bahadur Dr. T. S. Tirumurthi,
Retired Principal, Government School
of Medicine, Madras

Khan Bahadur P. Kalifullah Sahib,
Assistant Administrator, Pudukottah

Dewan Bahadur T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai

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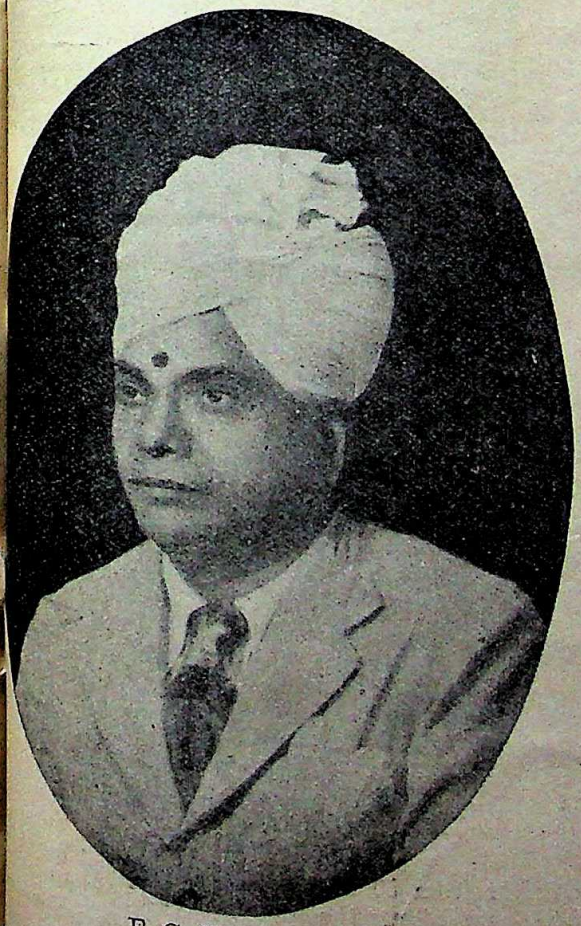
ean mode of dress and who follow their fashions cropped hair, wear the hat. Children, students, a few others wear the cap. From the village head- the postman, the duffadar, the chaprasi and the to the highest official, from the peasant to the e, almost everyone uses the turban. The officers of the Customs, Police, Excise, Salt, and other departments have their own prescribed turban. In Madras,

M. Lakshminarayana Rao,
Retired Educational Officer, Madras

The Author



F. G. Natesa Aiyer,
Retired D.T.S., S.I.Ry.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
with Khaddar cap on

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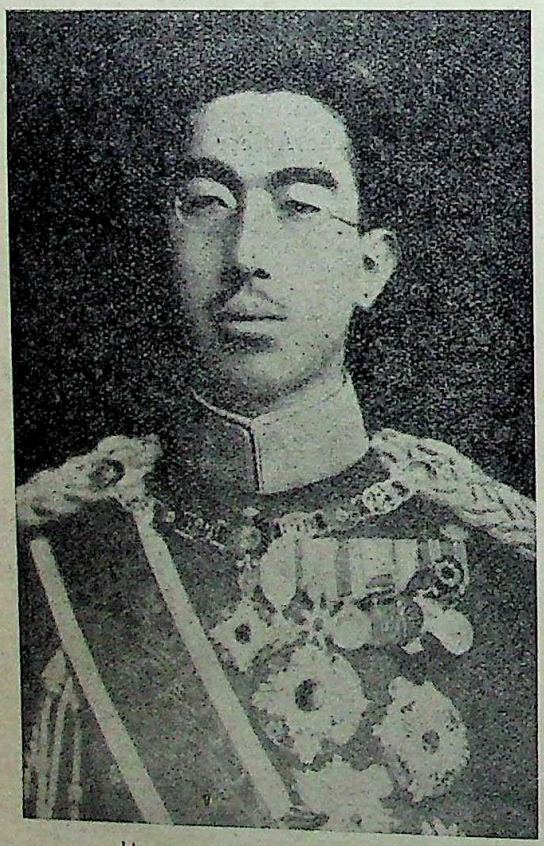
the Hindus, the Muhammadans and others wear the turban. The Ruling Chiefs of Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukottah in the South and all Rulers in the north wear turbans of different patterns. The dignified turban adorns the heads of very many leaders in different walks of life in different parts of India. The Ministers, the Indian High Court Judges, the officials and non-officials, the teachers and the professors, prefer the turban to any other headgear. Turbans are of various kinds, *viz.*, ready-made turbans to suit individual tastes, special pith turbans, silk turbans, lace turbans, muslin turbans, and ordinary cloth turbans. The last-named is widely used. There are several methods by which turbans are tied. The illustrations will indicate some of the patterns of turbans worn by prominent men of South India. It only shows how popular the turbans are among the educated and the elite, the orthodox and the great.

After the Gandhian era in Indian politics, the Khaddar cap has earned a universality and fame, the like of which is very rare to find anywhere else. The Gandhi cap is now the unmistakable emblem of patriotism and Swadeshi and self-sacrificing zeal for complete Swaraj. It is indeed a magnificent sight to witness a Congress gathering where leaders, volunteers and the rank and file attract the attention of all sightseers by their spotless white cap, which indeed inspires in everyone purity, sanity and love of truth and *ahimsa*.

——:O:——

TOKYO, CAPITAL OF JAPAN

TOKYO, scene of the signing of surrender terms by representatives of the defeated Japanese nation and the victorious Allies, is a city whose 217 square miles house a population of 7,100,000 persons.



Hirohito, Emperor of Japan

It is the third largest city in the world (first is London, area 693 square miles, population 8,700,000; second is New York, area 310 square miles, population 7,450,000). Located on the main Japanese island of Honshu, it is the seat of the Japanese Government, and one of Japan's largest industrial centers.

Before concentrated U.S. air attacks crippled its industries, it was estimated that Tokyo district produced 12 per cent of Japan's pig iron, 18 per cent of her steel and 18 per cent of her rolled steel products. Nearly 50 per cent of Japan's oil refining capacity was concentrated in eight plants on the Tokyo waterfront.

Lying in the midst of the extensive Kwanto Plain, the city itself is built upon more than 100 hills, varying in height from 50 to 130 feet. The social organization of the city follows the topography—the wealthy on the hills, the middle classes on the slopes, and in the hollows, the masses.

Akihito Tsugu-no-Miya,
Crown Prince of Japan and son of
Emperor Hirohito

The Akasaka Imperial Palace of Tokyo. It has been used since 1889 as an official residence for distinguished visitors to the Japanese capital

The Diet building in Tokyo. The Diet is Japan's representative assembly

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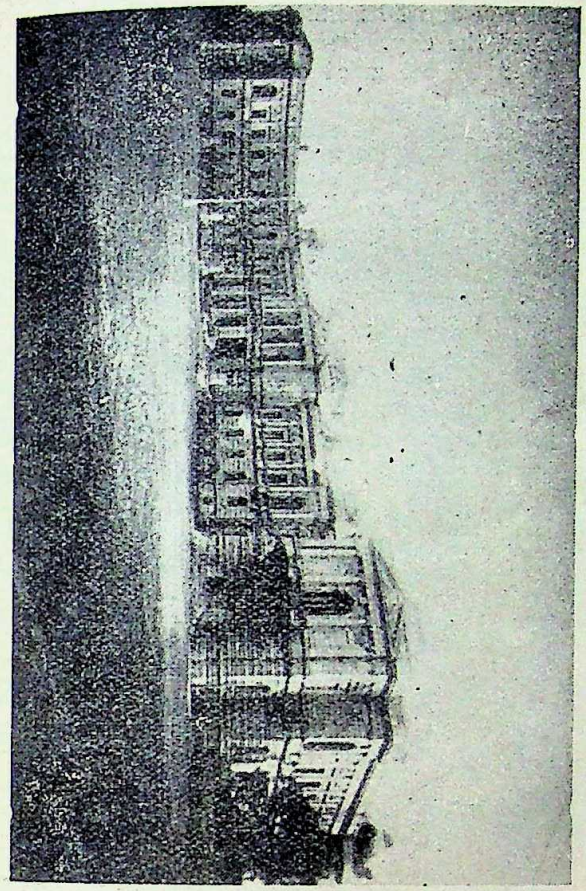
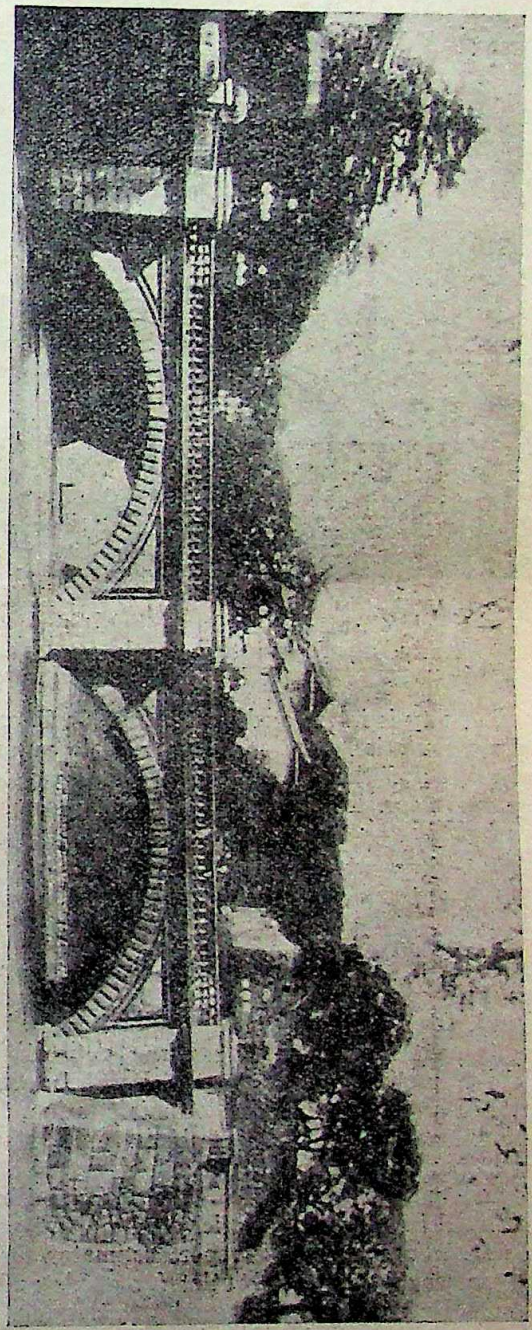
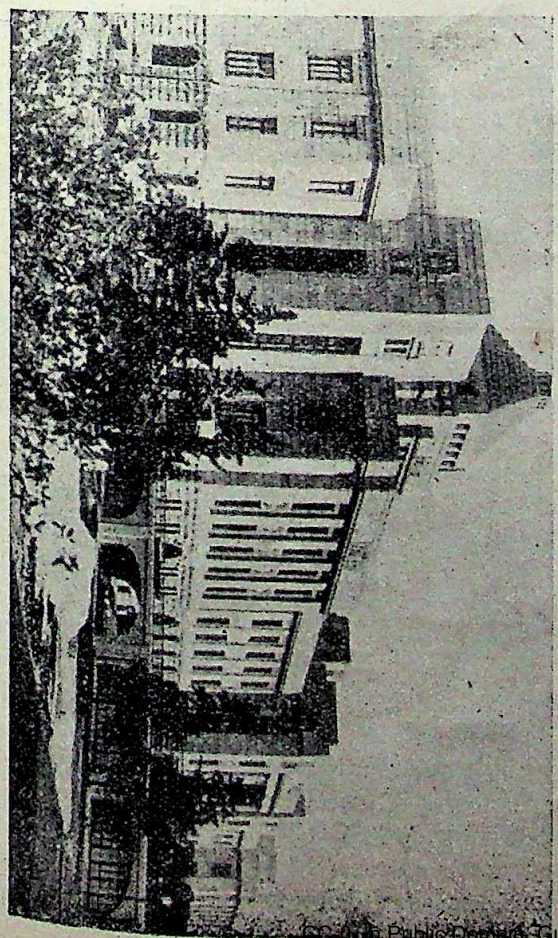


The Akasaka Imperial Palace of Tokyo. It has been used since 1889 as an official residence for distinguished visitors to the Japanese capital



A view of part of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo, capital of Japan



The Diet building in Tokyo. The Diet is Japan's representative assembly

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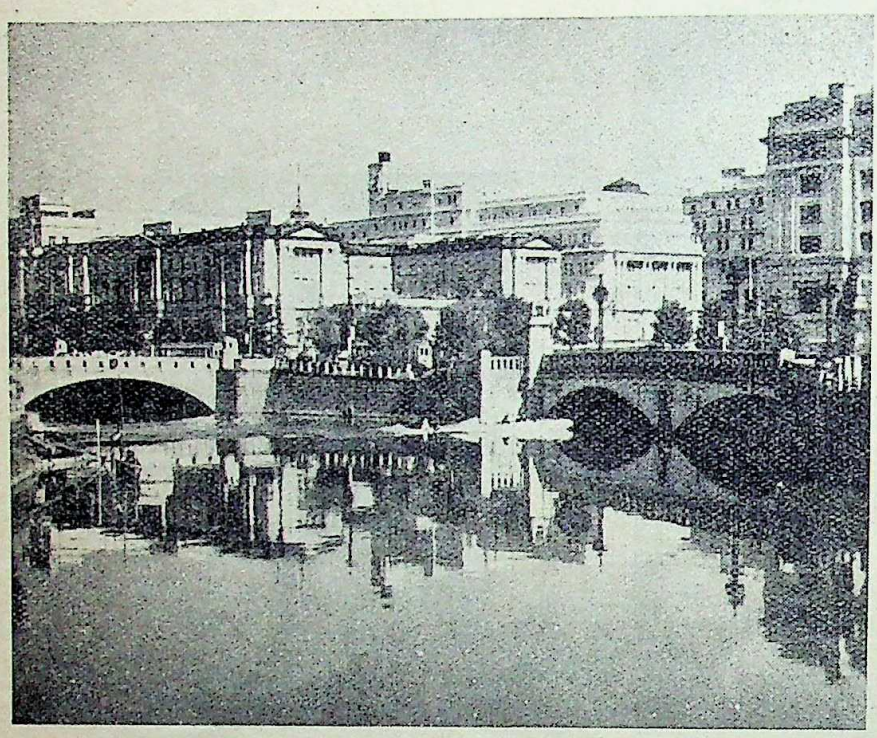
Near the centre of the city, on an eminence surrounded by moat and medieval castle wall, stands the Imperial Palace. Since no one must look down on the Emperor, there are no high buildings near the palace.



Tokyo's model, modern, almost fire-proof area contains banks including Mitsui and Bank of Japan in which is stored Imperial treasure

The city is intersected by the Sumida River and its many tributaries. The main thoroughfares are broad and paved; off them the streets become alloys or flights of stone steps. Tokyo's transportation system includes buses, 126 miles of trolley or tramways, 25 miles of subway and 40 miles of elevated trains that circle and bisect the city.

After the great earthquake and fire of 1923, when an estimated 100,000 lives were lost, the city was partially rebuilt. Six new avenues, 120 feet wide, and 120 new streets, 36 feet wide, were cut through the city. Modern fireproof and quakeproof buildings replaced many of the destroyed buildings in the principal business district, and fireproof apartments and business blocks were constructed elsewhere.

But 98 per cent of the buildings in Tokyo are still Japanese-style structures of wood and paper. Even so, it is by far the most modern and most fire-resistant city in Japan.

In climate, the city is unfortunate. It is subject to blightingly hot summers, bitterly cold winters. Typhoons are not infrequent, and earthquakes occur in cycles of six or seven years throughout the islands.

Tokyo is the heart of Japan's railway communications, and 41 tracks connect it with the most important cities on the main island, and with the heavily industrialized east and south coast urban belt. Since its harbor is too shallow to admit large vessels, Tokyo's commercial port is Yokohama, 18 miles to the west. Its naval port is Yokosuka, where elements of the Allied fleets are now anchored.—*USOWI.*

———:O:———

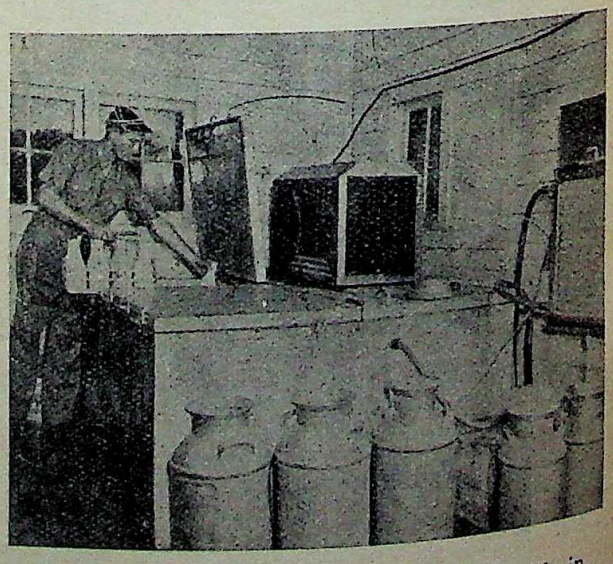
AMERICA ON VERGE OF COMPLETE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

THE United States, where rural electrification is less than half completed because of the vast distances to be covered, is preparing a comprehensive post-war development of its outlying power networks.

In a preliminary report the Post-War Committee of the Rural Electrification Administration, a U.S. Government agency, states its belief that extensions of present power lines and the development of a few new systems could provide 3,655,000 rural establishments in the United States with electricity within five years after the war. The committee's report estimates that such a program would create an outlet for goods and services of more than $5,500,000,000 and would stimulate post-war employment and industrial demand as well as extend the benefits of electricity.

The report, which has been submitted to the U.S. Department of Agriculture Inter-Bureau Committee on Post-War Programs, lists four post-war objectives: (1) electric service to all rural people in America; (2) full use of electricity on the farm; (3) full use of electricity for community welfare, and (4) its use in developing local rural industries.

In 1935, when the Rural Electrification Administration was established by the U.S. Congress, only one



An American dairy farmer puts bottled milk in cooler while an electric pump at right fills milk-cans

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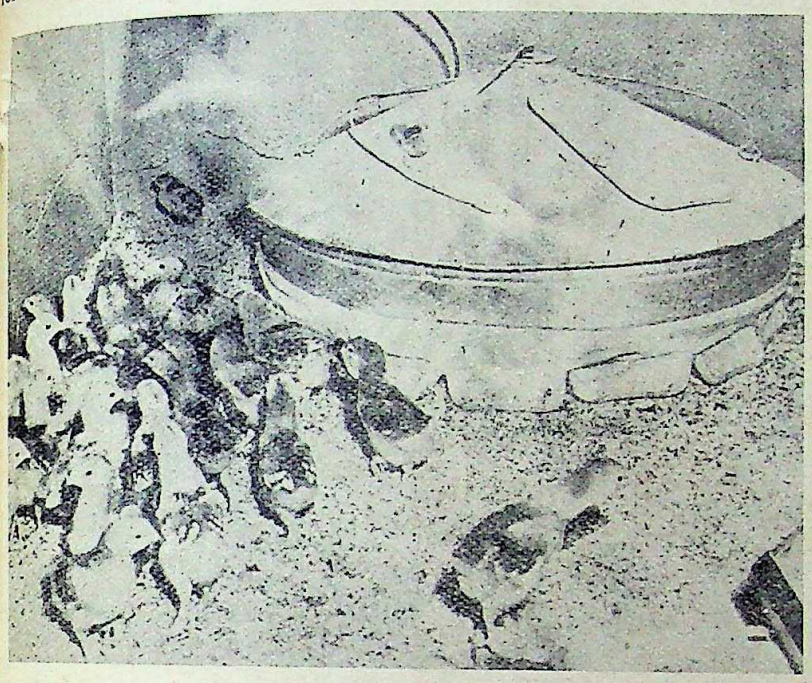
out of ten American farms had electricity. The REA was to provide financial aid on a loan basis for the building of rural electricity distribution systems and for the installation of electrical and plumbing appliances



Chickens are raised with the aid of electric breeders in an American poultry farm

and equipment. Farmers banded together in REA co-operatives, with the aid of an engineer estimated the construction and equipment costs for electric lines in their areas and financed the project on a long-term loan from REA.

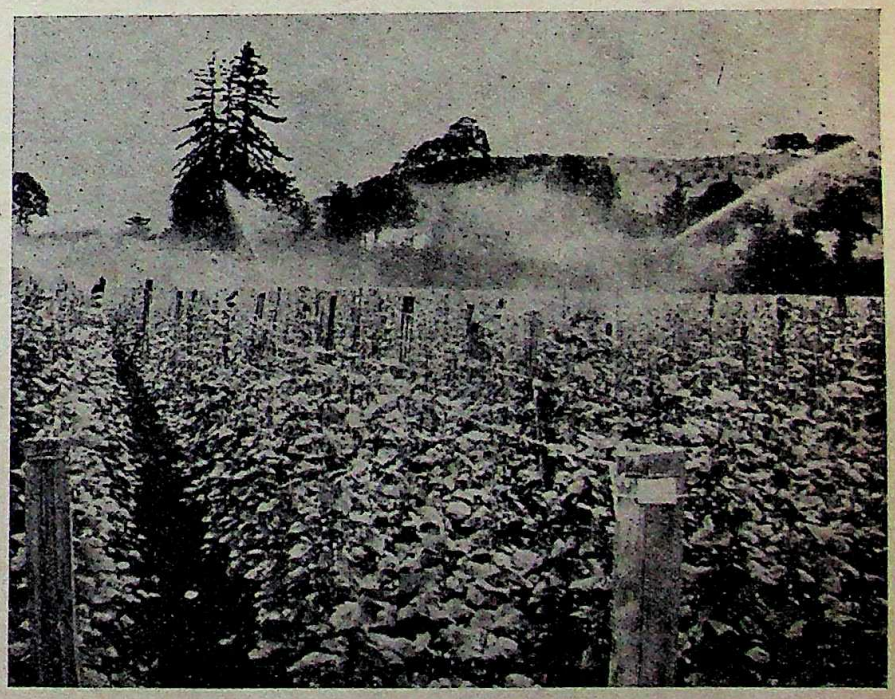
By 1944 rural electrification in America was 43 per cent completed, with 810 REA financed systems and 386,000 miles of energized lines serving more than 1,000,000 rural homes. Including those that received electric current from private power companies, more than 2,500,000 farms had been reached by electricity.

Congress Eases Terms

However, as report of the REA Post-War Committee revealed, there are still 6,344,000 rural dwellings in America that do not have central-station electric service. The way for expansion into such "thinner" territory, where the few people per mile and the distances to be covered have previously made rural electrification unfeasible, was opened in September, 1944. The U. S. Congress passed a bill to reduce the interest rates of the Rural Electrification Administration, extended the repayment schedule for REA loans from 25 to 35 years under certain conditions and removed the time limit, formerly June 30, 1946, on the program.

In order to reach more than half of these unelectrified rural dwellings within five years after materials and manpower are again available for peacetime projects, the committee's plan suggests that approximately $1,020,000,000 be used to finance the construction of new electrical lines and $2,026,241,000 be spent for wiring and electrical appliances and plumbing. Additional installations in rural areas already serviced with electricity would, under the proposed program, come to $2,500,042,000, making a total outlet for goods and services of $5,546,283,000. The program, on the basis a conversion factor of $2,000 of expenditure per man-year, would involve at least 2,750,000 man-years of labor.

Although no attempt has been made in the report to draw a line between private financing and public funds, the Post-War Committee does cite a possible three-year program of REA loans totalling $579,000,000, in addition to the $113,000,000 for loans already approved but not yet advanced to borrowers because of wartime restrictions on construction. On file with REA also are applications for loans totalling almost $110,000,000 more. Any of these applications that are approved will be added.



Electricity also powers pumps to sprinkle gardens and irrigate fields

With inexpensive rural electric power thousands of small industries, many of them manned by farmers in their off-seasons are expected to spring up across the American countryside. Among such local industries are rural food processing; cement, glass, tile, brick and textile manufacturing; coal, phosphate and graphite mining; fur farming; cotton ginning, and local handling

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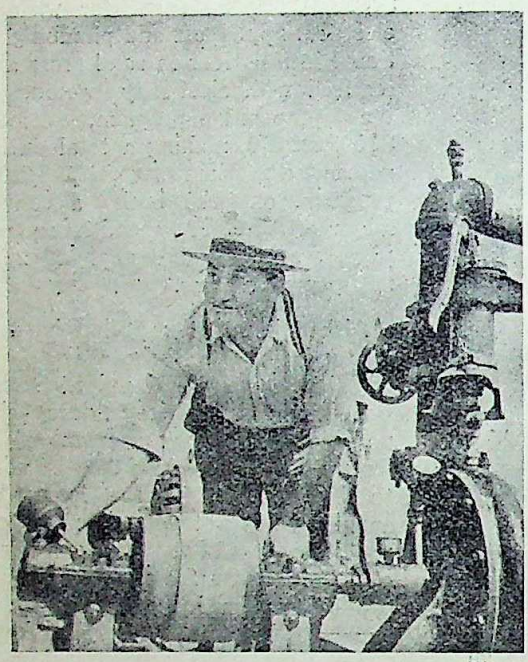
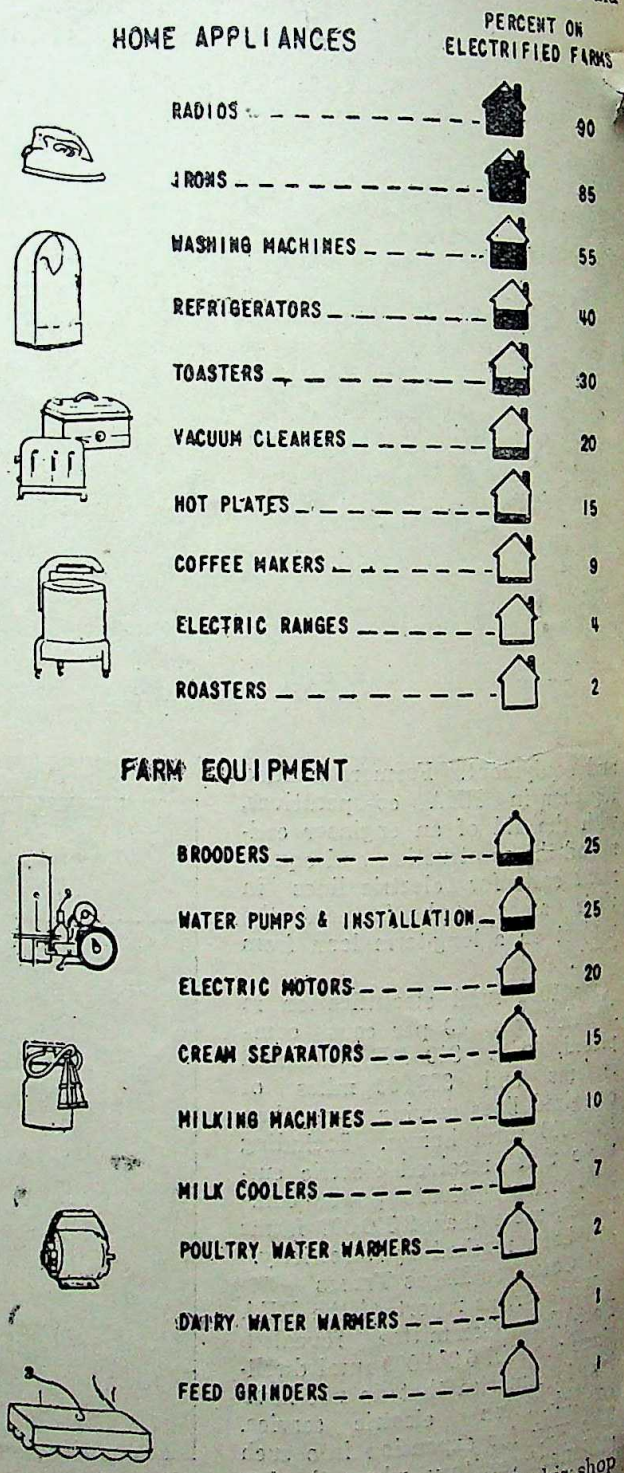
of forest products. In addition to supplementing the income of farmers, these will keep much of the processing of raw materiaals close to their sources.

In rural sections recently reached by electric lines are many examples of this development. At Rosati, in the mid-western state of Missouri, an abandoned winery was converted into a grape mill when electric current was made available through an REA co-operative. Farmers who raise the grapes, and even the local minister who has a vineyard behind the church, help operate the mill during the grape harvest. One farmer in the Rocky Mountains state of Idaho was able to open up a limestone quarry which produces 45,000 tons of stone a year. Another, in the southern state of Georgia, turned his boyhood hobby of tanning leather into a profitable harness-making business with the aid of REA power. He employs eight neighbors in his shop and sells leather goods to the people in the community.



The electric water pump replaces the hand pump, formerly used in an American farm

With an electric dishwasher, vacuum cleaner, refrigerator and stove, household duties are made easier for the American farmer's wife



Changes for the Farms

The use of electricity on the farmstead, when full equipment has been installed, means many changes. It means that a young girl can do the milking by machine instead of two men having to do it by hand. It means that electric motors pump water for the stock and cut the time required to grind grain, churn milk, saw wood

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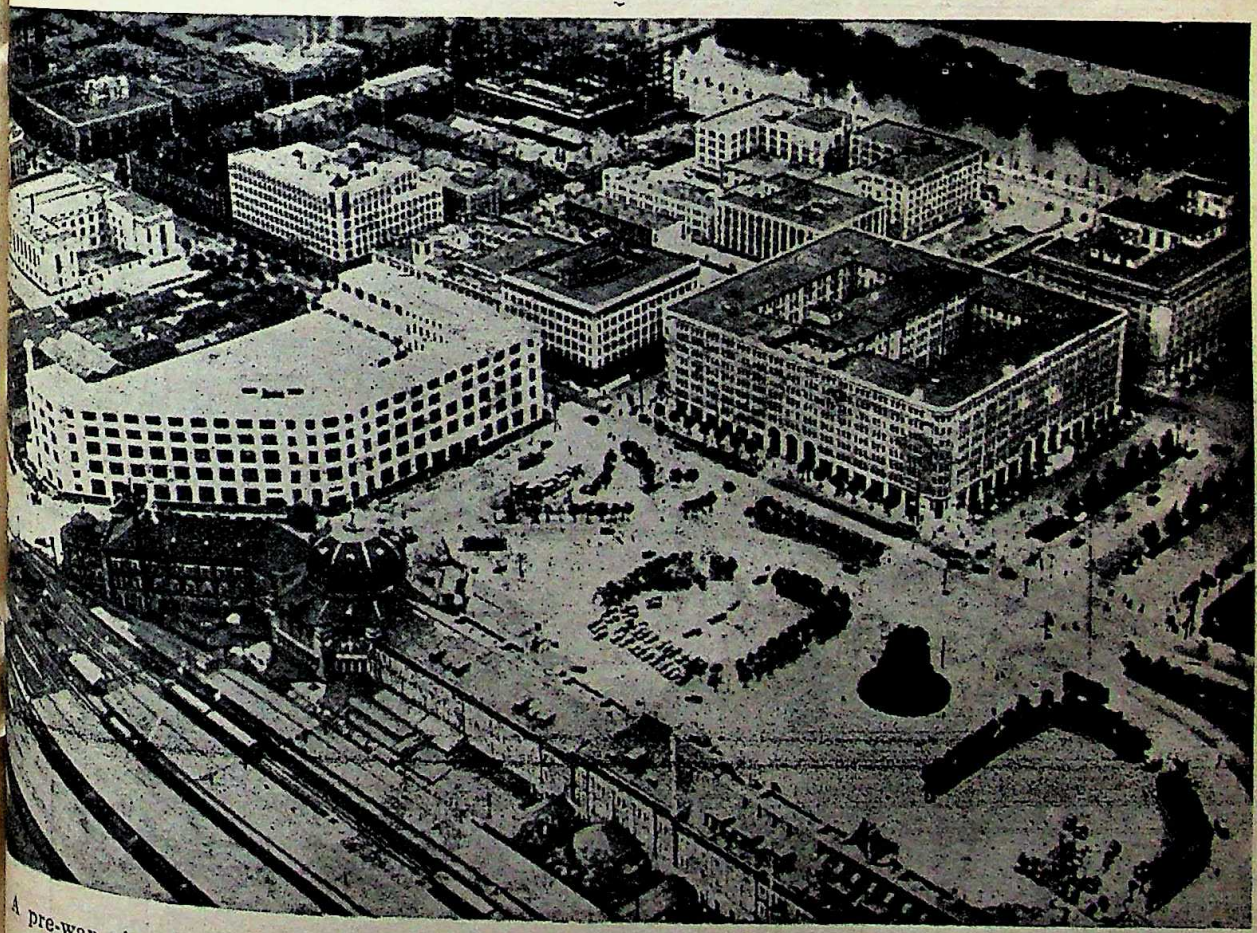
A view of the downtown business section of Tokyo



A pre-war air view of the centre of the Japanese capital shows the Tokyo railroad station. Across the square from the terminal is Marunouchi Building, the largest office building in Tokyo

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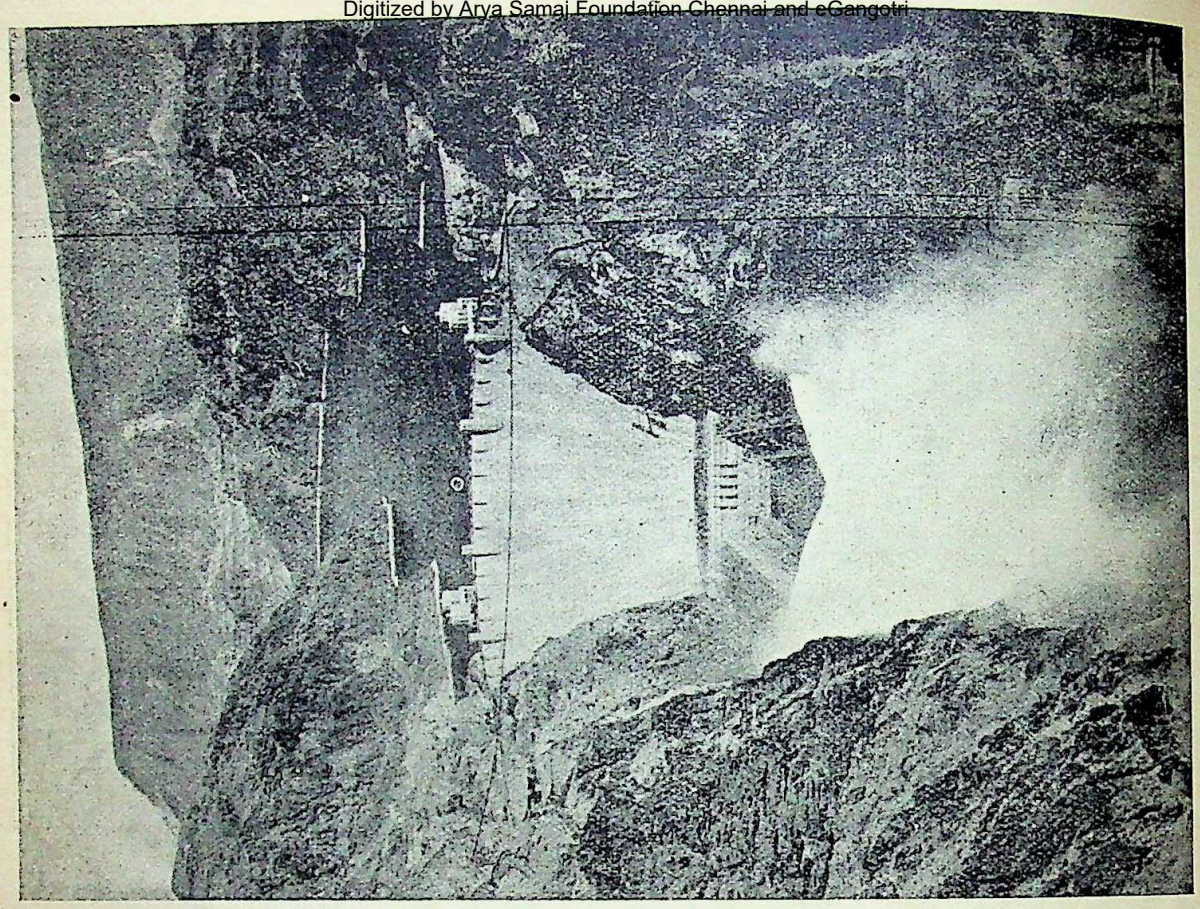
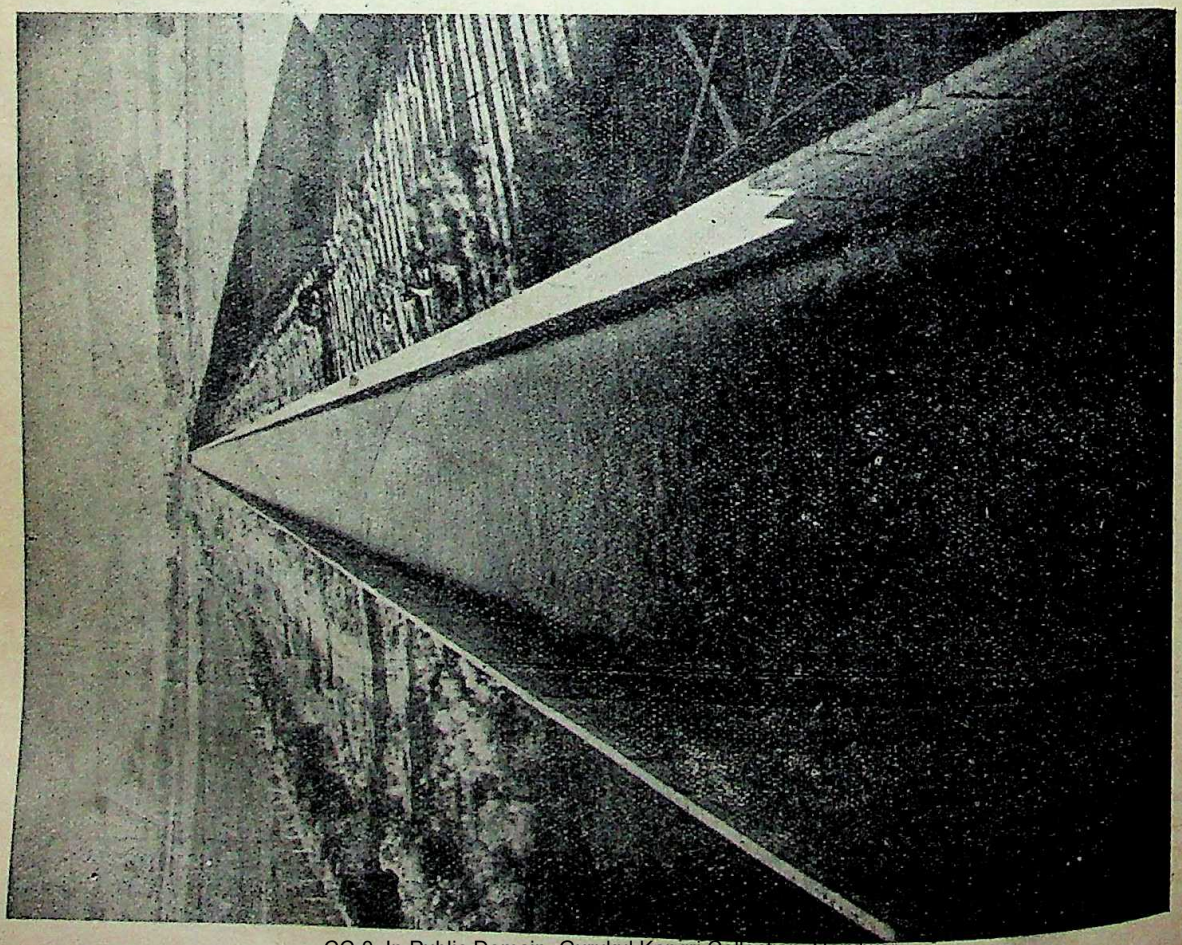


The Boulder Dam on the Colorado River in the Western U.S.A. It is 727 ft. high and behind the vast dam is the largest artificial lake in the world, 115 miles long



A concrete flume in the Klamath Irrigation project of the U.S. State of Oregon which irrigates 200,000 acres of land, producing huge crops of alfalfa, grain and potatoes

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lift hay into the barnloft. Chickens and pigs can be ooded more safely in electric brooders than the coal-ones and vegetables can be made to ripen sooner in etrically heated hotbeds. For the house and barn and nyard there can be electric light, lengthening the rking day. Modern household appliances can be talled in the farm home. With electricity to help in ir daily work, the farmer and his wife have time to rove the looks of their farm, to keep accurate re-ds and to plan scientifically for the future.

What the full use of electricity on the farmstead ns in increased productivity is shown, for example, reports from 32 dairy farmers in a newly formed EA co-operative in the north central state of Minne-a. They increased the size of their herds of cows by per cent, while with less labor they had almost 50 cent more dairy products. Records kept by poultry mers show a general increase of 58 per cent in the e of their flocks of chickens and some farmers were e to expand their flocks 400 to 500 per cent.

Results of the use of electricity for rural com-nity welfare are being illustrated in Upshur County the southwestern state of Texas. In 1930 five-sixths the 4,000 farms in the country had cash incomes that re only one-third of the national average. Less than per cent of the farmers depended on anything but a ton crop for their living. The soil in the county was lly eroded and the majority of the buildings needed air. The farmers got together and started a rural ctrification project and began experimenting with ersified farming. Today the cash income per farm, ile still lower than the national average, has more an doubled. The purchasing power of the community s increased greatly. The REA co-operative has paid its bills. Farms are better kept and the houses shly painted. There is a community canning centre. ter the war Upshur farmers are planning several -operative enterprises, including a chain of quick freeze and storage lockers and facilities for meat handling and processing.

Developments Fostered By Electricity

What electricity eventually may mean to rural communities is forecast in plans for a rural activities centre which two leading American architects recently drafted. The proposed centre, divided into business, community, vocational and demonstration farm zones, will provide a co-operative market, several kinds of centralized food-processing plants, classrooms for voca-tonal farm training, an infirmary, shops and a cultural and recreational centre, all clustered around an REA financed co-operative office building and power station.

In addition to such possible community develop-ments, electricity brings improved community living. Country schools get electric lights, facilities for edu-cational motion pictures and stage performances, power for vocational-training shops and domestic-science laboratories, and equipment for providing hot lunches. In Saint Louis Country in Minnesota 55,000 hot lunches have been served monthly to rural children since electric lines reached the country schools. At night, with the lights, farmers can attend expanded adult-education classes in the schools. In rural infirmaries electricity makes possible the installation of such modern equip-ment as X-ray machines, electrocardiographs and electric coagulating knives for surgery, without which no urban hospital would consider operating. Churches, libraries, community buildings, will be improved through the installation of electrical appliances.

Electricity, under the proposed five-year post-war plan, is expected to bring many social and economic changes to U.S. farmers. Already, because of it, a new rural America is beginning to grow, with better housing and nutrition, a better use of labor and of time and better community living.—*USOWI.*

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ART AND LIFE

By S. I. CLERK

an as a biped can live on "bread alone." Man as a man being, however, has ends other than mere ysical life and these are attainable only by means of rks of art ordered accordingly. Without these, there be no intellectual or spiritual life for him. Hence, e importance of art in life.

This necessity of art in life is recognised in all ilizations from times immemorial, both in east and west. Art has always been "the principle of know-ge by which the means of life were produced, and physical and spiritual needs of men were provided n." Work and industry have been impossible hout it.

In Asia, life itself—the diverse methods and modes solving the complex problems of human community—s been the ultimate and the main art. Art is justified ly with reference to use or value "by pointing out that it subserves the Four Purposes of Life, *viz.*, Right Action (*Dharma*), Pleasure (*Kama*), Wealth (*Artha*), and Spiritual Freedom (*Moksa*).[2]

According to the scholastic conception of art, there is little distinction of a fine and useless art from a utilitarian craftsmanship. "Just as ethics is the 'right way of doing things,' so art is 'the right way of making things'."[3] Thus, in ancient India, the ordinary work-man, weaver, barber, potter or carpenter was essentially an artist. Artist in the modern sense of the word did not then exist, for an artist at that time was not reckoned as a special kind of man, but, on the other hand, every man was considered to be a special kind of artist. The Indian conception of genius differs from the modern notion as not implying a disregard of norm, but on the contrary, a perfect knowledge of all norms, and corres-

1 *Why Exhibit Works of Art?* by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

2 *Transformation of Nature in Art* by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

3 *Why Exhibit Works of Art?* by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

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ponding virtuosity. Art is defined as "embodiment in material of a preconceived form."[4] The highest function of art is to express and communicate ideas. It is a way of life, responding to man's every need, whether of affirmation (*pravritti*) or denial (*nivritti*). Art is an intellectual and not a physical virtue.

Today, we distinguish fine art from art as skilled manufacture, and value the former essentially as a self-revelation or self-expression of the artist, presuming the artist to be endowed with a special emotional sensibility. By thus considering the artist to be a privileged man, in our art criticism we study the man himself instead of his art and its use. The end of art, we are convinced, is to reveal a beauty which we like or can be taught to like. The purpose of art, according to this conviction, is to give pleasure. Thus, the doctrines of art for art's sake, and the 'love for art' are merely sentimental delusions and means of escape from the serious business of life.

This decadence in art from primitive power to a refinement of sentimentality or cynicism today is due to our belief that art and work are incompatible categories. The man at work no longer does what he likes most, but has to do what he must. We believe that a man can be happy only when he 'gets away' and is at play.

> "The clerk who copies entries in a ledger, the printer who sets the type for a journal, the waiter who carries plates . . . from kitchen to table and table to kitchen, the stoker who feeds the engines of a great ship—these are most themselves, not in the hours of productive toil, but when the day's work is done."[5]

Every man must have the opportunity to take as much pleasure in doing whatever he does for hire, as he takes in his own garden or family life. Then alone, can art revive as a way of life and we have an opportunity for better life.

Machine has come to stay. The fact that it is being used for destruction today ought not to make us despise it. The aeroplane used as a bomber can be used as a relief plane in distressed areas. If it is not so used to-day, the remedy is not in destroying it and returning to bullock-cart, but in removing the political and economic conditions which make possible its being used as a bomber instead of being used to increase human happiness. Same may be said about the existing conditions in our large-scale production factories and mills. If the factory-hand is not happy to-day, it is because he is not educated and is reduced to a mere automaton. He must be provided with the opportunity to be happy in doing what he does for hire. To-day, in spite of large-scale machine-production which is supposed to decrease the number of hours of drudgery necessary for the running of modern civilization, ninety per cent of the population (except in Russia) has no leisure so that the remaining ten per cent may have no work and all leisure.[6] If the benefits of machine are to be shared by all, and if the power of machine is not to be abused to wantonly destroy human life, a radical change in our political and economic *status quo* is inevitable. A discussion of this is beyond the province of this article, but, on the belief that large-scale industrialism can lay the foundation of a new national and international culture rich in both material and spiritual resources, we may attempt in the following paragraphs to determine the extent to which art can re-emerge to-day as a way of life.

When Impressionism reached its climax in the last century, it was discovered that the semi-scientific assumption that fidelity to appearance was the measure of art had no basis in truth. The resulting revolution freed art from the ancient grip of Greek ideal of approximating the forms of art precisely to the representation of the totality of appearance. This revolution in art was inaugurated by Cezanne; Gauguin and Van Gogh continued it. The salient features of this revolution were

> "the re-establishment of purely aesthetic criteria in place of the criterion of conformity to appearance —the rediscovery of the principles of structural design and harmony."[7]

With this indifference to representation, the modern art is no longer cut off from a great deal of traditional view of art, the implications of which could not be comprehended by "those who demanded a certain standard of skill in representation before they could give serious consideration to a work of art."[8] For, from the scholastic point of view also,

> "nature and art are alike (*sadrisya*) only in idea, otherwise irreconcilable . . . For the only thing which can be truly likened to the natural species is its reflection in the mirror of the eye, which is a sensation, not an understanding (the eye, having no understanding of its own, remains incomprehensible to intellect."[9]

Cezanne attempted to penetrate through some underlying structural form of all created things. His experiments and practice resulted in the abstract art of Cubists for these saw in his pictures a sort of mathematical statement of structure and order. Picasso went further in pushing behind aspects to discover a more fundamental order for design. These two brought painting and sculpture to a concern with elemental form of relationships. Picasso is recognized as the first to use machine forms and mechanical laws in living art creations.

Thus we come across the new art of to-day existent in machine-made mass products which is a practical expression embodied in utilitarian forms increasngly familiar in the daily life of the man in the street. The importance of the industrial arts lies in their constant and direct contact with every individual. Obviously, the quality of objects in daily use by everyone do affect the taste and visual imagination of society as a whole. "Every article that derives good forms from efficiency helps to make the enjoyment of art an intrinsic part of living."[10]

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4 *Why Exhibit Works of Art?* by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

5 *Grammar of Politics* by H. J. Laski.

6 "At present we have a multitude of proletarians who are too preoccupied with their struggle for existence and their long hours of labour to meddle in politics or religion (and other cultural activities). And at the top we have people who, having no economic anxieties, no work to do, and seven meals a day, are too fatheaded to be capable of religious or political controversy.": *Everybody's Political What's What?* by G. B. Shaw.

7 *Vision and Design* by Roger Fry.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Transformation of Nature in Art* by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

10 *Art in Progress* (A survey prepared for the 15th Anniversary of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1944).

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In the early days machine manufacture attempted imitate handmade products and as a consequence, discriminating public refused to accept machine ducts as anything but poor imitations of handmade inals.

"In recent years, however, it has been demonstrated that there is a whole new world of forms and signs that originate in and correspond to mechanical processes and give machine-made products a auty of their own."[11]

This together with mass-production inherent in the rn machine era, opens up prospects of abundance etter goods for everyone's use and enjoyment.

Inspired by the analytically minded age (which es new surfaces), the modern attentive creators Dali's double image, Tchelitchew's animal-childed landscape, Ernst's fungi-feathered anatomy, ny's furniture-pierced wastes, Matta's irradiant als) attempt to depict the unfolding facets of the reality. Along with wood grains or natural decay, ew discoveries or inventions in Science are sources piration to the modern artists. Particles in smoke, ered chemicals, metal surfaces magnified 25,000 s by an instrument such as electron microscope y extremely beautiful forms. The effects of mlining, infra-red, x-ray, ultra-violet ray photoy, polarized light, inspire the artists to create tely beautiful variations and forms.

Simultaneous with this interplay of semi-technical s is the attempt to achieve greater unity between artist's creative consciousness and the environment e spectator. This involves doing away with walls, pedestals and frames and with devices such as cantilever supports, suspension columns, mobile and demountable installations, and with control over colour and intensity of the surrounding light, the painting is freed and is brought into the plane of existence of the spectator. Another new approach to art projects the elements of a painting towards the onlooker. The resulting four-dimensional effects modify the presentation of the physical world wherein objects look as if arranged in the order of their decreasing size. This is employed essentially to devise art forms that advance toward the onlooker rather than recede from him.

It will be apparent thus that art is progressing in response to the needs of the modern society and its large-scale industrialisation. The recent experiments by the artists bring art more and more in the daily life of the layman. According to Frank Lloyd Wright, the conception of the machine as a spreader of the blight of ugliness prevailed hitherto because creative artists failed to accept the machine as an instrument for producing its own legitimate and vital art.

This emergence and progress of what is called industrial design, is a step in the right direction, for as Ruskin puts it, "Industry without art is brutality." According to the scholastic viewpoint also, it is impossible to find the point at which art ends and industry begins. It is mainly through industry and industrial products that art can enter into the life of the common man. After this doing away with the distinction of pure or fine from applied or decorative art, and of beauty from use (which distinction was drawn in Europe only within the last two centuries), the next step is to do away with the division of craftsmen into artists on the one hand and labourers on the other. This obviously calls in for a revolution in our present economic and political conditions which reduce the majority of human beings to illiterate robots. Only then can art be a way of life ; till then it will be only a luxury.

[11] *Ibid.* The achievements of Sullivan and Wright in America Loos, Behrens, Gropius and Corbusier in Europe show their sion to meet the needs of modern society through new shapes t at from raw materials and techniques.

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LABOUR PARTY

By ESSENJEE

Since the coming of Labour into power in Britain question as to what is in reality the complexion of party in the political world has been to the fore in public mind. Perhaps a study of contemporary n may help. The following quotations from *en Two Wars* by "Vigilante" go to show the steps the Labour Party took to stop aggression against in 1920.

Labour misgivings about intervention had begun the war. But for a long time the Labour Party eluded by the plea that intervention was for the e of restoring democracy in Russia and was part Great War.

In December 1918, that is just after the Armistice, abour Party Executive asked the Government to their intentions with regard to Russia. They ed no reply.

At the Labour Party Conference in June, 1919, was a discussion on the need for direct action to e war on Russia" (p. 111).

Mr. Herbert Morrison (present Lord President of the Council) had the following pungent comments to make :

He wanted to know what the party had done in the matter of the war on the Socialist Republic of Russia. . . . They had got to realise that the present war against Russia on the part of this country, France and the other Imperialist Powers, was not a war against Bolshevism or against Lenin, but against the international organisation of Socialism. It was a war against the organisation of the Trade Union movement itself, and as such should be resisted with the full political and industrial power of the whole Trade Union movement. But what had the Parliamentary Party done ? They had done so much that the matter was not worth a single reference in the report which was under discussion. This report was an insult to the energy, the intelligence and the vigour of the whole Labour movement of the country" (p. 113).

On the 9th August (1920) the Parliamentary Committee of the T. U. C., the Labour Party Executive and the Parliamentary Party met in the House and

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unanimously decided to warn the Government that "the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war", notified the Executives of all affiliated organisations "to hold themselves ready to proceed immediately to London for a National Conference", advised them "to instruct their members to down tools on instructions from that National Conference", and constituted a representative Council of Action with full powers to implement these decisions.

The Conference met in the Central Hall, Westminster, four days later and fully endorsed these decisions. It "pledged itself to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia", . . .

Mr. Ernest Bevin (now Foreign Secretary) told the delegates at the Conference that "this question you are called upon to decide today—the willingness to take any action to win world peace transcends any claim in connection with wages or hours of labour" (pp. 115-16).

The moment the Government realised that the Labour movement meant business they promptly backed down. There was no war and intervention was ended (p. 118).

(Passages from "Vigilantes", *Between Two Wars*).

This happened twenty-five years ago. And within five years' time the Labour Party came into office (in 1924 with Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister) only for a short period. In 1929, for the second time, MacDonald returned to Downing Street. Let us refresh our memory before we answer the question, as many friends have asked—"What did the Labour Government do?" "How did they help India?" John Gunther enlightens us on this point, and Francis Williams, former Editor of the *Daily Herald*, may also be quoted with profit.

"The Socialist group, whose political voice is the Labour Party and whose industrial voice is the Trade Union movement. . . . (p. 182).—Francis Williams in *Democracy's Last Battle*.

"The trade unions (who represent eight million British workmen) only became formally committed to socialism in 1924" (p. 355).—John Gunther, *Inside Europe*.

And as Brailsford has recently observed "so much water has flown down the bridges of the Thames" during these 20 years (1924-44). Thus Gunther introduced MacDonald, "the creator and the despoiler of the Labour Party, despicable or heroic as you choose, a man of Olympian or Stygian loneliness (p. 336). Churchill once called MacDonald "the boneless wonder" (p. 340).—*Inside Europe*.

The top men of the present Labour Government stand in a class by themselves and they have the further advantage—their number in the Commons is just twice that of Conservatives. Indians will be pleased to know the Prime Minister's views about India. As quoted in *The Empire of the Nabobs* (Lester Hutchinson's): "The idea that Indians must always be ruled for their own good by the lonely white man is a late victorian sentiment" (p. 242).

"Since 1935 when he has had a chance to show himself, his capabilities have vastly improved. Attlee was of a middle-class parentage and background and became a Socialist, through intellectual conviction rather than through the hard school of poverty and direct awareness of social injustice. He has considerable grace and pertinacity and a very fair wit. Unlike most Labour leaders, he is a public school and Oxford man. What he lacks most is colour, personality (p. 360).—*Inside Europe*.

Sir Stafford Cripps is quoted as saying: "You have only to look at the pages of British imperial history to hide your head in shame that you are British" (p. 358). Of him Gunther has a good deal to say which will be appreciated by his Indian friends and admirers.

"The best intellect among Labour M.P.'s is probably that of Sir Stafford Cripps—socialist by conviction, one of the best parliamentarians in England, and like Simon, a great lawyer and advocate. He founded the Socialist League (within the Parliamentary Labour Party); he is very far to the Left. He shocked a good many people by saying once that eventually "we shall have to overcome opposition from Buckingham Palace." Tories are afraid of Cripps, whereas few of them fear Morrison. They think that Cripps might, if he got the chance, inaugurate a real socialism-in-our-time policy, and even try to abolish the House of Lords, and rule by an Enabling Act:

"England is a country of superb surprises, for which reason one should not be surprised to learn that Cripps, the last remove from the workman-agitator, is a man of considerable wealth; he fights entrenched privilege from the inside. His fees as a K. C. are estimated at £30,000 per year. And the passionate radical sincerity of his convictions is beyond doubt (p. 358).

"Morrison is not an expert on foreign affairs, but his intuition is quick and his instincts good. He is distinctly on the Right wing of the labour movement but even so the Leftists thoroughly respect him. He is a comparatively young man with a political future that holds out the dazzling promise of the premiership as its crown and climax. He is an astute politician with sincere convictions whose party loyalty has never been questioned" (p. 357).

"Cripps and Morrison might be quite capable of working well together, despite their ideological differences. The former could supply theory and strategy, the latter organising power and sense of political tactics" (p. 359).

"Among the younger socialists the most interesting is perhaps Aneurin Bevan, a Welshman, a miner's son who worked underground as a child and then educated himself despite formidable obstacles of poverty. Vital, ambitious, magnetic, he is one of the most attractive characters in the Commons. His comment on sanctions gives a clue to his pungent quality; "Britain's policy is that of the successful burglar turned householder who wants a strong police force. If I am going to ask any worker to shed his blood, it will not be for medieval Abyssinia or for Fascist Italy, but for the making of a better social system in this country" (p. 360).

At the last Blackpool Conference, Bevan declared: "We enter this campaign not merely to get a Parliamentary majority but complete extinction of the Tory Party for 25 years. England needs a new industrial revolution" (26 May, *Reuter*). And two months later the British Press unanimously declared that the election results mean that "Britain has undergone a silent revolution".

I have tried to show how strong is P. M. Attlee's Cabinet. The Labour Party's position and influence in the country bear no comparison. Third Labour Government seems to have come to stay.

Three of Churchill's trusted lieutenants have been displaced. Leopold Amery, Brendan Bracken and Hore

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LABOUR MINISTERS

FRONT ROW (*Left to right*): Lord Addison, Sir William Jowitt, Sir Stafford Cripps, Arthur Greenwood, Ernest Bevin, C. R. Attlee, Herbert Morrison, Hugh Dalton, A. V. Alexander, Chute Ede, and Miss Ellen Wilkinson.
CENTRE ROW: Ben Smith, John Wilmott, Aneurin Bevan, George Isaacs, Lord Stangate, G. H. Hall, Lord Pethwick Lawrence,, J. J. Lawson, Joseph Westwood, Emanuel Shinwell, Tom Williams, George Tomlineson and Alf. Barnes.
BACK ROW (*Left to right*): Sir E. Bridges, Soskice Hyrd, J. B. Lord Listowell, E. J. Williams, Lewis Silkin, Jim Griffiths, Lord Winster, Noel Baker, Wilfred Paling, Hartley Shawcross, and Norman Brook.

Belisha. Three 'Indian' experts have been silenced, to wit—Sir James Grigg, Sir George Schuster and Sir John Wardlaw-Milne. And three youngsters have been dispossessed in the prime of their life, let us hope never to return to the House of Commons—Churchill's son, and son-in-law, and Amery's son. I consider this defection in the Conservative rank is of especial importance where India is concerned.

Here's Robert Bernays estimate of the former Secretary of State for India. "If I were asked to name the most diehard among the great politicians of to-day, I should pass over the claims of Mr. Churchill and plump for Mr. Amery" (p. 362).—*Inside Europe*.

After politics come economics. Let us explore about Britain's industrial position. Gunther has truly epitomised: "The financial crisis of 1931 was caused, basically, by the shrinkage of British exports and the decline of shipping and oversea investments" (p. 338). Her present position shows a similar trend to-day (1945) in regard to her basic industries.

1 & 2. *Coal and Steel*: Two of Britain's major industries—coal and steel—have a grim future. (24 June, *Reuter*).

"The most vexed question of British politics—the coal problem". (House of Commons, 29 May, *Reuter*).

3. *Cotton*: Britain was unlikely to recover her export trade in cotton goods with India.—Sir Thomas Ainscough (6 March, *Reuter*).

4. *Housing*: "Really desperate". (Arthur Greenwood, 24 May, *Reuter*). Housing is already our biggest headache.—Herbert Morrison.

5. *Labour*: Position extremely serious. Critical time is the next twelve months.—Ernest Bevin, (16 May, *Reuter*).

6. *Exports*: We must rebuild, as fast as possible, our export trade. Without that, all our post-war efforts would be in vain.—Winston Churchill (13 June, *Reuter*).

"Our export trade has fallen to less than 30 per cent, of its volume in 1930."—Sir Walter Layton.

"It was estimated that the export increase would have to be 125 per cent, in value over pre-war figures—and unless production could be increased by that figure, it meant Britain would have less for her internal consumption or else she would run into debt internationally."—Stafford Cripps, (6 May, *Reuter*).

7. *Oversea investments*: "We have lost much of our oversea investments and to make up this we must increase our export of goods."—Clement Attlee, (17 May, *Reuter*).

"Britain's existence depends upon her foreign investments" (p. 141).—Ludwell Denny, *America Conquers Britain*.

(1) In his work *The Empire of the Nabobs*, Leslie Hutchinson remarks: "The war (1914-18) had almost completely dislocated British industry, and there was therefore little competition to be feared from Lanca-

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shire. . . . The India Government facilitated the development of heavy industry" (p. 203).

(2) In *England's Crisis*, Andre Siegfried observes :

"The heavy industries, especially coal, iron and steel continue to use equipment which is frankly out of date.

"It is the heavy industries—those dependent on coal and working primarily for export—that are declining" (p. 58).

"Obsolete equipment is only one aspect of the depression, for the organisation of industry itself is also at fault" (p. 60).

(3) In his masterly survey of Anglo-American relations Ludwell Denny writes :

"British heavy industry cannot obtain 'enough' new capital because it is not good investment. Hence some British heavy industrialists themselves send their money abroad rather than turn it back into their own uneconomic business (p. 150).

The nice question arises as to which is the better British 'patriot', the British capitalist who leaves British labour in the lurch so he can make bigger profits in backward countries, or the American 'invader' who provides capital to electrify British homes and industries ? (p. 151).—*America Conquers Britain.*

Foreign Secretary Bevin's words are anything but encouraging :

"The methods Britain had adopted to win this struggle had left her extremely poor (20 August, *Reuter*).

The Far Eastern Editor of the *New York Post*, Darrell Berigan believes "that Britain, formerly the strongest power in Eastern Asia, has lost her leadership in this part of the world to the Soviet Union and America". (Washington, 23 August, *U. P. of America*).

Reuter's Financial Editor wires from London, 28 August : "Under any conceivable outcome of the Washington negotiation, Britain will not starve (though she may suffer serious privations). But if Britain lost her reputation for international honesty, this overcrowded and ill-endowed island would most certainly starve."

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HISTORY OF LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

I

THE growth of the Cornwallis type of zemindary in Bengal has been a source of unmitigated curse to this land. In complete disregard of the previous history of the country and its social system, the authors of the permanent settlement thought that they were free to construct any system of land tenure that pleased them. They had completely overlooked the millennium old Indian social, political and economic system based on the village communities. The foundation of these village communities was the joint family enjoying proprietary rights without generally an actual division of property. Indian village communities, consisting of families with these joint and several rights in property precluded the possibility or idea of the growth of the Cornwallis type of Bengal zemindary. At the date of the zemindary settlement in 1793, these village communities existed throughout India in a perfect form outside Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and in these provinces only in an incipient state of disintegration, in which the zemindars had usurped the functions and proprietary rights of the heads of village communities, while the members of the village communes yet retained the proprietary rights of a perfect kind. This usurpation by powerful zemindars was quite natural in a continued state of political disturbances in Bengal. These able zemindars with their police functions maintained law and order in the province. During her six hundred years of Muslim subjugation Bengal was perpetually at war with the Delhi Emperor. Custom which had embodied the rights of property in land in the village communes remained crystallised for centuries of misrule, down to 1793. The proprietary rights of millions in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa have completely disappeared in a brief period since that date. Hallingbury says[1] in 1879 :

"What, in Europe, centuries of war, rapine, spoliation and wrong or misrule could not destroy or benevolently spared, in India not quite one century of benevolence and law has dissolved in Bengal."

The revenue administration of Verelst in Bengal reveals the peculiar problems and difficulties which arose from the introduction of the dual system of Government after the grant of Dewani in 1765. Before his appointment as Governor, he had acquired experience in land revenue administration as supervisor in turn of all the three districts ceded by Mir Kasim, namely, Chittagong, Burdwan and Midnapore. On the acquisition of Dewani, the Court of Directors in London and the Company's officers in India made a series of efforts to obtain the knowledge essential for a proper settlement of the land revenue. During the past few years, the predatory character of the Company had become abundantly clear. The resistance of the zemindars has been described by Ramsbotham[2] as follows :

"The Zemindars and Kanungos were a powerful confederation and it is not surprising that the Company's district officers at a very early date began to experience a solid, if passive, resistance from them in order to prevent the Company, as Diwan, from obtaining an accurate knowledge of the state of the land revenue of the payments, the receipts, the particular details of its assessment and especially of the payments actually made by the raiyats to the subordinate officers of the zemindars. This opposition was strengthened by the fact that the customs of almost every single pargana differed from each other, which deprived a district officer from using

1 Hallingbury, "Zemindary Settlement in Bengal", 1879, Vol. I, App. 1, p. 12 (published anonymously).

2 Ramsbotham, R. B., *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*, p. 4.

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in one district the experience which he had slowly and with difficulty gained in another."

The greed of the Company had already made the assessments at a very high level. Defaults were consequently large and glaring abuses in the collection of revenue became frequent. Verelst wanted to follow the line of least resistance and advised the Company to preserve the structure of the native government "as entire and unimpaired as possible."[3] But the Company desired to establish as soon as possible, their complete supremacy which culminated in the assumption of direct responsibility by the Company's own servants.

The basis of land revenue assessment had been wrong from the very beginning. The following table will show the extent of increase in land revenue demand[4]:

1582-1658 or 76 years	Increase	15½	per cent	
1658-1722 or 64	,,	,,	13½	,, ,,
1722-1756 or 34	,,	,,	29	,, ,,
1756-1763 or 7	,,	,,	40	,, ,,

This table shows only the revenue demand, and not necessarily the revenue as actually realised. It must be borne in mind that exactions by *abwabs* formed an important part in the total revenue burden of the peasant. Murshid Quli Khan was the first to introduce abwabs. The growth of the *abwab* will be clear from the following table[5]:

Murshid Quli Khan (1702-1725)	Revenue	Rs. 1,04,73,707
	Abwabs	2,58,857
	Total	Rs. 1,07,32,564
Sujauddin Khan (1725-1739)	Revenue	Rs. 1,07,32,564
	New Abwabs	19,14,095
	Total	Rs. 1,26,46,659
Kasim Ali Khan (1756-1763)	Revenue	Rs. 1,26,46,659
	New Abwabs	97,36,436
	Total	Rs. 2,23,83,095

In the time of Mir Jafar, the abwabs reached a point when they were intolerable.

Calculating for the period 1756 to 1765, Sir John Shore proves conclusively that the figures of the Moghal assessment were unrealisable, and on that account probably excessive. He shows, from the public accounts, that in 1762 the revenue was Rs. 80 lakhs in arrears,[6] and for the subsequent years, he gives detailed figures to show the proportion of revenue that was actually realised:

Year	Administrator	Assessment Rs.	Collections Rs.	Balances Rs.
1762-3	Kasim Ali Khan	2,41,00,000	65,00,000	1,76,00,000
1763-4	Nanda Kumar Banerjee	1,77,00,000	77,00,000	1,00,00,000
1764-5	Nanda Kumar Banerjee	1,77,00,000	82,00,000	95,00,000
1765-6	Muhammad Reza Khan	1,60,00,000	1,47,00,000	13,00,000

Muhammad Reza Khan was known to be the most oppressive revenue administrator ever appointed in Bengal.

In dealing with the history of revenue assessment one very important fact seems to have been overlooked. The sudden increase in the revenue demand by 29 per cent during 1722-56 was not without reason. The Maratha depredations were the main cause which led to this enhancement. Feeling the weight of this heavy revenue burden, Alivardi Khan wanted the European trading companies to share it with him. He said that as they participated in the protection of his arms and enjoyed the profits of the trade, it was only fair that they should render him pecuniary help for the safety of the province. The lot of the ryot after 1740 was one of increasing misery. In 1744, he demanded from the Company 30 lakhs of rupees to clear off two months' arrear pay of his soldiers. He pointed out that the English carried on trade over the whole country and paid no customs and consequently he demanded that they must make some contributions towards the Exchequer of the State under whose protection they carried on their trade. After much trouble some sort of arrangement was made and the Patna, Chaprah and Dacca factors of the Company agreed to make some contributions. But fresh troubles began in 1748. This time, Alivardi took a very stern attitude. He adopted repressive measures against the English traders and organised a complete boycott. "The Dacca and Jugdea factories had to suffer much for want of common subsistence, as supply of food had been obstructed by the Nawab's officers. These officers took *mutchullacas* (written agreements) not only from all the traders and *poddars* not to have any transaction with the English factors at Dacca, but also from the *moodys* (grocers) not to supply them with provisions and other necessaries."[7] The English made frantic efforts to evade payment by conciliating the Nawab by offering him bribes. The restrictions imposed on the Company's trade were finally removed after the Company made a payment of Rs. 1 lakh and 50 thousand.

After the death of Alivardi Khan, complete loot and anarchy in revenue administration prevailed during 1756 to 1765. The revenue was maintained at the unnaturally high level to which it had risen under Alivardi due to Maratha invasions. After the acquisition of the dewani, attempts to establish order out of chaos were made. Ascoli divides the revenue administration from 1765 to 1793 into four periods:

Period I	1765-1773	Period of hesitation
Period II	1773-1781	Period of centralisation
Period III	1781-1786	Completion of Centralisation
Period IV	1786-1793	Decentralisation

During this period of hesitation, the collection of revenue was entirely in the hands of Muhammad Reza Khan during 1765-1772. His character and conduct have been severely criticised. He had acted as the deputy or *naib* of the Nazim Najm-ud-Daula since his accession in 1765, combining the duties both of Nazim and Dewan of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, owing to the youth and incompetence of the Nazim. On the grant of dewany to the Company, he was selected by Clive to collect the revenue on account of the Company with the title of Naib Dewan or Deputy Finance Minister.

[3] Letter from the Governor, Bengal Public Constitutions, Dec. 16,

[4] Ascoli, *Early Revenue History of Bengal*, p. 28.

[5] Ascoli, *Ibid*, p. 47.

[6] *Fifth Report*, Ed. by Ascoli, p. 174, paras 46 & 47.

[7] Consultations, 23rd Jan., 1749, quoted by Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 148.

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This system was not satisfactory. Grant points out[8] that a large part of the Company's profits were passing into the hands of the Naib Dewan and his subordinates. Grant asserts that[9] during twenty years subsequent to 1765, defalcations alone amounted to ten crores of rupees or an average of fifty lakhs of rupees per annum. Huge sums remained outstanding. On March 10, 1767, the Bengal Select Committee said :

> "We are sorry to find such very considerable balances . . . the strictest inquiry should be made into the causes of such deficiency in the collections."

On his assumption of Governorship, Verelst recommended, in February, 1768, the appointment of a Deputy under Md. Reza Khan. For some time past, he was assisted by a relation of his, named Fath Ali Khan, without any emolument. On February 16, the Select Committee resolved to nominate Fath Ali as the *Naib* of Muhammad Reza Khan and his salary was fixed at the enormous sum of Rs. 7,000 per month at the suggestion of Mr. Sykes, Resident at the Court of Nawab.[10]

The problem of over assessment disturbed the mind of Verelst. He had been cognisant[11] of the fact that it was impossible to fix the just value of the lands unless a complete measurement was made thereof and their gross produce fully ascertained. He took an active interest in the work of survey and encouraged Capt. James Rennell, Surveyor-General to complete his mapping of Bengal undertaken in 1764 under the orders of Governor Vansittart, and to prepare one general chart from those already made by him. In consideration of his valuable work Rennell's salary was increased to Rs. 300 per month, five weeks' after the *Naib's* salary was fixed at Rs. 7,000. Rapid progress in the land survey was made during Verelst's tenure of office. Amidst the greatest conceivable difficulties and even at the risk of life, he could not complete his work. During one of his surveying tours, Rennell was severely assaulted by a party of Sannyasi rebels, as a result of which he received several serious cuts from their sword. He recovered from the injury but it left him partially crippled for life. So far as collecting materials for the Bengal Atlas was concerned, Rennell's labours were finished in 1776, too late to provide even a basis for land settlements.

Collections of revenue were made with utmost strictness. After the assumption of Dewani, revenue demands had been considerably enhanced and strictness in collections at this rate caused great hardship to the people. Clive himself had admitted, in a letter, dated April 25, 1766, that "to attempt further increase of the revenues will be drawing the knot too tight." On September 22, in another letter, he wrote, "The Company's revenues are already immense, nor can I think of increasing them by the least oppressive mode."[12] Sher Shah was also extremely strict in the matter of revenue collections, but his method differed from the British process in that during his reign the people were given wide and effective opportunity to appeal against any assessment which they considered too high. Once the assessment was finally settled, no mercy was shown at the time of collection. Under the Company's rule, the assessment was too high and arbitrary, and the people had no means to appeal against unjust assessment. Verelst was always "opposed to the policy of increasing the revenue"[13] and did recommend and enforce substantial abatements in 1769. He realised that an unduly rapid increase in the revenue demand was bound to prove detrimental to the ultimate interests of the government itself. He believed that increase in the revenues should arise only from the prevention of frauds and embezzlements, or from the growth of the population and the improvement of agriculture.[14] Verelst's efforts to persuade the Company to stop enhancements proved unsuccessful. They demanded immediate rather than future increase of revenue. The extent to which total collections had been raised during Verelst's tenure will be apparent from the following figures :[15]

	Gross Collections Rs.	*Net Revenue* Rs.
May 1765-Apr. 1766	2,00,73,133	1,49,46,024
May 1766-Apr. 1767	3,38,29,494	2,24,67,500
May 1767-Apr. 1768	3,20,71,195	2,09,68,937
May1768-Apr. 1769	3,36,64,072	2,13,52,805
May 1768-Apr. 1770	2,97,06,976	1,85,72,159

The assessments were so high that the zemindars on many occasions, defaulted. The alternative machinery employed by the Company for the collection of revenue consisted of amils and foujdars. The zemindars had a permanent interest in the land and as such could not oppress their tenants beyond a certain limit. The amils and foujdars had no such responsibility. When the zemindars defaulted these men were sent to collect the revenue. Their oppression, rapacity and plunder knew no bounds and they could not be effectively checked. *Gumashtahs, dallals, paikars, pykes, barkandazes* and other subordinates employed in the work of collections combined to perpetuate a thousand modes of oppression and taxation.[16] The amil system was the worst source of oppression in the post-dewani period. Relying on Bengal Select Committee Proceedings dated February 10, 1768, Dr. Chatterjee[17] states that "of the oppressive character of the revenue administration in the Dewani lands, the authorities were fully aware." The grievances were, however, never redressed and the situation continued from bad to worse.

The system of farming by means of short leases was another of worst features of the revenue administration of this period. In the Dewani lands, the revenues were settled annually on the occasion of the *Punyaha*. In consequence, lands subject to the amils who were liable to be changed from year to year, and as such no better than the worst farmers, were mercilessly rackrented[18] and impoverished. They had no permanent interest in the land and naturally their exactions were of a predatory character. Dr. Chatterjee says that Verelst was "probably the first man who raised his voice

8 *Fifth Report*, Ed. by Ascoli, p. 328.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 414-16.

10 Bengal Select Committee, Feb. 16 & 23, 1768, quoted by Chatterjee, N. L., *Verelst's Rule In India*, p. 217.

11 Bengal Public Consultation, Apr. 29, 1767.

12 Clive's Minute, Bengal Select Committee, Feb. 16, 1767.

13 Chatterjee, N. L., *Verelst's Rule in India*, p. 223.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

15 Verelst, *A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal*, p. 82.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

17 Chatterjee, N. L., *Verelst's Rule in India*, p. 236.

18 Dow, *History of Hindustan*, I, p. cxxxiv.

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protest against the inequity of short leases."[19] He forced three years' farming plan in Purnea with good results. Becher, who had succeeded Sykes as Resident at the Murshidabad Durbar, supported him. Encouraged by the success of the Purnea experiment, Becher strongly pressed the adoption of his plan in every district of Bengal. The plan was, however, postponed due to the retirement of Verelst and the subsequent famine. The policy of long lease system was again officially recognised after the arrival of Warren Hastings.

In 1769, when the Company began to consider the affairs of the Dewani seriously, a fresh problem presented itself, namely, how to ascertain the difference between the sum received as land revenue by Government and the amount actually paid by the ryot. This problem was never solved and the ryot's heavy burden was never really lifted during the days of the Company's regime.[20]

British officials were employed by Verelst as supravisors or supervisors to supervise revenue collections. Hastings continued them under the new name collectors. Verelst's plan, adopted and developed by his successors, remains to this day the framework of district administration in India. The appointment of these supravisors and their continuance under the new name was a matter of great controversy, Ramsbotham writes[21]:

"The questions which the supravisors and the first collectors were called upon to decide were the problem that baffled Hastings, Shore and Cornwallis; that produced such opposite views as those expressed by Shore and Grant in the Vth Report; and which tested the ability for more than a century of the ablest members of that famous and capable *corps d'elite*, the Indian Civil Service, both under the Company and under the Crown."

After the assumption of office by Warren Hastings, a Committee of Circuit was formed with the Governor himself, and Samuel Middleton, P. R. Dacres, J. Law- and J. Graham. The Committee's proceedings for August 15, 1772 recorded new plans for the administration of justice, but the most glaring evil remained unremedied. The powers of both a tax collector and a magistrate were vested in the collectors, the very complaint which Hastings had himself brought against the supravisors. The collectors were also given powers to make such subsidiary regulations as the welfare of their respective districts should require. The proposed Regulations were approved by the Council at Fort William on August 21, 1772. The Committee had also proposed that the whole council should compose a Board of Revenue assembling twice, or oftener, in the week. These proposals received the assent of the Governor in Council on August 29, 1772. The whole Report of the Committee's recommendations was towards the centralisation of the revenue work in Calcutta. The Khalsa or Central Treasury Office was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta, and an elaborate series of *daftars* or departments, partly under the general supervision of an Indian officer called the Ray Rayan was established. This officer drew a salary of Rs. 5,000 a month. Maharaja Rajballabh was the first Ray Rayan. Indian Dewans were appointed on a monthly salary of Rs. 1,000 to assist collectors, who were British officials appointed on a salary of Rs. 3,000 per month. The Ray Rayan, however, was not let alone. A British official was employed at the Central Treasury as a check against him. Ramsbotham writes[22]:

> "The realisation of those payments made direct to the Khalsa was the special work of a European officer of the Company, called the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, whose work required an officer of responsibility with a good working knowledge both of Persian and of Bengali, for the Superintendent was also responsible in a great degree for the civil administration of those districts 'which consist for the greater part of a number of inferior and petty mahals'."

Alexander Elliot was appointed the first Superintendent of the Khalsa. One other important office in the Revenue Department was reserved for a senior covenanted British servant of the Company; this was the Accountant Generalship.

Other recommendations of the Committee of Circuit accepted by the Council included the following: (1) farms to be let on lease for five years, (2) farms not to exceed the value of one lakh, (3) *nazaranas* and *selamis* at first interviews to be discontinued, (4) collectors forbidden to purchase grain on pain of dismissal, (5) sepoys not to be employed in the collections, except in urgent cases, and by warrant under the public seal, (6) rents of ryots to be fixed and not exceeded on pain of the farmer's lease, (7) the farmer's rent also to be fixed according to the rent roll of the lease, (8) no mathots (*i.e.*, additional cesses) to be permitted, (9) a mohurrir to be appointed to every farm to note receipt of rents and to send monthly accounts to the Collector at the district Sadar Cutchery, (10) no peshkar, banyan or other servant of a collector was to farm any lands.

These were the resolutions of the Committee of Circuit. According to Ramsbotham,[23] in the light of what was actually achieved, they could only be regarded as pious aspirations. Their fates were as follows:

No. 2 was never enforced.

No. 5 was honoured in the letter but not in spirit. The records of the Board from 1772-4 contain frequent reference to peons and hurcaras being quartered on refractory zemindars: Confinement was common and one collector openly informed the Board that he had used all possible severity "short of capital punishment" to induce the zemindars in his district to pay.

No. 6 was nugatory. The Company never knew what the ryot paid, and never succeeded in introducing a standard lease.

No. 8 could never be enforced as the ignorance of the actual amount of revenue paid prevailed.

No. 9 introduced a fresh element of corruption.

No. 10. This could never be enforced. The banyan could, and did, always hold and farm lands in a relative's name. The banyan of the Governor himself was a notorious farmer and continued to hold his farms long after the date of this edict.

In April, 1773, the Court of Directors sent instructions to the Governor-in-Council in Bengal to recall

19 Chatterjee, *Ibid.*, p. 220.
20 Ramsbotham, R. B., *Bengal Land Revenue* 1769-1787, p. 15.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

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English collectors from their districts. The motive for this seems to have been a fear lest these junior officials should neglect the Company's interests and turn to private trade. These orders were carried out in the following manner. The three provinces were divided into six divisions, *viz.*, Murshidabad, Dacca, Calcutta, Burdwan, Dinajpur and Patna, each under a Provincial Council consisting of one Chief and four senior servants of the Company. The Calcutta Council was usually known as the Calcutta Committee of Revenue. The administration was thus still more centralised without making any serious effort to gain detailed knowledge of the districts which was of paramount importance. The salary of the chiefs of the Provincial Councils was fixed at Rs. 3,000 per month. Explaining the reason for this high salary, the Governor's Council recorded a memorable minute which shows the nature of corruption then prevalent and the Company's helplessness in their uttermost to prevent it. An extract from this minute is given below[24]:

> "It will be a reasonable compensation for the loss which the members of the Superior Council may be supposed to sustain by being excluded from every benefit of trade which they could not excuse, however, disposed in themselves, without some degree of oppression. . . . As men, the servants of the Company are not exempted from the frailties and wants of humanity. It allowed the liberty of private trade while they possess an unbounded power (and who shall bind those who constitute the Government itself) their trade will be a monopoly and an oppression. If forbidden to trade, without some reparation for the loss and some allowed means of acquiring a livelihood and even the prospects of competency, these feeble words of a public edict will not hold them, but they will with little scruple break through them and attain those ends by unallowed means, because they will think that a decree which imposes upon them the necessity of perpetual penury could not have been really intended for their rigid observance; such having been in many instances the fatal practice of this service. We say fatal, because laws and restrictions which have no coercion and bear too hardly on the passions for the common sufferance of mankind, inevitably defeat their own purpose. They become totally disregarded, nor is it deemed an impeachment of morality to transgress them; and it is a consequence as infallible that when men are once allowed to pass the line of their prescribed duty at their own option, they will by degrees extend the latitude to the furthest extreme of corruption, embezzlement and rapine."

24 Revenue Board Proceedings, Nov. 23, 1773, quoted by Ramsbotham, *ibid*, p. 35.

(To be continued)

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A SURVEY OF THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION

By MAHMOOD AHMED KHAN

THE Far Eastern Question in its essence is a counterpart of the Eastern Question in Europe. Czar Nicholas I had characterised the 19th century Turkey as the "Sick Man of Europe", who might die at any moment; and the Eastern Question, as understood in this context by the 19th century Europe, was enunciated in terms of the inheritance of this very sick man which should develop upon the various powers in a way as may not disturb the Balance of Power in Western Europe. The vital point was that Russia should not be made too powerful at the expense of Turkey.

Broadly speaking the same history repeated itself in the case of the 19th century China. China was looked upon—though not explicitly stated—as the "Sick Man" of East Asia, as for that matter she still is the sick member of the United Nations. The 19th century China in *articulo mortis* gave birth to the Far Eastern Question which enunciated broadly was the partition of China amongst Western Powers—if not in the full significance of the term, in exclusive spheres of interest—in such a manner that no Western Power may become all-powerful to impose its own Pacific policy on others. Besides these imperialistic rivalries of the Occidental powers there were, in the late 19th century, other forces at work—which Europe did not take cognizance of till 1919—which gave to the Far Eastern Question the magnitude and the touch of a cul-de-sac which it has for a politician of today. But for the disintegrating Celestial Empire we would not have been faced with the serious character of the Far Eastern Question.

Towards the close of the 18th century the British East India Company established trade relations with the Chinese in Canton. This was the first time the Chinese in their long history experienced the contact of civilisation other than their own. They had a mighty civilisation, and in their own way they had developed a pseudo-democratic system which was due to the influence of the Confucian Classics. The family, the guild and the gentry were the embodiments of the democratic spirit and these had proved to be adequate for their requirements. Their characteristically tolerant and compromising nature had enabled them to live peacefully. They were passionate champions of individual freedom, and throughout their history they had been governed by 'rule of action'—the good which is inherent in man. They prided themselves on their civilisation and their achievements and did not like to associate with outsiders whom they regarded as less civilised.

This attitude of the Chinese was responsible for their reluctance to give any privileges to the British East India Company when the latter established its connexions with China. They realised, perhaps, that commerce bringing in its wake a wave of immigration would not only dangerously impair their culture and civilisation but would also be a forerunner of political domination. As it was, however, the trade missions of Lords Macartney and Amherst did not bear fruit. The Chinese government resented the import and sale of opium conducted by the East India Company, and the

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differences that ensued led to the "Opium War". After a protracted struggle the Chinese government had to cede Hongkong to Britain and to give various trade concessions. This was the beginning of the sordid chain of demands and concessions. In the middle of the 19th century an Anglo-French Expeditionary force landed in China to punish her government for the capture of the Chinese boat 'Arrow', property of outlaws, which was flying the British flag to evade the Chinese law authorities. The campaign ended in the sack of Peiping and the Chinese government had to cede a portion of Kowloon and to give extraterritorial rights and various other concessions and to open a number of Chinese ports to foreign trade.

During this period Russia—by no means a minor factor in Chinese foreign relations—had not neglected her scheme of expansion, and put it into execution at the expense of the Chinese who had to cede a part of their Manchurian territory, and some towns in Chinese Turkestan, and to give overland trade concessions.

Late in the 19th century France and China came into conflict over the fate of Annam (now French Indo-China). An incident in Annam between Chinese and French troops, who had been despatched to occupy the country by arms, was considered as a *casus belli* and the French navy came into operation. Ultimately China recognized Annam as a French protectorate. At about the same time the British sliced off Burma which had all along been considered as a vassal state of China.

Japan, until the middle of the 19th century, had lain dormant within her feudal shell insensible to the outer world. She now crept out and wanted Korea. Once again China was involved in war and owing to the reverses she suffered, she lost Korea, Formosa and Liaotung Peninsula. As Japanese occupation of Liaotung would have been a permanent source of menace to the Chinese capital China turned to Russia for help. As a consequence of Russian intervention the cessation of Liaotung was nullified but China purchased Russian alliance at the expense of her Manchurian territory.

Germany, the last Western competitor in the field of imperialism extorted in 1897 Kiachow Bay from the Chinese on a lease of 99 years. This gave Russia the pretext of occupying Port Arthur and Dalny in order to maintain the Balance of Power in Manchuria. Balance of Power was the accepted doctrine of European politics and as this balance had been unbalanced by the recent actions of Germany and Russia, France and England asked China for further concessions which were granted in the form of various leases.

It was considered that time had now come for the partition of China. The spectre was haunting China and she knew it. She was, however, saved by the opportune intervention of America who proclaimed the historic 'Open Door' policy for China. This was designed to provide an equal opportunity for the commerce of all nations, to minimize the chances of conflict between different nations, and to safeguard against encroachments on Chinese dominions.

China was in a worst state financially and economically. At the end of every war China had had to pay considerable sums as indemnities, and foreign trade with all its implications was doing harm to the economic life of the country. The exemption granted to foreign trade from Likin—inland charges—cut deep into the trade of native merchants. Moreover, the Chinese revenue had sustained a considerable loss owing to the indefinitely fixed tariff which was a condition of the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1858. Social conditions were far from satisfactory. Chinese society founded on the family and the guild—strictly, organs of local government—did not incite the people to look beyond, and thus failed to create a national spirit. The introduction of modern industrial and economic life had uprooted the basic conceptions of society. Politically a chaotic state of affairs obtained in China. Feudalism embodied in the conservative mandarinate, had not been discarded and all attempts to undertake reforms and modernise the country had ended in fiasco. Transition from a feudal to a modern state could only be effected by an uncompromising political revolution. Social upheaval and subsequent reconstruction came 75 years later than in Japan, where feudalism and conditions similar to China were then obtaining. "Superficially at least the difference between Japanese and Chinese historical evolution lies in the fact that the breakdown of feudalism in Japan released latent social forces which were guided by the Samurai (warrior-class) who with Chonin (merchant-class) support, and carried along in the crest of agrarian revolt, were able to destroy the Shogunate and set up a new regime before national independence was irreparably weakened. In China the interventionist forces of the Western Powers and the undivided loyalty of the ruling bureaucracy succeeded in suppressing signs of revolt and attempts at social reform so that national independence and national regeneration had to be postponed for generations to come."

The imperialist powers of the West were feverishly busy throughout the 19th century in entrenching themselves in the Celestial Empire. The Western Powers were doling out their one-sided deal and China was succumbing to the pressure. Everyone of the Powers had a definite policy not only towards China but also towards one or more of the other Powers and thus Western imperialism was faced with a real Far Eastern Question.

The advent of the twentieth century saw another factor consolidating its position in the Far Eastern politics. This factor was no other than Japan who had catapulted herself overnight in the twentieth century as a modern state. As Japan was now becoming a major factor in the Far East—which she did become in 1919—and as the history of the Far East from the end of the Great War is in fact a history of Japanese ambitions, we shall look more closely at Japan.

History, in my opinion, should take more cognizance of a nation's psychology, social character and temperament than it does at present, in determining the influence they exercise in shaping a nation's economy, political outlook, and current history. A definite knowledge on our part of the character and intellectual make-up of the Japanese and of the social conditions of Nippon would undoubtedly have given us an advantage over Japan in anticipating and counteracting her recent move in the Pacific. As will appear from a well-conducted study, Japan's outrageous rape of South-East Asia was the result of a long planning which had been determined to a great extent by the Japanese character. Perhaps it would not be out of place to give an outline of the Japanese character which has been responsible for shaping their outlook and policy.

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To make a successful approach to the Japanese mentality it is essential to grasp to its utmost significance the facts that the Japs are convinced that they are descended from the Gods, that they are an infinitely superior race, and that they were commanded to realise Kakko Ichiu—eight corners of the world under Japanese roof. Japan is characterized by a rigid society, an absence of a balanced ethical thinking, religion, and moral code. The individual in Japan does not exist as an individual but as a unit of a family. This resulted in the elimination of enterprize in the individual. From times immemorial the thoughts of the Japanese have been moulded for them by others, in fact a radical change has been effected in the very character of their intellect. They were and still are taught to think along channels which those in power prescribed, and the path chosen was patriotism through their own divine origin. Japanese society always operates from the top down, and this is proved by a marked absence in Jap history of any evolution in social, religious or political sphere. Everything was dictated by those in power and as they were interested in maintaining their own privileged position they were careful not to impart anything which might be used as an instrument against themselves. In pursuance of this policy, strict obedience to authority, loyalty for its own sake and repression of self were prescribed as Law; and thought-control was practised to ensure the conduct of the masses on these lines. The people of Japan have, through the course of centuries, been reduced to an ignominious condition and it is only natural that self-repression and pent-up emotions should find a moment of evanescent outburst in the extremes of excesses such as we have witnessed lately.

Another thing which is conspicuous by its absence is religious teaching. Though Buddhism and Christianity have had their days, they did not transform the primitive in the Japanese and this was due to the distorted forms of these religions, which had filtered down from the powerful aristocracy. A Japanese is incapable of conceiving of a soul, of good and evil and sin, and of love, there is no real equivalent expression for love, as we understand it, in the whole of the Japanese language. Shinto is the creed or cult or religion in which they repose their faith. Patriotism, worship of forbears and fetishism and phallicism constitute Shinto which is a conscious fact, the very heart of which is the worship of the Emperor.

Deprived of social flexibility and opportunities for the diffusion of emotion, not rationalized by original and individual thinking, and not humanized by the elevating forces of religion and ethics the Japanese landed in the twentieth century as far removed from us as any of the uncivilized peoples. Modern Japanese mentality is that of a primitive tribe which has been trained in modern warfare, solely because the Japanese themselves chose the implements of death of the mechanical civilization, with which they came into contact. Keeping in view this social background the course of Japanese policy in the Far East should not be hard to trace.

Almost since 1868—the year of the restoration of Meiji, and of the opening up of Japan to the Western world—Japan has pursued a policy of expansion, covering it with the excuse of her rapidly multiplying population. Colonial expansion, as a matter of fact, presumes a highly developed industry and a necessity for more trade markets. The contrary was the case when Japan initiated her expansionist policy. The real facts underlying her policy were two. With the restoration of Meiji, the internecine wars, in which the Samurai played a large part, came to an end, and it became imperative for the existence of this class to explore the possibilities of the creation of external wars. Secondly, when the Samurai were later incorporated in the body of the state—in the fighting service—partly due to their spirit, and partly to divert the attention of the masses from the growing unsatisfactory living conditions and social inequities to external objects, they embarked on a policy of expansion which was to bring them, inevitably, into conflict with some power or other. Later on as industry and commerce developed and as the home markets approached saturation point, the businessmen urgently required foreign markets; and this basic agreement of policy between the Samurai and the businessmen brought them together in an alliance, which in its essence has survived to this day.

The Samurai had their first test of strength in the Sino-Japanese war of 1895. Their success enhanced their prestige at home, created confidence in themselves, gave Japan the importance of a Power on a limited scale, and above all taught them the important lesson that war is a lucrative profession. As a consequence of this victory the policy of expansion gained ground, and also, the hatred of Japanese towards the barbarian foreigners became more pronounced as Russia and other powers had by their intervention deprived Japan of the fruit of her victory—the Liaotung Peninsula. Some time later the Russian demand on the Chinese for concessions in this very Liaotung peninsula exasperated the Yamato damashii—by this time consolidated and fanatical and which had learnt the "sacredness of sacrifice". And now it was time to challenge the might of Russia for the whip-hand in Manchuria and Korea. Russia was dissatisfied with her position in Manchuria and wanted further concessions. This move was resented by Japan as it would have jeopardised her position in Korea. The Anglo-Japanese alliance had strengthened Japanese arms and Japan was prepared for a war with Russia. Russia's defeat gave a number of territorial advantages and strategic positions to Japan and enlarged the political horizon of Yamato. With their success in the Russo-Japanese war the Japanese people went mad over the greatness of their country and the slogan became *Dai Nippon Teikoku Ban-Banzai* (Great Japan Empire over All). The success of the Japanese was due to the intervention of the United States President, at a time when, it is believed, Japan was strained to breaking point. As it has turned out the American President rendered a service to the Japanese in their expansionist policy by infusing them with a confidence in their arms. The Japanese had acquired a *locus standi* in China and now with the lever in their hands they were planning to move the world. During this preliminary construction of the Jap Empire the basic character of the Jap people had played an important part. The Samurai had exploited people's subservience and patriotism and had established militarism with the help of Shinto. The political philosophy, which thus took shape, was in fact a great psychological metamorphosis of the soul of the nation.

From now on the history of the Far Eastern Question is more or less the history of the Japanese tendency, or their aggressive militarism, and of their *Drang nach Suden*. Obviously the lacerated and dis-

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United China was the target. Industrialization in Japan brought with it the problem of an access to raw materials. Japan then sorely needed the essential raw materials without which she could hardly exist as a modern industrial state. The nearest source which could ensure an adequate and continuous supply of raw materials, was China. It seemed easy to dominate China, as the country was weak and disorganized. Moreover, the Japanese could not look to any other region for the supply of raw materials, as none remained unexploited by some or the other of the Western Powers. Chinese and South Sea resources excited the imagination of the Japanese and their hatred of the foreigners and the fact of their being the descendent of Gods, gave an impulse towards the materialization of their dream. Naturally the ultimate tussle had to be between Japan and the Western Powers, for this was the position to which the Far Eastern Question had boiled down in its later phase. Moreover, the rise of nationalism in a country is followed by a desire for territorial aggrandisement at the expense of the weaker nation with utter disregard to the latter's national sentiment. Thus China was destined to be Japan's sphere of "special interest."

The preoccupation of the Western Powers in the Great War of 1919 led to the ascendency of Japan in the Far East. The formulation of the famous 'twenty-one demands' was the unscrupulous advantage which Japan took of China's helpless position. The acceptance of these demands in toto would have sealed the fate of China and her independence would now have been a thing of the past. Anglo-American intervention, however, was responsible for a modification of these demands which in their revised form were accepted by China as the only way out of the difficult situation. Japan's entry into the Great War on the side of the Allies was governed by the prospect of gains which would accrue to her after the defeat of Germany. The speculation was sound, for besides the acquisition of the German concessions of Tsingtau, Japan obtained considerable concessions—railway, mining, forestry and banking—in Manchuria. These concessions turned out to be potential weapons in waging an economic offensive—and political by implication—in China.

The post-war policy of Japan in respect to China was shaped on these lines; to gain a permanent position in the China market, to monopolise the Chinese raw materials which would materialise her ambitious schemes of conquest, and to turn China into an exclusive field of Japanese investments. But the growing influence of the National Government in China with its achievements in industrial development, financial re-organisation, and mass education were discomforting phenomena to the Jap militarists, who realized that a strong and United China would spell the ruin of their ambition to build a great Asiatic Empire. No less injurious, they realized, would be the preferential rights and privileges enjoyed by the Western Powers in China. The primary necessity, therefore, was to get rid of these privileges enjoyed by the Western Powers; and as early as that, "Asia for the Asiatics" was the cry of the Jap power-groups. This slogan was also partly designed to obtain the goodwill of the Chinese.

And now time had come for the Manchurian challenge. Step by step, Japan had built her road of military ambition, and down to our times each rung had been added to the ladder systematically, and never for a moment the Japs lost sight of their ulterior purpose of Asiatic and world domination—Hakko Ichiu. Economic reasons and expansionist policy, Manchuria being the first major step in the domination of South East Asia, incited the Japanese on to the possession of Manchuria. Economically they had already entrenched themselves in the life of the country and had been all this time waging an economic warfare. The laissez-faire attitude of the Western Powers was responsible for the incorporation of that huge territory with all its potential resources in the Japanese Empire. Japan had had her way, and the Western Powers realized the significance of the event in later years, when more ambitious plans of the Japanese made them alive to the possibility of an exit from the Far East. This realization, however, was not complete till the China incident had reached a mature stage.

Manchuria sliced off without any serious opposition and quietly incorporated into the Japanese Empire, it was now the turn of China proper. The policy of "nibbling at China" had been more than successful and now it was time for the policy of swallowing of China. The western theory of 'balance of power' embodied in the delimitation of spheres of interest had proved unreal, and had given to Japan, by virtue of her propinquity to China and her skill in diplomatic intrigues, a dominating position over the Western Powers. Perhaps they could have at this time saved China from the clutches of Japan by renouncing their territorial concessions and privileges and asking Japan to do the same.

The swallowing of China was a big affair and Japan could not undertake it unless she was assured of a reasonable development of her industry, so vital in modern warfare. The evolution of Japanese industry is a marvel of the twentieth century. Japan entered the industrial field by processing foreign raw materials for foreign markets. Japanese industry began with the production of textiles and consumer goods. In the beginning she lacked raw materials—coal, iron, oil and above all cotton, the soul of Jap industry. Korea, Formosa and later Manchuria had, however, supplemented to a large extent this sore need for raw materials. Japanese labour has always been—thanks to Shinto—patient, patriotic and well-disciplined; and in these conditions the material prosperity of Jap industry was assured. The Japanese cut effectively into the world market and it appeared—especially in the days of the world economic depression—as if they would cut out everyone else. Aided by an opportune currency depreciation and a resiliency the Westerners lacked, Japan soon recovered from the depression. It was during this period that Japan developed her heavy industry. While the Western industry was slumping, production in Japanese heavy industry was soaring, and thus the foundation of the coming war (World War II) was firmly laid.

The "incident" in China gave Japan the opportunity of executing her long planned and cherished policy of reducing China to an economic nonentity. The 'China incident' is current history and we are more or less informed of the way the Japanese have conducted their military campaign in China, of how they have dragged people to servile misery, dishonoured women, bombed civilians, ruthlessly destroyed Chinese commerce and industry and perpetrated a thousand and one inhuman atrocities, which are revolting even to think of. Their plans of economic subjugation of China, however, deserve some note. Under the direct control of the Japanese Cabinet was created a central-

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ized organisation for directing political, economic and cultural affairs in China. The Central Board of East Asiatic Affairs, as it was called, embraced in its purview not only the pernicious activities in China but also in the regions which are now under the subjugation of Nippon. Under the supervision of this Asia Development Board two big corporations were formed; *viz.*, the North China Development Company, and the Central China Development Company. Besides these two capital enterprises there are others exploiting Manchuria and Mongolia, whereas the South China Development Company is in the offing. These enterprises embrace practically every field of commerce and industry and it is hard to imagine the position to which the Chinese businessman has been reduced. Japan had planned on a wide scale for the future. She foresaw that her Pacific policy would some day, not in the distant future, result in an explosion in the Far East. With a keen eye on the future she was trying to get control of China's teeming millions who would supply cheap and docile labour to Jap factories, dockyards, mines and workshops.

To achieve these ends Japan adopted the policy of "ruling China through the Chinese", and at the same time geared up her propaganda of 'Asia for the Asiatics' and the 'Co-prosperity' sphere. The share of the 'co-prosperity' that China received was: Jap control of Chinese customs, local taxes, licence fees; Chinese railway and shipping undertakings, monopoly of all the raw materials; destruction and expropriation of Chinese industrial equipment; the imposition of Jap "technical assistance" and "temporary operators" on such Chinese industries as remained; and in short the disruption of the socio-economic life of the main cities to an irreparable degree. Thus progressed the "China incident", or, in other words, the dismemberment and subjugation of China—still a phase of the Far Eastern Question. The attitude of the Western Powers towards this incident was strangely remarkable, considering that it was then, or even earlier, that Japan laid the trap which went into action in 1941. It should have been foreseen that the Japanese policy since the beginning of the twentieth century had been directed towards the domination of South-East Asia. There was a time when Japan was not yet in a position to subjugate the whole of China and to ignore completely Western susceptibilities. Utter neglect of Japan's fantastic dreams ultimately landed the Western Powers in a rather hopeless situation. It has been truly said that the Powers gave their tears to China and their oil, steel and machinery to Japan. History will record that the Western Powers by their reluctance to tone up China —a strong China would have maintained the *status quo* in the Pacific—and failure to offer a combined opposition to the Yamato did a great disservice to humanity.

And now we come to the climax in the history of the Far Eastern Question. Laceration of China had created a vacuum of power in the Far East. Japan's position now was that of a Great Power in the Pacific. The Western rivals were too far away to constitute a serious obstacle. Moreover, their power was diffused; and such as was concentrated in the Pacific could be neutralized by a circumventing move. Japan had planned all, she wanted the opportunity to fire the first shot. World War II was exactly the opportunity Japan was waiting for. The pre-occupation of Britain and France in the war in Europe, the concentration of British Empire forces in the theatres of war secretly thrilled the heart of the Jap politician. With the fall of France Japan came forward with demands for concessions in French Indo-China. The importance of this step can only be imagined if we think in terms of the vast quantities of rubber and other raw materials which found their way to Jap industry. But still there was a formidable lack of oil, so essential for the conduct of a modern war. As the Netherland East Indies possessed oil in large quantities, they prominently figured on Japan's list of victims.

The Nazis realized that Far East was the field where Britain and America could be made to suffer a setback. This, perhaps, was the basic idea underlying the Tripartite Agreement with Japan. This enlarged the horizon of the Nippon militarists; who now proceeded precipitously with the execution of their mature plans. They aimed at the disruption of the Far Eastern *status quo*. To achieve this they extended their rigid control over French Indo-China and Thailand. This move served a dual purpose. It circumvented the Pearl Harbour-Singapore line of defence, and it made the position of N.E.I. untenable, as the Japs were constantly exerting pressure on the Dutch for a trade-agreement which stipulated the export to Japan of vast quantities of oil and other essential raw materials. Japan had also effected a thorough penetration—economic and otherwise—of the Pacific islands which brought material advantages to the Japs in the nature of comprehensive naval and military data. In spite of the impending Jap menace, however, the Pacific Powers had not yet seriously thought of presenting a united front, though basically they agreed that a check on Japanese plans was more than desirable.

The Russo-Jap neutrality pact paved the way for smooth operations and Japan for the first time set fire to the Far Eastern Question.

The collapse of the Pacific dependencies was due not merely to these external causes but to cogent internal ones as well. Immediately before Japan's entry into the war, two of the dependencies in the Pacific—Indo-China and N.E.I.—had been thrown back on their own resources for their struggle for existence owing to the collapse of the mother countries in the European war. Colonial administration presupposes an undeveloped society often plural in character, which is concerned with raising staple agricultural products for export and dependent on external aid for the exploitation of the natural resources. This nature of colonial economy precludes the development of local industries. Besides the dependence on foreign industries, this also warrants a negligible defence system, as the basic requirement of modern warfare is heavy industry. The other reason was the relation of the highly developed societies with the so-called backward communities. Colonial people were conscious of a changing political outlook and they claimed self-determination. While Russia in similar circumstances, realizing the strategic necessity, was swift to act in granting autonomy to the various states, the Pacific colonial powers had been slow in realizing the extent to which their own professed ideals had impressed the local population, and in meeting their wishes. Lack of enthusiasm on the part of the local people for the cause of the Colonial Powers aided Japan's subjugation of the Pacific islands. Yet another reason was shortage of man-power and lack of trained fighting personnel.

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The subjugation of South-East Asia by Japan is the end of one phase of the Far Eastern Question, and as far as history is concerned the Question is temporarily in abeyance.

Taking stock of the present situation, it can be asserted that the Japanese military might, which had been rapidly progressing since the dawn of the twentieth century, has spent itself in an evanescent outburst; and that the time is not far off when Japan will feel herself vulnerable to defeat. The question is whether the humiliation of defeat will change the basic mentality of the Japs. As for the ultimate fate of the Japs there cannot be two opinions.

In the first place we should consider the position of Japanese industry. It cannot be denied that Japan has an efficient and heavy industry capable of coping with the needs of modern warfare, but the shortcomings of the Japanese industry lie in the fact that Japan's commitments are heavy, and that in this total war she has flung herself against the might of those nations whose resources and industrial output dwarf those of Japan to a considerable extent, even after taking into account the fabulous haul she made after the liquidation of the Pacific Colonies. If, however, Japan somehow had gained time to consolidate and use the South-East Asiatic resources, her industry would have become formidable. As it is, the output of the U.S. heavy industries alone far exceeds the total Jap output. Whereas the magnitude of U.S. industries for the production of new weapons can accommodate improvements and alterations in the running plants, Japanese industry cannot afford to keep idle even for a moment. This is bound to result in inferiority of technical equipment.

In the second place Japanese industry is highly centralized and is easily vulnerable to attack. Japan's all-out concentration on war production has resulted in the dearth of essential civilian goods. Another reason is Japan's shortage of manpower and shortage of foodstuffs. The reason for this manpower shortage is the necessity of keeping a large percentage of the population on the country's farms. The reason for the shortage of foodstuffs is that local production is not sufficient to meet the requirements and that the imports have been abolished. The abolition of the import of foodstuffs is due to yet another reason why Japan is doomed. This is lack of shipping. Japan sorely needs shipping perhaps as much as 18 million tons. The reason why she is using wooden freights for coastal traffic and why she has not been able to benefit appreciably from the vast resources of her newly acquired Empire is a serious lack of shipping, and she acknowledges it. And, finally, no less important a factor is the attitude of millions of subjugated people whom Japan has been bringing to Japanise. The abortive ways of the Japs, the abominable treatment they have meted out, the disruption of the socio-economic life, derangement of currency, stoppage of normal commercial flow, shortage of foodstuffs and their permeation of every aspect of life of the conquered nation have made them hated and despised. The intelligent among the people have seen Japan working on an economic and political divide-and-rule policy so that strongly nationalistic blocks may be created in the Pacific in such a way that they may never unite together for a concerted action, while individually they may remain bound to the Nippon by strangling economic and political ties.

The Problem of Japan

What to do with Japan, after victory is achieved, is a problematic question. It is not to be questioned, however, that, in the interest of future world peace, Japan should be stripped of the will and weapons to fight. If the Jap industry is allowed to remain, it has potentialities of being developed into a capital industry, and after they have achieved this, will not the Japanese think that Germany had a second chance?

The problem of Japan is the problem of two ways of life, unlike in aims, methods and motivations. The post-war problem for the United Nations would be the overhaul of the Japanese way of life, the social and cultural reform of the Jap people. Japan will continue to be a menace to the peace of the world unless her individuals begin to have a life of their own; the status of her women is revolutionized; Shinto, loyalty to overlords, and the family system which limits the chances of intellectual development and individual enterprise, are uprooted; the control of the nation's economy by the wealthy families, Zaibatsu, which strangulates middle-class commercial enterprise is abolished, and above all unless the people are given a chance of evolving a sane ethical teaching and a sound political system. Perhaps a revolution directed by the United Nations could achieve this staggering task.

Looking Ahead

In the post-war period the Far Eastern Question will pose another problem for the statesmen of the world—for we shall by no means have got rid of it. The essence of that question will be the fate of the pre-war colonies, and whether it should be India or China that should take upon herself the onerous task of keeping the balance of power in Asia.

Regarding colonies, the Powers in their respective Pacific colonies will be faced with collapsed markets, depleted resources, upset economic systems, impoverished land, famine, disease and dislocated transportation. And in their task of rehabilitation they shall have to keep in mind that the exploitation of other resources and the use of ersatz during the war-period may lessen the chances of a colony's material prosperity. Above all, there would be the need to abstain from thinking in terms of obsolete political systems. We have to form the habit of world thought, we have to lay the foundation of a sound international system on world political power, and we have to guard against Bourbonism as well as Wilsonian idealism.

The post-war policy towards colonies "has to be based on the freedom of colonial people . . . on the development of a non-colonial and balanced internal economy, and on a collective security in which all powers directly concerned share in responsiblity." The term "collective security" has come in great prominence in current politics. This, perhaps, is identical with totalitarianism with which we are faced. Totalitarian attitude of thought will perhaps persist, and in view of this fact, we have only to decide whether it will be a fascist totalitarianism or one of a saner and more acceptable type.

We now come to the question as to who shall maintain the Balance of Power in Asia. In this connexion we must remember that this balance will have

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to be maintained not only against the possibilities of a resurrection in Japanese Power, but mainly against the growing power of Russia in the Far East. After the war Russia having nothing to apprehend from both ends with her entrenched position in the Middle East and with her propinquity to India and China would dominate politics in Asia. Both India and China have claims to a "special position" in Asia. But as in the interest of world security a strong and free India is an essential factor, and as also China alone would not be able to keep the balance in Asia in the face of Jap or Russian political power, it is desirable to have a strong China and a strong India jointly shouldering the responsibility of maintaining peace in Asia.

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE RIGVEDIC CULTURE OF THE PRE-HISTORIC INDUS. Vol. II : *By Swami Sankarananda. With a Foreword by Swami Pratyagatmananda. Pp. li + 140. 1944. Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta.*

Ever since the epoch-making discoveries of the ruined cities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, Indologists have been confronted with a host of problems concerning the relation of the Indus civilisation to that of the Vedas, the decipherment of the mysterious script of the Indus seals and sealings and so forth. The present work, which is introduced to its readers with a long and learned Foreword from the pen of a well-known Sanskrit scholar, is a bold and strikingly original attempt to solve these problems. Continuing the chain of evidence provided in the earlier volume, the author claims to have proved that the Vedic *Aryas* had their original abode in the pre-historic cities of the Indus valley from which in course of time they radiated to the east and south and subsequently spread over the whole Indian sub-continent (pp. 1-4). What constitutes, according to the author, the special feature of the present volume, is his 'introduction of a new system (*viz.*, that of the Tantras) for the decipherment of all the pictographic and alphabetic scripts of the ancient world", including the script of the Indus valley seals (Preface). It is evident that if the author's conclusions could be accepted, they would revolutionise our ideas of the ancient history not only of India, but also of other civilised lands of the eastern world.

The present work is divided into chapters bearing the titles The Vedas (Ch. i), The Tantras (Chs. ii-iii), The Tantric Deities and their relations with the Vedic gods (Ch. iv), Egyptian hieroglyphics (Ch. v), and Conclusion. The first chapter analyses various Vedic concepts of deities and forces of nature. In the course of this analysis it is sought to be proved, by citations of appropriate texts both in the original and in translation, that the Vedic *asva* means not 'the horse', but 'the sun', while the *Asvamedha* was not a horse-sacrifice at all, but a rite of propitiation of the sun for rain (pp. 21-27 and App.). The point of this novel interpretation is brought out in the concluding chapter where we are told that it cuts at the root of the theories of Aryan immigration, the absence of the horse in the pre-historic Indus cities being itself "a strong proof of the *Arya* or the Vedic origin of civilisation" (p. 125).

The second chapter describes the evolution of sounds, scripts and dialects from the Vedic times onwards, and is frequently illustrated with appropriate charts. We may here summarise some of the author's main conclusions. The Vedic *Aryas* at first used two sounds to which they afterwards added a third, a fourth and a fifth note (pp. 45-46). Panini mentions the Vedic division into three sounds according to pitch, while introducing new divisions according to place of utterance and nature (p. 47). The musicians divided the sounds into seven groups called after as many animals which the author explains in the light of "the Tantric code" to represent the five Vedic gods (pp. 48-50). The Tantras, coming last in the process of evolution, systematised the existing scripts on the principle of the five-fold division of sounds named after the five Vedic deities (pp. 52-3). Finally, 'the language created with these alphabets was called *Sanskrit* because the prevailing dialects were reformed to create the same" (p. 63).

In the third chapter the author claims to have come across a system of Tantric "picture-alphabets with no less than 5,400 characters", which he applies to the interpretation of five groups of "pictographic alphabets". These are "the Jaipurean", the Egyptian, the Cuneiform, the Indus and the Chinese scripts (pp. 66-68). Parenthetically, it may be remarked that the so-called "Jaipurean script" is a complete misnomer, as it consists of nothing else but the well-known series of symbols on punch-marked coins which have been found almost all over India. This singularly inappropriate title is derived from the accident that a hoard of such coins bearing the characteristic symbols has been recently unearthed at Rairh in Jaipur State. The results of the author's investigation are sufficiently startling. "The Jaipurean script," according to him, "represented the early Tantric pictograms and did not evolve", while "the early Egyptian script shows a much evolved stage of pictographic symbols." This leads to the assumption that "the civilisation of Egypt was post-Tantric in origin." The Indus script is "in a further stage of development than the Egyptian or the Jaipurean scripts", it was "awaiting as it were to develop itself into alphabetic form" (p. 72). The Chinese picture-words come next to the Indus scripts in the process of historical evolution (p. 74). The Cuneiform script can also be deciphered with the help of the Tantric codes (pp. 75-76). Proceeding with his theme, the author attempts with the help of a series of five charts to prove that not only "the Jaipurean," the Egyptian, the Indus and Chinese

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tograms, but also the *Brahmi*, the *Kharoshthi*, the thiopic, the Himyarite, the Moabite stone, the oenician, the Greek, the Latin, the Galgolithic and e Hebrew scripts, originated from the Tantras p. 77-94). Next, applying "the Tantric code" to the dus and "the Jaipur" scripts, the author discovers t the language of the former is Sanskrit, while the er consists of a series of proper names (pp. 94-101). In the fourth chapter the author concludes from analysis of a number of Tantric concepts that the tras are of post-Vedic origin. From this he draws novel inference that "the presence of the Tantric ies and the Tantric script in the Indus cities prove e for all that the Indus civilisation was post-Vedic not pre-Vedic in origin" (p. 101). In the fifth pter he claims to show with the help of a chart a ry striking similarity" between the Tantric and the yptian nomenclature of a number of Egyptian picto-ms (pp. 121-3).

From the above brief analysis it will appear that author can well claim the credit of extensive ding and deep thinking as well as an independent look in dealing with problems of paramount impor-ce for the interpretation of the most Ancient Indian ilisation. Praise is also due to the author for bring-to light a hitherto unknown source-book, *viz.*, "the ntric code" of pictograms which, in the interests of olarship, should be published in book-form as early possible. To say all this is not to admit the correct-s of even a majority of the author's conclusions. fore this could be done, it would be necessary for the thor to investigate the subjects afresh in the light a more rigorous application of logical processes, and the basis of a series of inductive studies on the lest possible scale, preferably in the form of a num-of independent monographs. The paper, print and -up of the book are good for the present times, but is disfigured by numerous misprints and mistakes in nsliteration which are unworthy of a work of high olarship.

U. N. GHOSHAL

FOLK-TALES OF MAHAKOSHAL: *By Verrier in, D.Sc. (Oxon). Published for "Man In India" by mphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1944. xxv + 523. Price Rs. 15.*

FOLK-SONGS OF THE MAIKAL HILLS: *By rrier Elwin & Shamrao Hivale. Published for "Man India" by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University ess. 1944. Pp. xxix + 410. Price Rs. 15.*

The two above volumes contain specimens of the l literature current in certain portions of middle dia. The collection was made by the authors among bes like the Agaria, Baiga, Gond, Maria, Muria and ers who inhabit the region known as Mahakoshal. The most notable feature of the volumes under iew is the scientific care with which the authors have ried out their task. A large portion of the work viously done in the field of Indian folk-lore suffers m the following defects: the area or the particular be from among whom the tale was gathered is often unrecorded; in presenting the story to a foreign dience, translators sometimes modify or polish it to h an extent as to leave very little of the original our intact. In some cases again, the rendering is so dly accurate and literal as to be almost forbidding appearance. Dr. Elwin and Mr. Hivale have been y successful in avoiding all these defects; they have rificed none of the local colour, retained accurately imagery of the original, while at the same time y have been able to present a perfectly readable and eful translation of the stories and songs. These slations are however something more than a mere ral rendering of the originals into English. The thors have brought to bear upon their task an intimate knowledge and a deep sympathy with the life and emotions of the people among whom they have worked. This has raised the quality of their work into the level of an interpretation of the tribe's emotional life.

The *Folk-Tales of Mahakoshal* contains 150 tales classified under 26 different heads according to the central theme. Each series is covered by an introduction and notes where attention has been drawn to anthropologically significant features, while special customs referred to in the tales have also been carefully explained. It is evident that many of the tales are common between Mahakoshal and other portions of India; but the reader will observe how local elements have crept into the tales to suit the social and cultural atmosphere of the tribal audience. An important and valuable feature is the bibliography on Indian folk-lore which comes at the end of the book.

The *Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills* contains 619 songs of different lengths. They have been classified under suitable heads like Karma-songs, Love-songs, Songs of Craft and Labour, Songs of the Cowherds, Songs of Snake-bite, etc. The last song of the book deals with the story of a king named Hirakhan Kshattri, and is of the nature of a minor epic. As in the previous volume, so here also, copious notes accompany the text, while the music has been presented by means of staff-notation.

Many of the songs do not seem to be of a very high order; they often lack in poetic quality and are inferior to some of the poems already published by Elwin in his book on the Baigas or by Roy in his *Mundas and their Country*. But one should remember that the literary form is not everything in these songs. What is lacking in that respect is abundantly made up in life by the music and the gestures which go with the songs. Altogether the three elements provide as much emotional entertainment to the tribes as more sophisticated people derive from pure imagery or literary form.

In any case, both the books give us an intimate as well as an accurate idea about the fancies and the desires of the people; and that, we believe, is saying a great deal about any example of reporting in Anthropology.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

INDIAN ECONOMY DURING THE WAR: *By L. C. Jain, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Sc. (Econ.) London. Third (Revised) edition, 1945. Pages 150. Price Rs. 3-4.*

This handy volume by Dr. L. C. Jain, University Professor of Economics, Punjab University, has already gone through three editions since March, 1944, when it was first published. The present revised edition was issued in February, 1945. This fact by itself is sufficient to proclaim the usefulness of the volume.

Dr. Jain has in a simple and lucid style described the important effects of the World War No. II on the various aspects of Indian economic life. In five comprehensive chapters the author has surveyed the results of the impact of the war on Indian Agriculture, Industry, Trade, Money Market and Finance and in the sixth chapter he has described the effects of the war on Indian economy as such. There are two valuable appendices on the Banking Companies Bill, 1945 and the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held at Breton Woods in 1944 and there is also a supplement on the Indian Budget for 1945-46. The book describes and examines the various measures adopted by the Government to regulate and control the economic life of the people during the war. Dr. Jain has brought to bear on his task wide knowledge and mature judgement and his conclusions are sound. Due to inefficient administration and ill-conceived and ill-timed measures "Indian economy has failed either to make that maximum contribution to war effort of which India is capable or to provide for the people adequately even

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the necessaries of life, *viz.*, food, clothing and housing." This is surely putting the matter very mildly, bearing in mind the appalling death-role and the terrible sufferings caused particularly in the province of Bengal in 1943-44.

In the end Dr. Jain rightly stresses "the immediate need of India . . . to plan her economy." He has given a timely warning against 'delusions' and 'fallacies' prevailing among persons who ought to know better, let alone the general public who require to understand the full implications of planned economy. However, the subject of planning is beyond the scope of the volume under review.

The book will repay careful study to both the general readers as well the students of economics in the Indian universities.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA (A Ten-year Plan) : *By Dr. Ihshan Muhammad Khan, M.A., Ph.D. (Leeds). Published by Premier Book Depot, Rampur State. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The title is self-explanatory. It is another of a series of amateurish planning for poor India. Since the days of Russian success in planning, it has been a pastime of our idle intellectuals to prepare plans. But these planners forget that such wishful thinking as "doubling the income *amongst* (?) the masses (peasants and workers) with a view to increasing their standard of living", which has been stated by the author as the basic idea underlying his plan, is absolutely meaningless. Undeniable conflicts of economic interests do exist between the classes and the nations all the world over. And no amount of paper philanthropy in the economic sphere as envisaged by these planners can be of any avail, particularly when they do not even offer a theoretical formula or a practical plan of action to bring about a new combination of economic and political forces to achieve their desired goal. The author is satisfied that his object (of doubling the income amongst (?) the masses) "can be achieved by reducing the pressure of population on land, and by bringing home to the cultivators methods of intensive and co-operative farming on the one hand and absorbing the surplus population in cottage, medium-sized and large-scale industries on the other. This is the programme on the productive side. It is accompanied by a programme of redistribution of national income by progressive taxation on the other." What a simple plan and what a simple solution ! The usefulness of the book lies, however, in the statistics and informations which it contains.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

ONIONS AND OPINIONS : *By N. G. Jog. Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pages 142. Price Rs. 6-12.*

This book prefaced by Robert Lynd of the *News Chronicle* and illustrated by Piciel, the famous Calcutta cartoonist, consists of twenty-five dissertations on a variety of subjects which range from the most trivial to the most ponderous. The author brings an open and cultured mind to bear on all sorts of individual and social phenomena, however sombre or trifling they may be, and the result is refreshing humour and sparkling wit. He is a shrewd observer and a relentless critic. His banter, though it fails at times to acquire the quality of satire, is nonetheless biting. There is occasionally a touch of pathos in his seemingly comical observations on some of the familiar madnesses of the modern age. Through his somewhat provoking wise-cracking is faintly discernible a plea for a saner view of life. The chief merit of Mr. Jog's essays is that they are fashioned by a fair and independent, though cynical, intellect. He has no axe to grind. His onions do not stink, nor are his opinions perverted. Piciel's sketches have enhanced the value of the book.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA : *By K. Nagaraja Rao, M.A., B.L. Published by the Punjab Library Association, Lahore. Pages 33. Price Re. 1.*

In this brochure the author gives in a nut-shell the library movements in countries of Europe such as Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, U.S.S.R., France and England. Library movements in the different provinces of India—the Punjab, Behar, Bombay, Bengal, Madras, etc., are also given. The movement in India began in the Baroda State in 1910, so it is not yet 40 years old. To expect Library movement in a country where about 90 per cent of the people are illiterate is expecting too much, yet the movement has made some headway where education has made some progress. The Punjab Library Association deserves congratulations for bringing out such a handy volume for the interested public.

ORGANIZATION AND ORGANIZATIONS : *By Mr. C. M. Srinivasan. Published from 10, Mount Road, Madras. Pages 136. Price Rs. 2.*

BUSINESS AND BUSINESSMEN : *By Mr. C. M. Srinivasan. Published from 10, Mount Road, Madras. Pages 112.*

The author in the first book rightly observes that without organization no welfare work for the good of humanity can be successful. This is true in regard to all fields of human activities—Religious, Political, Economic and Social. As a matter of fact, the most organised group is the best successful in this world whatever be their sphere of activities. In the sphere of Political, Economic and Social activities the West is most ahead to-day. In the religious sphere the Orientals showed organized activities from ancient times. In India organizations should be formed in all branches of national activities if she is to take her rightful place in the modern progressive world.

In the second book the author describes the essential qualities of businessmen and their methods and drawbacks of Indian business. A survey of modern business and Indian industries is also given. Short life-sketches of Indian businessmen such as J. N. Tata, Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Sir Ganga Ram, Sir Anand Swarup, Sir P. C. Ray, Walchand Hirachand, etc., are given at the end of this book.

Young readers will find these books inspiring.

RECONSTRUCTION OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE: *By A. N. Agarwala. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 142. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author starts with various definitions of Economics from Adam Smith to most modern writers on Economics and discusses them with a view to arriving at the nature of the science. The subject is discussed as a science and as an art and a science—positive, normative and applied. Social character of the science is given special stress while the author describes its normative and applied aspects. The science has no significance unless it is a science of human welfare. The old ideas of classical Economists have undergone a material change in the hands of neo-classical school, not to speak of economists of the social or communist group. In short it is no longer a science which is satisfied with investigaton and knowledge but a science which throws light on better things to come. But as a social science its data must be changing as well as its conclusions and for that the science is not less useful. Students of Economics will find this book useful.

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OUR STANDARD OF LIVING : *By M. L. Dantwala. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Pages 36. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The facts and figures presented in this booklet have already been arrived at by different authorities from time to time. Facts disprove the British propaganda of 'progress' in India after nearly 200 years of British rule in this country. Figures regarding progress in expenditure on education, consumption of specific commodities, milk, cloth, etc., Bank deposits, Birth and death rates, Literacy, per capita income, Doctors, Nurses and Dispensaries, etc., have been represented attractively by various symbols. In this way even dry statistics have been made interesting even to laymen. The publication deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY : *By A. Das Gupta. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., 2, College Sq., Calcutta. Price Rs. 9.*

The book under review is divided into two parts, the first one deals with an outline of the principles of economic geography while the second part gives a description of the world region by region. The book has been designed to impart a general knowledge of the subject, it 'does not lay any claim to originality'. As such, it will no doubt be very helpful to the general reader.

The portion dealing with India however needs careful revision. The section on jute is four years behind times. There are omissions which have largely marred the value of the book. The failure of the voluntary restriction of jute and the proposals for compulsory restriction have only been discussed, the introduction and working of the compulsory restriction scheme have not been included. There are similar shortcomings which should be rectified in a future edition. The price seems to be too high.

INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS (Pre-War, War and Post-War in 2 parts) : *By Brij Narain. Published by Atma Ram & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Price Rs. 11 (both parts).*

This is one of the few good books on Indian economics that have been published during the last few years. A new feature of the book is the use of statistical method in the interpretation of facts and in the study of trends. These methods are employed in official reports. For example, the chain index is used for the study of industrial profits in the *Annual Review of the Trade of India*. The trend of birth and death rates and of mortality from certain diseases is indicated in the *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. I (Tables) by straight lines easily fitted by the method of least squares and the Gompertz curve has been used for smoothing fertility rates. Prof. Brij Narain has used such statistical methods in his book in explaining different economic phenomena. The second part deals with war economy and post-war planning. The chapter on economic controls and their significance has been extremely valuable. Full use of the Douglas-Cobb formula has been made in the chapter on industrialisation. This formula is an interesting device for the determination of the ratio of capital to product and it has attracted wide notice. The book is not meant for the general reader but it will prove invaluable to all advanced students of Indian Economics.

D. BURMAN

BENGALI

JORA SANKOR DHARE : *By Abanindra Nath Tagore and Rani Chanda. Published by Visva-Bharati, 6, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta.*

It is not easy to define the nature of Abanindranath's latest book *Jora Sankor Dhare* ; for it does not come under any of the typical forms of literature. It records the facts and experiences of the author's life, but it is not an auto-biography in the usual sense of the word. It contains a good deal about his thoughts and occupations, but it is not exactly a memoir. Nor has it the sequence and slovenliness of a personal diary or a private journal. But if it baffles the critic, it pleases the mere reader beyond measure. It is indeed a unique piece of literary creation. To an appreciating reader it would appear to be a very engaging form of retrospect which is also a kind of reverie. It has some value as a personal chronicle but that element is mingled with other interests and qualities.

Of the singular achievement of Abanindranath as a master of Bengali prose we need not here speak in detail ; for he has already been acclaimed as one of the finest writers in our language. But his latest book has a distinction in point of style which deserves special notice. The quality of intimacy which makes its style so attractive characterises, in more or less degree, almost all his writings. In *Jora Sankor Dhare* this quality has, for reasons we shall presently discover, a special merit. Intimate style when employed in a book of this kind has a danger which only the greatest masters can avoid. The familiar talks of Abanindranath, supremely engaging as they are, never lapse into egoistic chatter. They are not tainted by that cheapness or vulgarity which this mode of writing assumes in the hands of the inapt. Secondly, there is in the style a solemnity, a quiet dignity which is very seldom found in an intimate talk. The note of intimacy in Abanindranath's style does not spoil or obscure its almost poetic intensity.

The poetic quality of Abanindranath's style which will attract every reader does not consist in any laboured sonorousness. It comes from a passion which is subdued by a gentle pensiveness. The vividness of his imagination is matched by the depth of his emotion —the former gives us brilliant pictures, the latter fine lyrical passages. But just as his picturesque descriptions never degenerate into the rococo his lyricism is always above cheap sentimentality. There are passages which read like a soliloquy uttered by one occupied in a melancholy and wistful recollection of a vanished age. Again there are pages which give us a glimpse of the interior of that great house which has given us so many things we are proud of to-day. But the book is not, on that ground, the chronicle of a family; nor is it, in any sense, a homage to its illustrious members. It is a record of stray incidents, of trifling things of those commonplaces which history forgets and humanity desires to know. It is a tale of men, some of whom will never attract the eye of a historian, it is a picture of nooks and corners of which there will be no mention in a formal chronicle. And the most remarkable achievement of Abanindranath in this piece of writing is that he has been able to invest the ordinary objects and happenings of life with a romantic glow. And herein lies the main distinction of this book. Everything here has the enchantment of far-off things, of days which were golden and which will not come again.

RABINDRA KUMAR DAS GUPTA

HINDI

PARTANTRA : *By Shri Raghuvir Sharan "Mitra". Akhil Bharat Rashtriya Sahitya Prakashan Parishad, Jaipur. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 4.*

Here are fifteen cantos, full of the burning fire of passionate patriotism, and couched in verbal vividness. The tragedy of dependence is depicted, however, with more heat than light. Shri Raghuvir Sharan knows, indeed, the art of moving the masses to the point of

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becoming earnest and active soldiers in the army of fighters for Freedom. The price is rather high.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SIDHARI CHADHAN : *By K. M. Munshi. Published by the Gurjarratna Granth Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1943. Cloth-bound. Pp. 156. Price Rs. 3.*

The title of the book means "A Steep Ascent". The book contains the third instalment of Mr. Munshi's autobiography, and throws an amount of light on the different incidents in his life between 1913 and 1932 when he had already begun to practise in the High Court. The pictures that he draws of the visions he saw, give a clue to the development that his career underwent during this period when seeds were being sown of a promising life all round, politically, socially and literarily. Like all biographies it is full of interesting information.

UPANISHADS, Parts I and II : *Published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay. 1944. Thick card-board. Pp. 540. Price Rs. 2 each.*

The first part of this useful publication contains the principal Upanishads and the second, miscellaneous, about 100 in number, along with the Brihad-Aranyak. The rendering into Gujarati is made as simple as possible, but all the same, being a treatise on Philosophy it is highly technical and above the heads of the masses. To solve this difficulty of the reader Mr. Manu Subedar, the Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Institution, has written an Introduction to it, which having been written in an admirably clear style has simplified the thorny subject in such a way that the object with which the book is published is fully carried out.

HINDNA ARTHIK VIKASNI YOJNA : *Published by the same Society as above. 1944. Pp. 108. Paper cover. Price eight annas.*

"A Plan of Economic Development of India" which is being so much discussed all over the country at present has been translated into Gujarati, so that those who do not know English may know what the economic future of India is going to be. In addition to supplying certain figures and statistics, not found in the original, Mr. Manu Subedar has contributed an Introduction to the booklet. It is a subject in which he is at home, and he has propounded the subject with the facility of an expert. In a few words he has laid bare our lamentable economic present, and accentuated its future. It should prove popular.

ARYO NA SANSKAR : *By Swami Shri Madhav Tirth. Published by the same Society. 1943. Pp. 323. Paper cover. Price Rs. 2.*

This is the third edition of a book which treats comprehensively of our culture. Sufi philosophy, that of Ramanuj and other Acharyas, even the Yoga of Patanjali and the creed of the Vaishnavas observed in Bengal and outside it are found here summarised correctly and usefully.

BHARATNA SANTO : *By Rasulbhai N. Bhatt, edited by the Baroda Rajya Pustakalaya Mandal, Baroda. 1944. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 216. Thick card-board. Price Re. 1-8.*

The creed, tents and preachings of, (1) Narsinh Mehta, (2) Tukaram, (3) Ramdas Swami, (4) Tulsidas, (5) Chaitanya and (6) Vivekananda are shortly set out, by a Muslim brother, though these six saints happen to be Hindus. The writer has reproduced details after close study and the language used is so simple, that readers in large numbers would take to this book.

RAMA MAMANUN GADUN : *By Gokaldas D. Raichura. Published by the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 10 with drawings. Price four annas.*

Like the Penguin Series published in England, each book costing 6d. Mr. Raichura has planned this four annas series in order to popularise Folk Literature and Folk Tales, a subject of which he possesses wide knowledge. He proposes to issue twelve such booklets per annum. The story under notice relates to a cart-driver who was a terror to free-booters whose business was to plunder lonely wayfarers. His chivalry saved many families and he always stood for and helped persons who had met with wrong and unfair treatment.

GUJARATI SANSKRITINA SANRAKSHAKO, Parts I and II : *By Mohanlal D. Dave of Lathi, in Kathiawad. 1944. Printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur. Cloth-bound. Pp. 600. Price Rs. 10.*

'Preservers of the Culture of Gujarati' is the title of the book and it is the result of great labour and assiduity. Short biographical details and the outstanding features of the work accomplished by about one hundred and ten Gujaratis, men and women, including Maharshi Dayanand and Mahatma Gandhi are published in this volume, which is mainly concerned with educationists. The list includes workers of all capacities, humble workers like school or college teachers and workers of the higher order, who by means of mere thought or laying down of policy have given tone to education. It is most valuable as a reference book, as on referring to it, one finds out everything about any person connected with education in Gujarat. It is a *vade-mecum* in that direction and as such would prove very helpful and useful.

K. M. J.

—:O:—

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for July, 1945, p. 33.

"The Mala Urals of Periyar" by K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy. At the end of the second paragraph *add* .

"The Periyar Region being a part of the Royal Game Sanctuary, no hunting or shooting of any kind is allowed there. Shooting outside the Sanctuary is controlled strictly under the Shooting Rules of the Peermade Game Association."

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Wind and the Whirlwind

What is called progress and civilization day is a Marathon race where the laurels for the most devilish. J. C. Kumarappa es in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

Why is it that all science runs a-whoring after nce and destruction ? Is humanity on a downward e ? Is violence becoming our purpose in life ? What the causes that make violence dominate the life of world today ? These are some of the questions that ld rack our brains.

If we probe deep enough, we shall find that the lopment of the higher nature of man—character personality—is not keeping pace with the advance e by his mental faculty. A spirited horse has to be in by bit and bridle. We cannot afford to give e reins. Man's self-control is being lost relative to advancement made by science. Science we need but n it outstrips man's character and upsets the poise akes a slave of man and generates violence. Then t is the remedy if we are not to sow the wind and the whirlwind ?

There is a time lag between the development of an personality and the advancement of mental lties. The former is a slow process as all things with rmanent value tend to be. We cannot hand a child open flaming torch. The child will be in danger of ng itself on fire. Fire is good. It has lighted the of human progress. But it is out of place in the s of an immature person. When the situation points tragedy it is time for us to call a halt. Science is . But we seem to have reached a stage where we bivouac a while to take stock of the situation and ourselves together if we are determined not to let mstances run away with our lives. Have we the gth to do it, Or will humanity roll headlong down- gathering irresistible momentum and dash itself to s against the rocks ahead ?

International Uneasiness

The New Review observes :

Uneasiness prevails in Europe and the Middle East, it will continue as long as the Big Five Council of gn Ministers have not disposed of their heavy a and people gone back to their peace tasks. al distrust and competition are apparent at every They are not the outcome of economic regimes, are rather due to different national interests. The t which is a dictatorship with State capitalism is tantly imperialistic as Czardom ever was ; Stalin greedy a 'collector of lands' as Peter the Great. plan is to establish Slavdom astride Europe and and protect it with a sovietized belt.

Russia and America suffer from the weakness of growing giants ; the bigger they grow, the tion they need. America ambitions only a few far- strategic bases, and takes it that political imperial- oes not pay as fat dividends as economic imperial- Russia has secured what she wanted in Europe ; will hold sway over all the land east of the Oder the Adriatic. But she is not satisfied with stretching west from the Baltic to the Pacific. She is attempt- a deliberate push southwards at two points ; the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. The exit on the Mediterranean has become of secondary importance for her trade ; in the Baltic and on the Pacific she has harbours free the whole year round, and the Mediterranean remains a closed sea. An exit on the Arabian Sea would be much more vital. Once established on these shores, she would cut across all the air and sea lines of communications between East and West, and have free access to Africa, Far East Asia and Australasia.

This explains the dogged tug-of-war going on in the Middle East ; Iraq, Iran, Oman, Arabia and Turkey have become breeding grounds of international trouble; it is not only a matter of oil but of world trade and strategy.

On the European Continent, the after-war stagnation goes on ; means of communications, fuel and raw materials are lacking to accelerate economic recovery. Political confusion is as acute as ever, and tension is growing with the approach of winter. Hunger and cold after liberation will tax patience more severely than the misery of enemy occupation, and social agitation may break out into violence.

For the present nobody talks of a new world as everybody sees the old game goes on as merrily as ever. State capitalism and liberal capitalism are both pregnant with dangers of international clashes. Einstein well remarked that wars cannot be avoided as long as we have separate armed nations. He should have added that even within nations, or within a world-nation we might have civil war. The type of conflict is relative ; armaments are only tools, separations are only symptoms ; conflicts arise neither from symptoms nor from tools. Conflicts will remain with us unless pride and greed, individual and collective, (and collective pride and greed are the tougher) be checked and tamed by the sincere inner conversion of all. A change of heart is what matters.

Sir Pherozshah Mehta

Sir Pherozshah Mehta, whose birthday centenary was celebrated all over the country in the first week of August, dominated the public life of India for wellnigh half a century. G. A. Natesan observes in *The Indian Review*:

It is quite in the fitness of things that a grateful posterity should celebrate the centenary of Sir Pherozshah Mehta whose life-work was one of incessant service to the motherland. The tribute which is to-day being paid to his memory in different parts of the country is justly deserved. For, he belonged to the galaxy of Indian patriots headed by Dadabhai, who fostered the spirit of Indian nationalism and worked fearlessly for the cause of Indian freedom. Of him it can truly be said that he belonged not to one province, but to the whole country, not to one race or caste, but to all the races and creeds that are to be found in India.

Sobriety of thought and fearless independence were the distinguished characteristics of his public life ; and we have it on the authority of His Highness the Aga Khan who knew him intimately, that even older men like Ranade, Tyabji, Wacha and Telang; owned discipleship to him.

Sir Pherozshah Mehta was ever proud to say that he was an Indian first and a Parsi afterwards. In an

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THE MIRACLE MAN *WITH* UNRIVALLED POWER

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RAJ JYOTISHI. JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc,, and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan,** etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

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His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says :—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." **Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State** says :—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. **The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt.,** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...**The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt.,** says :—On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." **The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court** says :—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." **The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot** says :—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." **The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court,** says :—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." **Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan,** writes :—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." **Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America** :—"I have purchased from you several Kavacnas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." **Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America** :—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." **Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China** :—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." **Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa** :—"I had orderd some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." **Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon** :—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

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address to the Indian National Congress in 1890, he made a memorable pronouncement in which he said:

"A Parsi is a better and truer Parsi, as a Mahomedan or a Hindu is a better or truer Muslim or Hindu, the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth, the more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognizes the fraternity of all the native communities of the country, and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects under a common Government."

The guiding principle of his political life was freedom from communal bias.

In a representation to the Government made by the Bombay Presidency Association of which he was the President, he stressed that the only aim of British policy should be to bring the different races and creeds into harmony with each other and to induce the best minds in all communities to apply themselves to what is necessary and practicable for promoting the common good. On another occasion, he proclaimed publicly:

"I will never be associated with any movement which recognized racial or communal divisions."

He was one of the few who criticized Lord Morley, when at the instance of Lord Minto, he introduced the communal franchise in India.

Equally unerring was his condemnation of the Press Act of 1910 to which even Gokhale had been a party. Sir Pherozshah felt very strongly that the Press Act was obnoxious and we have seen how the officials began to trade on the fact that non-offcials had given it their support and from time to time had made it a claim for further drastic measures for interfering with the freedom of the Press.

Yet one more striking instance of his unerring judgment. He watched with keen interest the South African Indian struggle and Mr. Gandhi's brave and heroic efforts. He commended publicly Mr. Gandhi's action and in 1915 described him as a "hero in the cause of independence." Yet, he felt that the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, to which Mr. Gokhale had been a party, was a grievous surrender. Sir Pherozshah maintained that there could be no justification for any part of the British Empire to deny to the other parts, equal rights of citizenship.

He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and the University too, in appreciation of his great services, conferred upon him the title of Doctor of Laws.

Sir James Westland, the then Finance Minister, complained of the "new spirit" that Sir Pherozshah Mehta had introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council. It is very interesting to remember that it was for the introduction of this "new spirit" that the Bengal public, headed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, presented him with a public address.

An Anglo-Indian paper did not in the least exaggerate when it wrote: "The Bombay Corporation is Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Sir Pherozshah Mehta is the Bombay Corporation." No wonder Sir Pherozshah was hailed as the uncrowned king of Bombay!

No man who came across Sir Pherozshah Mehta could have failed to be struck by his personality. It was not merely towering but dominating; but it was a domination of "a great citizen, a great patriot and a great Indian."

Botanical Research and Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur

Science and Culture observes:

In recent years, great progress has been made in the investigation of the vegetable resources of almost all progressive countries of the world, particularly those involved in the World War II which fortunately for mankind has at last come to an end after six years of terrible bloodshed. The need of fully utilizing plants and plant products for food, medicine and industrial purposes was never before felt so much in the history of the world. Different nations are vying with each other in the campaign for *Growing More Food*, betterment of its nutritive value and storage by modern methods including dehydration. Increase in the quantity and quality of crops is based on the results of intensive researches in pure and applied sciences carried on in the different agricultural, botanical and horticultural institutions. In some countries, specially Russia, University workers, Government officials, and non-official scientists all put their head and heart together as members of one family in order to raise the standard of food production.

Important botanical investigations have been carried out in recent times even in China, which has been engrossed in the war for many years. Botanical exploration has continued and important works like the *Flora of Fukien* by Metcalf (1942) and *Icones Plantarum Omeiensium* by Wen-fei-Fang, have been published.

In the United States of America, Dr. B. A. Krukoff and his collaborators are doing intensive researches on tropical plants including a large number of Indian plants for manufacturing insecticides and insect-repellents. On the pure systematic side which has a great bearing on the applied aspects of botanical and agricultural investigations, voluminous works are being produced as a result of botanical explorations in different parts of the world on different classes of plant kingdom by Prof. E. D. Merrill, Administrator, Botanical Collections, and his associates in the Harvard University, Arnold Arboretum, New York Botanical Garden, Smithsonian Institution and other botanical institutions of U.S.A. Vigorous attempts are being made to collect botanical materials, both dried and living, from different parts of the world, including India and Burma, to enrich the herbaria of botanical institutions, Universities and botanical gardens in the United States of America.

The greatest event in the history of botanical research in India is no doubt the foundation of the Royal Botanic Garden in Sibpur, near Calcutta (1787).

This was made possible through the exertion of Col. Robert Kyd who was a keen horticulturist. With the establishment of the Botanic Garden, a recognized centre of botanical activity in India was formed, and with it began an association of a series of very brilliant botanists to whom we cannot but look up with gratitude and respect. The original object in the establishment of the garden was the introduction of new economic plants and their acclimatization on Indian soil, and considerable progress was made in this direction. A few examples may be given.

The tea industry in India was established through the efforts of the Sibpur botanists. Sir Joseph Banks in 1788 recommended to Warren Hastings experiment on tea cultivation in North Bengal. Later in 1826, David Scott discovered that tea grew wild in the forest of Assam and in 1835 Wallich, Griffith and McClelland (officers of the Botanical Garden, Sibpur) were deputed by Lord William Bentinck to visit Assam and report on the indigenous tea, and as a result of their efforts the tea industry was established in India. Expenses for the Indian Tea Commission and another mission to China to study the cultivation there cost Government of India about Rs. 2,70,000.

The history of the introduction of rubber into India is quite interesting. In 1876, H. A. Wickham, without any authority, pledged the credit of the

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Government of India to charter a new ship, and before the Brazilian Government could know of anything, smuggled out from the mouths of the Amazon, a good quantity of the seeds of *Hevea*. He brought these to Sir Joseph Hooker at Kew. These were grown in the Orchid Houses at Kew and then supplied to India, Ceylon and Singapore. In 1877, seeds were sent to Mergui by Sir George King of Botanical Garden, Sibpur and considerable efforts were made by him to organize para-rubber plantation in Kurseong, Jalpaiguri and Buxa, but the reports were not favourable.

Sir Clements Markham was the actual collector who pushed into the forests of Peru and Ecuador and at a great personal risk brought back young plants and seeds of quinine-yielding cinchona which were raised in thousands at Kew for distribution. After the Dutch had naturalized cinchona in Java, Lady Canning deputed Dr. Thomas Anderson (of Sibpur Botanical Garden) to Java, who brought a large consignment of plants to Darjeeling and acclimatized them in Sikkim Himalayas. Later, through the exertions of Sir George King, cinchona cultivation and manufacture of quinine were made commercial success.

By the introduction of some of the best kinds of sugarcane from the West Indies and the dissemination of these to all parts of the country, a considerable improvement was effected both in the quality and quantity of the sugarcane crop of the country by the Sibpur botanists.

Other parts experimented upon, on their cultivation, are flax, hemp, ramie, tobacco, sarsaparilla, coffee, mulberry, cardamom, cocoa, ipecacuanha, aloes, cannabis, etc.

The results of exploration and subsequent systematic studies of plants collected, for experimental cultivation and chemical investigation in the past, by the staff of the Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur, led to the discovery of some of the most important economic plants in India in the last century.

In the improvement of Indian cotton and in the introduction of jute to the markets of Europe, the Sibpur Garden authorities worked hand in hand with the Agri-horticultural Society of India. Bengal (Dacca) Cotton (a variety of *Gossypium herbaceum*) was one of the finest cotton in the world, providing cloth of astonishing beauty and fineness. The plant was annual and afforded two crops in the year (April and September), in the districts of North-West Dacca, and the favourite sites were the high banks of the Ganges and its tributaries. The fibre of this cotton (*bairati kupa*), was extremely fine, silky and strong and admirable for the manufacture of muslins and thinner fabrics. Roxburgh in his *Flora Indica* (1832) gives the points of difference between the ordinary Bengal and special Dacca cotton and the MS. plate of the plant is in the herbarium of the Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur. *No attempt has so far been made to re-discover this Dacca variety of Bengal cotton* which appears to have disappeared and Bengal, which once supplied the world with cotton fabrics manufactured out of the cotton grown on her own soil, is declared to be unsuitable for the growth of cotton plants! It is clear that attempts should be made for the re-discovery of the plant.

Of recent introduction is the Tung oil plant (*Aleurites montana*), a source of oil so useful for various industrial purposes.

The Sibpur botanists have also taken a leading part in another economic enterprise of the Government *viz.*, the Forest Department. Introduction of exotic trees received attention and in the garden there still remain a few of the original mahogany trees introduced in the early years. Cultivation of teak tree was also begun on a large scale and continued for 35 years, when it became clear that on the muddy soil of the Gangetic delta, teak stems early become hollow near the base and therefore incapable of yielding sound timber.

Folk-Songs of Gujerat

Zaverchand Meghani writes in *Perspective*:

The wedding songs of Gujerat have suffered least at the destructive hands of time, for the simple reason that they are connected traditionally with one or the other folk-ceremony of marriage. Though reduced to the position of mere rituals, they depict, in tender words and delicious music, the emotional and aesthetic phases of folk-life. For example, the following song depicts courtship.

"On the pearly bank of a milky pond the lad washes his clothes while the maiden goes with her pitcher.

'Wash slowly your garment, Oh Lord, splash not my clothes.

'For at home my papa will be all wrath and mamma will swear at me.'

'Neither shall your papa be wrath nor shall your mamma swear at you, O lady.

'For we both shall wed in the lovely Vaisakh month'."

The following song is of special interest inasmuch as it indicates the part choice played in folk-marriages:

"The girl is playing at the door. Father comes home and accosts her with a smile. (She does not respond).

'Why are you so pale, O darling? And what for the tear in your eye?'

'Pray do not choose a tall mate for me, O papa! A tall one will daily break the lowly ends of my roof.

'Neither may you choose a dwarfish one for me, O papa! A pigmy will daily be kicked by all and sundry.

'Pray do not choose a fair-skinned mate for me, O papa! A fair one will always indulge in self-praise and scorn at me for being less beautiful.

'Nor may you choose a dark one, O papa! For the dark one will put our house to shame.

'Choose, therefore, O father! a brown, slender-waisted one, for 'tis him that my friends, my companions at the river-bank, have approved, and my brother's wife has approved the most'."

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The Age of Kalidasa

R. Antoine writes in *The New Review*:

The real classic keenly perceives the necessity of subordinating the individual to the personal, refuses to sacrifice to his desire to please his ideal to remain true, and unconsciously perhaps, prefers to the applause of to-day the undying emotion which, in the souls of all men, re-echoes the deep inspiration of his own soul.

Kalidasa is a real classic. But because he belongs to a time and to a culture very different from ours, it is indispensable to become somewhat familiar with the atmosphere in which he lived, lest we be so disconcerted by his individuality that we remain deaf to the appeal of his personality.

The traditional accounts of Kalidasa's life are so contradictory and legendary that very little can be learned from them. In 1789, Sir William Jones published his translation of Sakuntala which aroused the interest of European scholars. The XIXth century witnessed the praiseworthy efforts of many men of learning to determine the date of our poet. Unfortunately the material at their disposal was very scanty and they had to base their chronological hypotheses on isolated references. The divergent conclusins pointed to the necessity of a more synthetic method. H. Fauche held that the poet flourished in the VIIIth cent. B.C. Bentley placed him in the XIth cent. A.D. Between these two extremes, a whole gamut of opinions found enthusiastic protagonists. Today owing to the progress and discoveries of epigraphy and numismatics, the chronology of Indian history during the few centuries that precede and follow the birth of Christ has attained a reliable stability. Hence there followed a greater accuracy in the methods of external criticism. The references to Kalidasa in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II (634 A.D.) and in Bana's Barsacarita establish the beginning of the VIIth century A.D. as terminus *ad quem*. The knowledge Kalidasa displays of the Sunga dynasty in his drama Malavikagnimitra brings down the terminus *a quo* to the IInd century B.C.

Scholars to-day agree on two points:

(a) Kalidasa lived in Ujjain, capital of Malwa.

(b) He lived under King Vikramaditya, the destroyer of Saka power in Malwa.

Two different opinions are still held:

(1) Vikramaditya, king of Ujjain, founded the Vikrama era in 58/57 B.C., to commemorate his victory over the Sakas. Kalidasa lived therefore in the 1st cent. B.C.—Already Sir William Jones adhered to that view, defended to-day by K. G. Sankar, M. R. Kale, and A. B. Gajengradadkar.

(2) Vikramaditya is the title assumed by Chandragupta II (380-414). Kalidasa lived during his reign and perhaps under his successors.—The great majority of both Indian and European scholars support that view to-day: R. K. Bhandarkar, M. Chakraverti, B. S. Upadhyaya, S. K. De, S. K. Dikshit, Prof. M. A. Macdonell, Prof. A. B. Keith, A. Hillebrandt. Historians adopt the same view: J. Allan: *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* (1934) p. 99; R. D. Banerji: *Pre-historic, Ancient and Hindu India* (1934) p. 182; R. D. Saletore: *Life in the Gupta Age* (1934) p. 463 ff.

In order to establish this last position supported already by so many authorities, we should, I think, proceed as follows:

(1) From an attentive study of Kalidasa's works, we can derive a fairly accurate knowledge of the social, cultural and political conditions in which he lived. The data thus collected can be fitted into a synthetic whole.

(2) An adequate setting must then be found for that synthesis in some period of the history of Malwa between the IInd cent. B.C. and the VIth cent. A.D. The data must fit in with the social, cultural and political conditions of a once existing Malwa.

(a) Kalidasa's social milieu is rich and refined. Admittedly he moves in the aristocratic stratum of society, but the general prosperity of the people is strikingly emphasised all through his works.

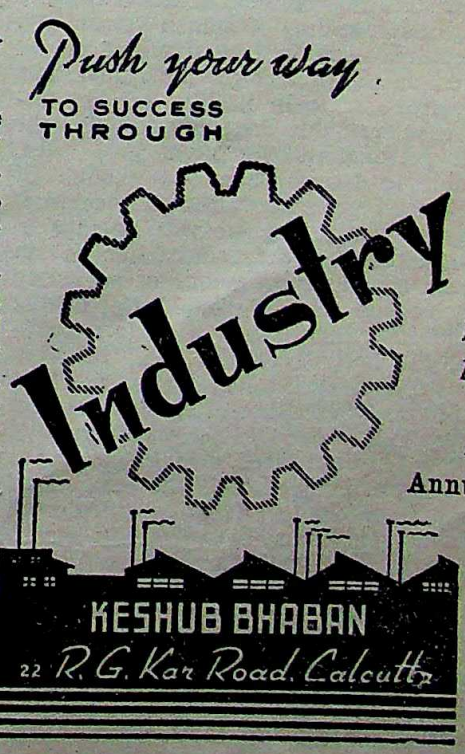
Kalidasa lives in a society where Hinduism is the leading religion, where fine arts are intensively cultivated, where Sanskrit is both the official and the literary language.

(b) Now such a state of affairs can not be found in Malwa in the Ist cent. B.C. Malwa is then the battle-ground of rival forces: Kanvas, Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Sakas and Andhras. The official language is then either foreign or prakrit. Buddhism is far from being superseded by Hinduism.

On the other hand, the social, cultural and political conditions reflected in Kalidasa's works find a perfect setting under Chandragupta II who, as we know from well-established numismatic evidence, was also styled Vikramaditya. We know also that Chandragupta II Vikramaditya exterminated the Saka power in Malwa by his victory over the Satrap Rudrasimha III, towards the close of the IVth cent. A.D. (C. 388). The Gupta Empire, which was founded by Chandragupta I, consolidated by Samudragupta, and inherited about 380 A.D. by Chandragupta II, was then nearing its zenith. Ujjain, which had become the most important centre of trade between the West and Pataliputra, could not but be one of the main cultures of the Empire.

Kalidasa therefore lived and wrote, not under the first Vikramaditya of whom very little is known historically, but at the time of the Gupta supremacy, under the second Vikramaditya, Chandragupta II. He knew Ujjain in its glory after the collapse of the last Satrap. It is impossible to establish whether he was living at Ujjain before the Gupta conquest.

If we want to reach approximate dates, we can safely conclude that Kalidasa lived c. 375-440 A.D., almost a contemporary of St. Augustin.



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Freud's Contribution to the Problem of Personal Development

The contribution made by Psycho-analysis on the working of desires, their conflicts, mental interference and the subtle indirect ways in which some desires continue to work, is most enlightening. Dr. Indra Sen observes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Psycho-analysis is principally a psychiatric discipline and that is why the Psycho-analytical literature is full of cases of mental patients. But its contribution to normal psychology too is of very great value. It is interesting to hear from Freud himself in his *New Introductory Lectures*: "I have told you that Psycho-analysis began as a therapeutic procedure, but it is not in that light that I wanted to recommend it to your interest, but because of the truth it contains, because of the information it gives about that which is of the greatest importance for mankind, namely, his own nature" (page 214). We too are here interested in Psycho-analysis just for the understanding of our own nature, particularly to improve it, as it is primarily in that way that our nature is 'of the greatest importance to us.' Now in what way has Psycho-analysis enlarged and deepened our knowledge of human nature?

The first fact to mention would naturally be the fact of the Unconscious.

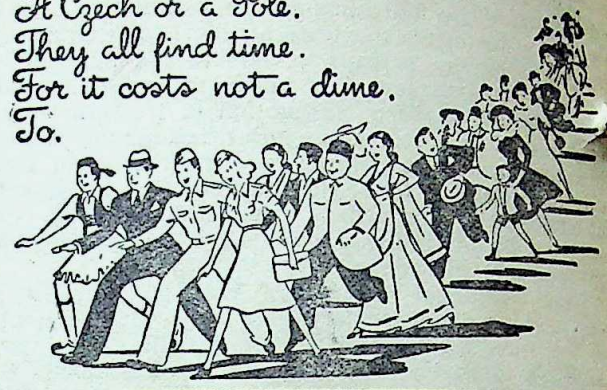
Undoubtedly the idea of the unconscious was not unknown before but it had been left over to Psycho-analysis to prove the existence of it on the basis of extensive empirical evidence gathered from clinical practice. What is more, Psycho-analysis has unveiled the various mechanisms by means of which it works under the varied circumstances of mental life. Projection, Introjection, Identification, Rationalisation, Displacement and Conversion are a few most important specialized techniques of the operation of the unconscious and each one of them means a definite contribution to our understanding of human personality.

The above techniques are, in fact, different modes of 'defence reactions' on the part of the individual. The idea of a 'defence reaction' is in itself a happy discovery and involves a valuable contribution to the science and art of personal development.

It is not possible to describe here the modes of operation implied by all the above-named technical terms, but, by way of illustration, we will attempt to explain one or two of them. A 'defence reaction' is an exaggeration in one's conscious behaviour of an action opposite to those which we may be conscious of having suffered in our inner life. That is how a cynic is sentimentalist at heart, the bully a coward and the unromantic bachelor very affectionate and tender. Those who suffer from inferiority complex often develop an expression of vanity and conceit. The prudishness of old maids is really an expression of a long continued suppression of sex desire. Projection is the assignment of the mind or mental content to a location outside the mind. A man who is vain himself sees vanity everywhere and condemns it. Rationalisation is the production by the mind of 'reason to explain conduct or belief which have no relation to the actual psychical causes of the conduct or belief in question.'

Next to the unconscious, the most important Psycho-analytical discovery is the fact of Repression.

It is important not only for explaining the neuroses and the symptoms, but also for the understanding of much of the behaviour of the normal man. The mental operation of repression just consists of forcibly pushing



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ut of the conscious mind some unacceptable feeling r objectionable experience.

The study of repression has been, in fact, the chief ndertaking of Psycho-analysis and it is so enlightening o follow the devious ways in which repressed desires eek expression and gratification. Each one of the efence mechanisms above referred to, in fact, represents anner of expression for a repressed desire. The dinary slips of the tongue, pen or similar errors of haviour were formally considered to be just accidental currences. But it is now most interesting to know at they are in fact highly significant facts, as they eal certain unconscious motives. The symptoms of urosis have become significant only in the light of e discovery of the fact of repression.

Dreams have become altogether a new revelation. he discovery of the fact of symbolism in dream and urosis mean in fact the acquisition of a new language, nveying valuable meanings of some of the deeper cts of life. We today definitely recognise that a dream not merely a wayward and phantastic aberration of ental life, but that in the words of Freud himself : "A eam though a neurotic symptom is one which posses the incalculable advantage of occurring in all althy people." It is a safety-valve of psychical life. permits a repression to find expression, to secure me gratification. And thus it is that it can serve as invaluable means of discovering the repression of althy as well as of neurotic persons.

The problem of personal development is o discover conflicts and seek to remove them nd thereby to establish harmony in mind.

The same is the method of attaining greater ficiency in life. Conflicts inhibit and retard ion. It is relatively much easier to deal with nscious conflicts. You know the trouble. It is such nflicts that have generally been recognized by the rious practical system of personal development. But ycho-analysis has made the greatest advance upon em by showing that the worst conflicts of mind are ways those, which are more deeply laid in the unnscious and of which we are not aware at all, and that ey can be best detected through an interpretation of eams. Thus has Psycho-analysis for the aspirant of rsonal perfection, opened out a new vast vista of life. hich harbours conflicts, which continues to cause him xiety, worry and frustration and which he only blindsought to fight against so far. But now being foremed of the wider sphere of the unconscious, its ture, character and laws, he is really forearmed. In e dreams, in fact, he has now a practical means of ecting the most intractable causes of disharmony in life.

We have above referred to the unconscious repression and dream interpretation as valuable contributions of Psycho-analysis to a science and art of personal development. But they actually tell us nothing more than what our realistic picture at a particular stage of our development may be. You would ask : "Has Psycho-analysis got anything to offer for improving human nature ? For making man happier and more harmonious within himself ?" This is a very important question to ask of Psycho-analysis. To it, in fact, we find a most sensational answer too.

First of all, it might be stated that self-knowledge is a necessary precondition of self-development and inasmuch as Psycho-analysis acquaints us with the actual state of ourselves in the larger and the more difficult sphere of the unconscious, it helps to satisfy the indispensable pre-condition of self-development. To the problem of positive self-development, its sensational answer is that a knowledge of the real circumstances of the origin of the conflict itself leads to a resolution of the conflict. Freud explains that "The pathogenic trouble does not exist between conflicting impulses all of which are in the same mental field. It is a battle between two forces of which one has succeeded in coming to the level of preconscious or conscious part of the mind, while the other has been confined to the unconscious level. That is why the conflict can never have a final outcome one way or the other, the two meet each other as little as the whale and the polar bear in the well-known story. An effective decision can be reached only when they confront each other on the same ground. And, in my opinion, to accomplish this is the task of treatment." (*Freud's New Introductory Lectures*, p. 362). Fifteen years earlier in his former Introductory Lectures too he had said that 'Psycho-analysis aims at and achieves nothing more than the discovery of the unconscious in mental life,' and that effects the cure. You would ask for proof, and Freud replies that success in the main justified our claims. (*Freud's Introductory Lectures*, p. 366.)

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

How India Aided The United Nations At War

When Japan in the East and Germany and her ellites in the West were sweeping forward on their hs of aggression, their program listed India as the ting ground for Japanese and German Armies. The anese were to move into India after the conquest Burma and the Germans, under the Nazi General rin Rommel, were to swing down through the ican desert, past Suez, and then eastward to India. the blueprint of Axis conquest, India was to provide junction through which encirclement of the globe to be realized.

Instead, India turned out to be a bulwark of ense for the United Nations, and a key point in the parations for the ultimate triumph. India was not a source of manpower and equipment, drawn from rich human and material resources, it was a bridge which supplies from the United Kingdom and the ied States were transported for the attack on Japa held territory. Even while soldiers of the Indian nies were helping push Rommel's African Corps k across the African desert, the docks and the roads India were thronged with supplies being stockpiled the destruction of Japanese military strength. And he same time India itself was producing textiles, l, coal, tools and ships for the use of Allied Armies ywhere. Both the German and the Japanese sides he two-hemisphere pincer had been stopped by the es; India remained untouched, except for a few nbings, and was able to fulfill its manifold role.

The Burma Campaign

Thousands of Chinese troops, taught by U.S. ary instructors and using American equipment, prepared in India for the Burma battle. Some of e troops had retreated across Burma during the first ths of the war with the Armies of General Joseph Stilwell. Other troops were sent directly to the n training bases by air transport from China. In they were trained under the direction of Brigadier-eral Haydon L. Boatner, acting as Stilwell's deputy. Mechanized tank warfare was taught the Chinese ers, as well as the use of newest artillery. Infantry re and driving land-transport vehicles were taught her groups. Mine detection and sabotage also ded subjects of instruction. At the Hindustan Air-Factory and in other centers, the Chinese were t aircraft maintenance under Chinese as well as rican instructors. Not only non-commissioned sol-but also Chinese officers entered into the pre-ions for the successful Burma campaign.

In the medical branches of instruction, malaria ol, pharmacy and dentistry were taught. Wounded ese soldiers recovering in India were given the most rn treatment through occupational therapy, under Indian teachers.

Through the Assam Province Indian construction ers cooperated in building the Ledo Road, to ect with the Burma Road. With the liberation of kyina on August 4, 1944, connection with the old a Road was made possible. Chinese troops trained dia aided in the capture of Myitkyina, gateway to l supply line to their own country. Other Chinese from the modern training camps in India were directly back to the Southeast Asia front, to fight Japanese there.

Allied Airbases in India

Indian airbases helped to keep aloft the Anglo-American air forces whose purpose was to give air support to ground troops, facilitate the movement of troops by air, and to maintain supply service to land troops. By the spring of 1945, Allied fliers in this area were accomplishing 15,000 combat sorties monthly, in addition to transport flights. Air supremacy over the Japanese in Burma had been won in 1944. Far behind the battle area, the Japanese supply system was disrupted by Allied air raids. Ocean sorties to guard Allied sea convoys aided in maintaining the logistics balance, and in all kinds of weather, British and U.S. transports flew over the "hump" route with supplies for China.

India's Manpower Contribution

The pre-war strength of the Indian Army, organized mainly for internal security and frontier defense, was 182,000. At the end of the war, the Army numbered more than 2,500,000, all of them volunteers.

Existing training schools for officers were expanded and many new ones opened. Technical training centers were established, and new engineer corps of various categories formed. Paratroop battalions were raised, some of whom used parachutes made in India from India silk.

Since the rugged and tropical terrain, with its scarcity of roads, demanded animal transport, considerable numbers of such units were assembled. More than 300 Indian major field medical units, including women doctors, served with the Indian Armies. Large hospitals were built and staffed. Auxiliary services included a women's corps of more than 10,000. The Royal Indian Navy had its own women's auxiliary corps.

Indian troops were of great importance in the entire African campaign—in Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, Abyssinia (where they were the largest in numbers and the most heavily engaged of the British forces). Later, there were three Indian divisions with the British Eighth Army in Italy. Indian troops were also part of the British Army in Syria, Iraq and Iran. Speaking of these campaigns, Field Marshal Viscount Wavell said on September 16, 1944:

"Without the assistance of India both in troops and in material, we most certainly could not have held the Middle East and the Middle East has been, I think I can claim, the keystone of our present success.

"It was India's troops that helped us hold not only Egypt but also Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Iran and for this the United Nations owe India a considerable debt."

The Royal Indian Navy

When war broke out in 1939, there were 1,200 officers and men in the Royal Indian Navy; by the end of the war, there were nearly 45,000. Various technical training schools were set up; the anti-submarine school was the largest in the British Commonwealth outside the United Kingdom. At the Royal Indian Navy's dockyards at Bombay, vessels were repaired and refitted, and light craft were built.

The Royal Indian Navy participated in the battle of the Atlantic, in the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean operations against Italy, and performed particularly good service off the Burma Coast. In 1943, it took part in convoy operations, escorting the British Eighth Army, reinforcements and supplies to Sicily from North Africa.

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The mercantile services of the United Nations contained more than 60,000 Indian seamen. By June, 1943, about 16,000 Merchant Marine officers and men had been trained in the use of defensive armaments. At a training depot subsequently established, 2,000 additional Indian youths were being prepared for Merchant Marine service.

Toward the end of the war, the Royal Indian Air Force numbered about 15 squadrons. It aided in patrolling the Indian Ocean and in reconnaissance and bombing missions over Burma. Individual Indian airmen with the Royal Air Force saw active service over Germany.

At 17 technical and non-technical schools in India, training was given in all trades connected with air operations. More than 1 million Indians were engaged in the construction of the airfields, especially in eastern India, from which the Burma and China operations took off. Some types of aircraft were assembled in India. Indian princes donated about ten squadrons to the Royal Air Force.

Industrial Mobilization

Nearly 3 million people in India were directly engaged in defense industries. For the first two and a half years of the war, India supplied about 90 per cent of the British military needs of the Middle Eastern campaign. Later, it not only met about 80 per cent of the needs of its armed forces, but supplied other United Nations as well.

During 1943, an over-all increase of 50 per cent in the output of steel was achieved in India. Quality improvement produced an armor plate of high specification, so that the manufacture of armored vehicles could be undertaken. Locomotives and other railroad equipment were produced in India for use in Allied strategy elsewhere, and India supplied engineering, construction and operational staff for remodelling the Iran railways.

The production of explosives had almost doubled at the end of 1942, artillery equipment advanced 30 per cent, small arms ammunition, 25 per cent, gun ammunition, 50 per cent and light machine guns 100 per cent. Manufacture of machine tools in India was a new occupation, in which more than 100 firms were engaged. A heavy chemical industry was developed including the production of high explosives, and India made as much as 65 per cent of her medical supplies.

More than 50 shipbuilding and repair firms in India employed over 50,000 workers, and undertook repairs of a kind never before done in the country. Mine sweepers, corvettes and patrol boats were built, a number of them fitted with engines also made in India. The Admiralty Floating Dock, constructed in India, is one of the largest in the world.

Reverse Lend-Lease

The lend-lease system of mutual aid among the United Nations, first initiated by the United States in 1941, had brought by the spring of 1945 about 243 million dollars worth of reciprocal aid from India. Included in this was more than 100 million dollars in facilities and services used by U.S. military forces stationed in India. American planes carrying supplies to China took off from lend-lease bases in India, as did the B-29 bombers headed for Japanese installations in Malaya and Indo-China. Stores, rations, transport, telegram and telephone facilities, rental and utility charges and labor engaged in construction and repair services—all these went into the reverse lend-lease provided by India. Among the materials exported for U.S. military use elsewhere, on a reverse lend-lease arrangement, were jute, mica and coal.—*USIS.*

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An International Language

Apart from culture and language, the difference among people of distinct nationalities is not greater than that which exists among the various groups and individuals of the same nationality. A. Lavagnini writes in *East-West*:

The only satisfactory means of overcoming the inconveniences resulting from the differences of language is the adoption of an entirely *neutral* means of communication—*an international language*. This is the conclusion arrived at by an always growing number of people of every social standing and nationality, interested in international communication.

The first proposed solutions for this problem of an international language have been to select an already existing one, either an ancient or a living language. But these solutions—which may appear reasonable and convenient at first sight—must afterwards be discarded, either because of the difficulty of mastering them (in the case of classical language, such as Latin, Greek or Sanskrit), or of coming to an agreement (in the case of a modern living one).

With some years of earnest, if not painful, application, we may gain a workable knowledge of a classical language, so as to be able to appreciate its literature. But, apart from their having been coined for a different way of thinking and living, thus making them inadequate to rightly express the terms of our modern life and thought (to which they should have to be adapted with an exorbitant number of neologisms), how many would now undertake to write and speak correctly the language of Plato or Cicero, or that of the Rishis?

The long training necessary for learning a classical langauge makes its price prohibitive for all but a few very interested scholars.

Arabic should have some claims as a neutral international language. It is beautiful, very rich and expressive, and not more difficult than other natural languages. It has produced a very remarkable literature and has greatly spread, so that not so long ago it was spoken and understood from Spain throughout the whole Mediterranean, to India and the China Sea. But how could the Christian nations be induced to speak the language of Islam? or the Aryans a Semitic one?

We must equally lay aside the respective claims of English, French and German, the three modern languages most widely understood. Whenever one of them advances its claim, the other two (and still others back of them) arise in opposition and want to be given prior consideration, or at least an equal treatment. Nor could many people—not even the peoples speaking them—agree to a condominium of these three languages, or of two of them.

Could, then, either Italian or Spanish, the two most direct and legitimate descendants of Latin, be universally agreed upon as the one international language? Would proponents of English, French or German give up their claims in favor of one of them, although acknowledging their beauty? Nor could one, for the same reason, think to resort, as to a more acceptable solution, either to Russian or modern Greek, Albanian or Lithuanian, Persian or Malay.

For reasons both of justice and of legitimate national pride, no living language should be given an undue preeminence.

Nor should any, on the same ground, be lowered to the place of a secondary or subordinate one.

But while neither Greek nor Latin, with all the intricacies of their grammar, their antiquated phraseology and obsolete meanings, would aptly serve the purpose of a modern *interlanguage*, the fact remains that the majority of the vocables of the last, and many of those of the first, are still living and largely used—although with some difference of meaning—in the vocabularies of not only the Romantic languages, but also, in a greater or lesser degree, in those of English and other European tongues, largely known in the whole world.

And if no one of the leading living languages can be accepted as the universal language, they may all contribute something of their vocables and grammatical features for the building of a synthetical *neutral* language, on a wholly natural ground. Such a language, based on existing international words and grammatical forms, interposed as a *New Latin* among the chief world languages of to-day, which may easily assimilate words of any stock just as they acquire any degree of internationality, is therefore the one ideal solution of the problem we are considering.

Mondi Linguo, which has appeared exactly fifty years after Esperanto, is *an evolution* of all former projects, the outcome of an effort to synthetize and unify in a most harmonious whole the best features which have been developed through them, such as a rational and, at the same time, natural use of the final vowels, and the most expressive, natural and international grammatical forms. No feature or word of *Mondi Linguo* has been chosen or adopted arbitrarily, but each is the result of years of study and experiment.

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The Social Relations of Science

In a lecture in *The Royal Society of Arts* Professor J. D. Bernal treats of the new relations between science and society which have been developing in the past thirty years, and most rapidly during the war years :

The history of science shows it to be a human institution that changes with the changes in society around it. Much confusion has arisen and has found expression in the Press and on the wireless recently, due to the fact that many people have the idea that science is a permanent institution with fixed purposes. When these people see new tendencies in science, they say, "This is a complete breakway from the eternal nature of science." I maintain that science has no such eternal nature but that it must continuously interact in the social changes which are going on. The keynote of those changes in recent years has been towards organisation and integration. We are passing out of a period during which progress was largely due to a fortuitous combination of individual activities. In the economic field there was free competition between small, independent firms ; in the field of science individual investigators followed their private choice. That situation has already vanished in the economic field. Only the more backward parts of production are carried out in small, independent factories. One can hardly expect the great changes made in industry towards large-scale organisation to leave the individualist structure of science unaltered, and the drive towards organisation is already under way.

I think it is worth while pausing for a moment to consider the intrinsic character of organisation in science and to see what are the basic arguments for supporting

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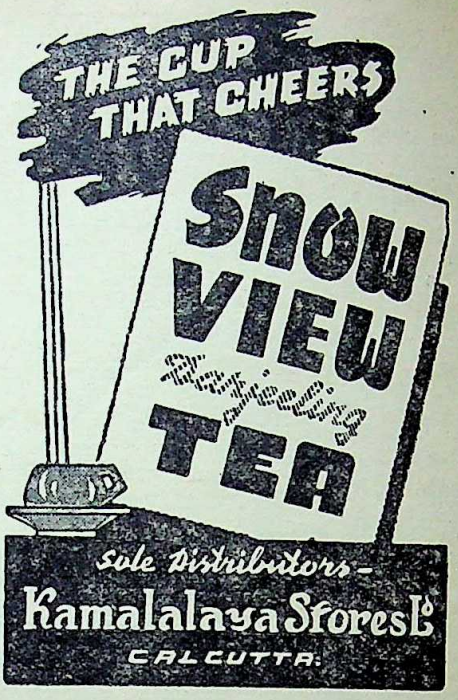

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প্রবাসীর পুস্তকাবলী

মহাভারত (সচিত্র) ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায়	৯৲
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সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ২য় ভাগ—ঐ	৶০
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উষসী (মনোজ্ঞ গল্পসমষ্টি)— ঐ	২৲
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আজব দেশ (ছেলেমেয়েদের সচিত্র) ঐ	১৲
বজ্রমণি (শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্পসমষ্টি) ঐ	২৲
উদ্যানলতা (উপন্যাস)—শ্রীশান্তা ও সীতা দেবী	২॥০
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or opposing it—and they are very cogent arguments, although they are usually presented in a onesided way. The first essential argument against organisation in science is that whereas production can be carried on in almost a routine manner, the activity of science is something which depends on the perpetual bringing out of novelties and therefore any kind of organisation which tended to fix the forms of investigation would destroy science integrally. The essential mistake of this view is that this is not the only kind of organisation and, in fact, no one has ever advocated it for science. It is quite possible to organise science without having this effect and, indeed, the first condition for the organisation of science is that it should preserve the possibility of change and individual initiative.

The second type of objection which is urged is that as science is intended for the good of mankind, while government purposes are increasing by those of war and destruction any organisation of science would pervert it. In other words, science, which should be used for human welfare, may be used and has been used for human destruction. The answer to this objection does not lie with science at all. It is that society must reform itself so that it does not allow science to produce bad results. It is up to society to realise that responsibility, because nothing that the scientist alone can do can take it away. The scientist can only enlighten society as to how to achieve its purpose. He is responsible for showing people where they are going and for showing them the possibilities of science for achieving positive ends, but it is society that must pursue them.

A third objection is that organised science would be part of the state and that every scientist would have to do what he was told instead of being left to do what he pleases. This is an unreal objection. What has, in fact, happened is that some scientists being unable to face social realities, have withdrawn from society, thinking that by so doing they would escape the social effects of the changes going on. In Germany, during the last ten years, we have had the example of a very large band of scientists, following detailed research in such subjects as theoretical physics or genetics and so on, deliberately closing their eyes to the tyranny of fascism and its preparations for world conquest.

This world-wide process of integration of science into human productive activity has been going on for a long time, but the war has given it an enormous impetus. The modern picture of an industrial process is that of a cycle which begins with the discovery of a need and ends with the satisfaction of that need. Science enters into every stage; in determining the need, in finding out the devices to satisfy it, in the design and production of these devices and in following up their performance in practice. Nor is this process confined to single industries; it applies to the whole interlocking network of human productivity.

New scientific methods have been evolved to handle these complex problems of interaction. Instead of leaving things to blind chance and the trial and error of full-scale practice, the resources of statistics can be called on to furnish answers from the study of small samples.

The very necessary stress which has been laid on the function of science in helping to provide for our material needs, must not be allowed to obscure the importance of science as a social ideal. It is very dangerous, as the example of Hitler has shown, to treat science as a mere tool for satisfying the uncritical wants of a ruling clique: that degrades science as surely as it destroys humanity. There is a tendency, which I am afraid a number of scientists share, to treat science as an affair of means and not of ends. That is simply untrue. If you look at the history of thought you will find that the change in our thought from the Middle Ages until to-day has been largely due, not only to the material effects of science, but quite as much to the effects of science on people's ideas and knowledge of the world, and therefore on the ends they seek. Already in Newton's time science had become a social force in pointing out the universal reign of law and thus in buttressing the democratic rights of the people against the arbitrary acts of the monarchy. But in Newton's time the range of the application of science to human affairs was still limited.

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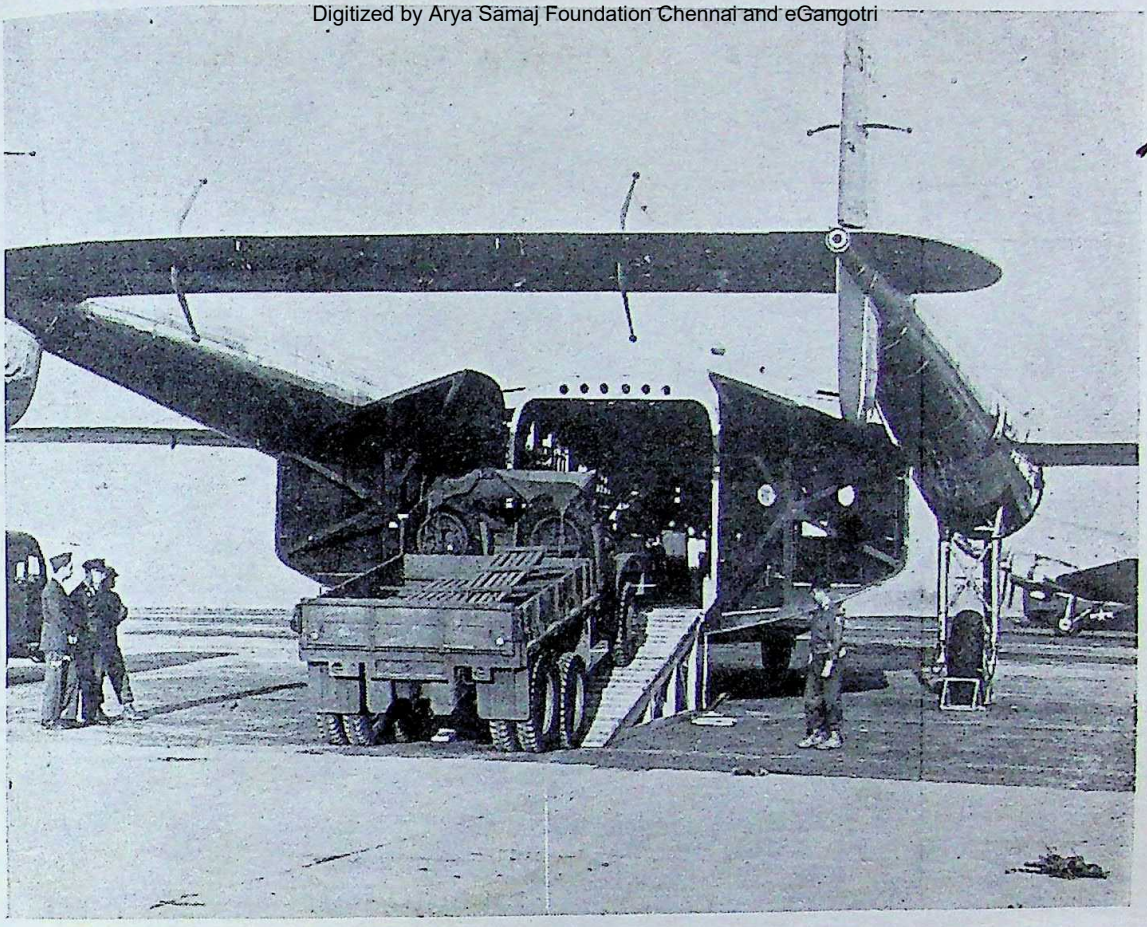
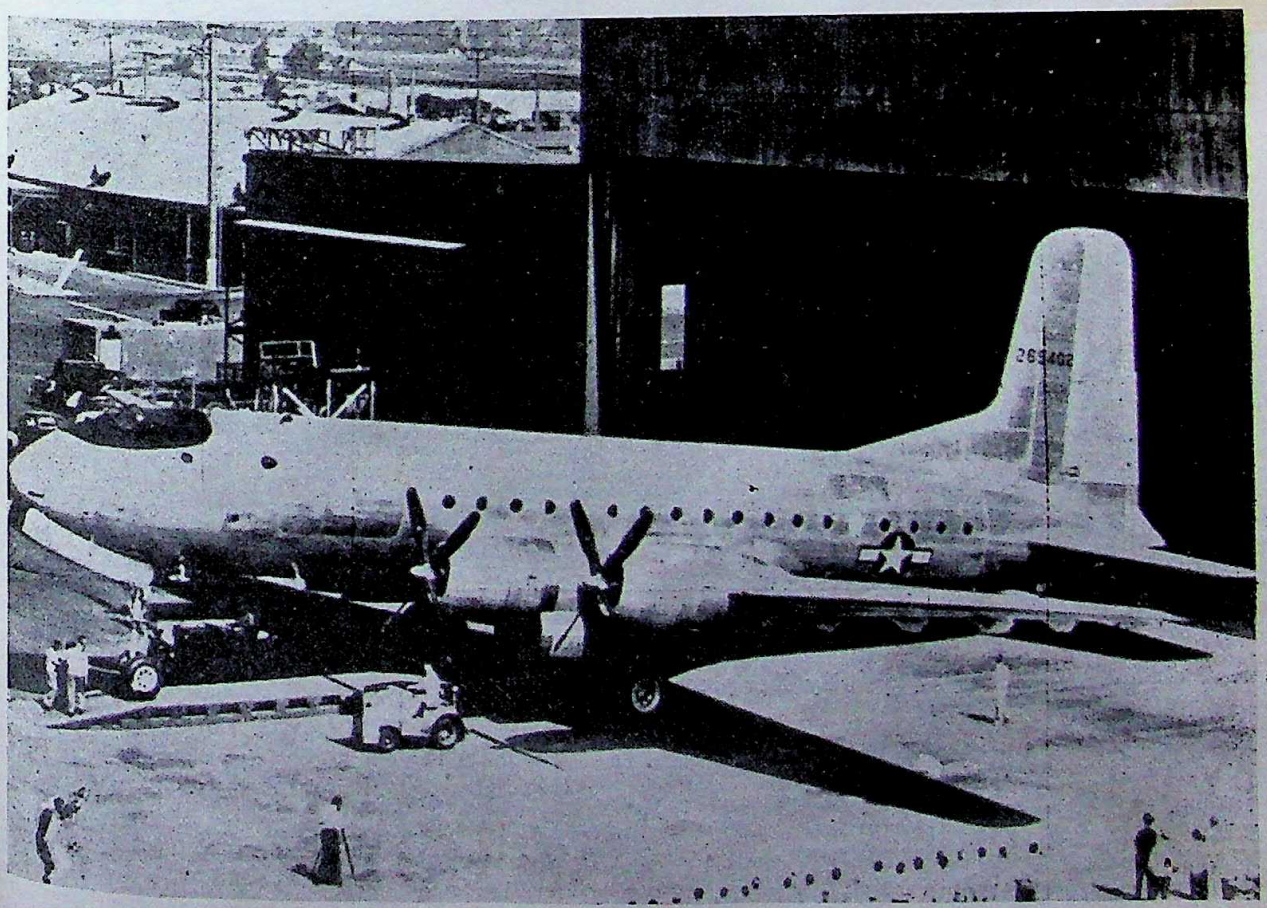


This new U. S. military cargo plane, the Fairchild C-82 Packet, swallows easily a 2½-ton Army truck



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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

I.N.A.

The I. N. A. trials in Delhi have evoked India-wide citation of an intensity that threatened to assume e form of a major mass-movement at times. Fierce monstrations have taken place in many cities when e local authorities tried their mediaeval autocratic ctics in attempts to suppress popular feeling. Pandit waharlal Nehru has spoken at length on this subject, his characteristic direct and unambiguous fashion, d the Congress has taken up the defence and rehabiation of the I.N.A. forces. The country has thus en given a clear lead and is now responding to the l of its real leaders in a fashion that has confounded cialdom and confused many observers from foreign untries. What is the reason behind all this reaction? it a genuine and conscious declaration of Indian dia's approval and appreciation of all that the I.N.A. od and still stands for, or is it merely a major litical stunt? If it be a real declaration of faith, so say, then the main elements underlying this declaion should be made plain now and a cold analysis en out to the world. The most notable fact, at this ecture is that Mahatma Gandhi has not as yet pressed himself at any length on the matter.

It might be thought premature on our part to empt the analysis now, and we ourselves have to fess that in the absence of adequate data we are not a position to undertake the job. But it might be ll worth our while to consider certain facts in the ht of what news is available to the public in general.

The I.N.A. is composed of professional soldiers h a fairly large sprinkling of volunteers, mainly from ongst the Indian civilian population of Burma and laya. In that respect the British Indian Army of day of over two millions is as "Indian" as the I.N.A., ether it be totally "mercenary" or totally "volun-", regarded from the two extreme viewpoints. In particular the I.N.A. was more Indian inasmuch it was officered completely by Indians. In passing it ght be remarked that despite total lack of air-port, with absurdly meagre equipment in armour and artillery and with very primitive and inefficient arrangements regarding supply and transport those Indian officers displayed very considerable ability, viewed purely from a military standpoint. To resume the relation of facts, the I.N.A. and the British Indian Army in fact are not so very different in their composition. They are both of our flesh and blood and they are all the children of the fatherland's soil. As regards the question of the popular admiration for martial ardour, accomplishments and achievements, considerable sections of the British Indian Army can lay claim to at least as much—if indeed not to much more—as the I.N.A.

Indeed if the question of martial glory be raised, then the record of the Indian soldier in the three continents is second to none. In Syria and Abyssinia, in Eritrea and in the Western desert, in Libya and in Italy and in "South-East Asia" they formed the spearheads of almost all the major assaults made by the British armies, and in the bitter fighting in the stricken fields of the Western desert the stoic courage of the Indian soldier came into full account. It is indeed a pity that such splendid material has received so little attention from the nation-builder's point of view. Mercenary the professional Indian soldier might be, but who is to be blamed for that? Almost totally, without education and guidance, without any anchorage in or contact with the stream of progressive thought, all he can be expected to achieve is the repayment of "salt" through his valour, steadfastness and fighting ability, which he has done seven-fold or more in spite of being denied the use of modern artillery and armour of his own. He has received the poorest publicity possible in these days of international news services equipped with wireless, television and aerial transport of mails at meteoric speeds. And therefore it seems to us that he deserves some little encouragement from his elders and his *bhai-bund* to show that he is still one of our own family.

In the materialistic field of concrete matters, therefore there is little to differentiate between the I.N.A. and the British Indian Army. But there is a

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vast difference between the two when we consider the abstract side of the question, if indeed matters that are of the essence in the life of a nation can be called abstract. The I.N.A. has fought with a conscious objective which is in rhythm with the utmost aspirations of Indian nationalism. Whereas the British Indian army has fought at the bidding of its foreign paymasters—though the payment was with our money, be it noted—and fought faithfully in accordance with their service terms and with magnificent courage. And perhaps the difference between the two cases would not have been so prominently marked if Lord Linlithgow had a little more brains and a slightly less grandiose opinion about his own self.

But it is futile to speculate on what might have been. In the years to come the world will have enough time for recrimination about the folly of Fascist and Imperialistic nations. As things stand now, we have to take stock of all our own shortcomings in the field of nation-building. The I.N.A. in the long analysis is an exposition of the hidden side of the plain Indian soldier, for it is composed of that material only. Since we are to take upon ourselves the task of our own defence and that of democracy, we have no time to lose in the matter of making contacts with and looking after *all Indian soldiers*, whether of the I.A. or of the I.N.A. We have made a start with the I.N.A., but it must not end there, for the I.A. has done its duty too, in the only fashion it was taught, and therefore deserves well at our hands. For the immediate present, of course, we must devote all our energies for the I.N.A. in order to keep faith with those that did enter the Valley of Death in the cause of the fatherland.

Students' Demonstration in Calcutta

Students' blood has flown in the streets of Calcutta as a sequel to a demonstration against the I.N.A. trials. When the mass public meeting on this subject was held in Calcutta early in November, the schools and colleges of Calcutta were closed for the Pooja holidays. When the colleges opened, the students wanted to organise a meeting to register their protest and they selected November 21, the day fixed for the resumption of the trial after adjournment, for the purpose. Shortly after noon on that day, students from the schools and colleges went to Wellington Square and held a meeting there. It is said, police were present in large numbers but they did not intervene.

After the meeting, between 3 and 3-30 p.m. a group of students consisting of a few hundreds decided to go in a procession through Esplanade and Dalhousie Square. The time chosen was such that the procession could have passed Dalhousie Square before the evening rush in the traffic of that quarter began. On reaching Madan Street crossing of the Dharamtalah Street, the students found the road blocked by the police. The processionists were completely peaceful and were absolutely unarmed. They demanded passage and when it was refused, they squatted on the street. The Government *Communique* says that the number of students at this stage was five hundred.

Till about 6 o'clock, the trial of patience between the students and the police continued without any incident. Messages were sent to Mr. Sarat Bose about 4 p.m. but he was away. Students tried to contact other Congress leaders and the B.P.C.C. By about 6 p.m. such messages had been sent.

The police, however, became restive. Finding the boys determined to proceed to Dalhousie Square, their patience came to an end and a lathi charge was ordered. The boys courageously stood it. A charge by the mounted police was then made. This trampling by horses also failed to disperse the students. Here comes the story of brickbat throwing. Every report corroborates the fact that any brickbat that might have been thrown came from the crowd outside the processionists and not from the students themselves who all along the time had been squatting on the street with neither brickbats nor any sticks in their hand.

At about 7 p.m. police fired on these unarmed and completely non-violent boys. There were many school children under twelve years of age and most others were in their teens. The shooting was conducted under circumstances and in a fashion which no civilised nation in the world would have permitted.

When Sj. Kiran Sankar Ray arrived on the spot the firing was taking place. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee and the late Miss Jyotirmayee Gangulee also came and argued with the students in order to persuade them to go back to Wellington Square. But the boys declared that since their blood had been shed, they would not budge. It is not yet known who gave the order for firing and what were the circumstances that had necessitated such a drastic order. The Government *Communique* says that "fire was opened by a small party who believed themselves to be in danger of being overwhelmed." How such a danger could arise in the face of a batch of boys sitting on the ground with not even a stick in their hand passes our comprehension. Even the Government *Communique* does not claim that they *were* overwhelmed but merely states that they *believed themselves to be in danger of being* overwhelmed. It has been reported the firing was done by the European and Anglo-Indian Sergeants. Their conduct is reminiscent of the days of August 1942 when one of them shot down an employee of the Telephone Company in uniform who was doing his duty alone far away from any crowd whatsoever. An inquiry is emphatically called for as to why and how firing was resorted to.

Late in the evening, Mr. Casey arrived on the spot. In his characteristic fashion, though he was correct in his first move, he failed to assume the initiative. If he had asked the police to withdraw and permitted the boys to proceed to Dalhousie Square, at an hour when that quarter was silent and deserted, the British Empire would not have fallen to pieces. He perhaps wanted to save the prestige of the Government but the prestige lost by the Bengal Government in these three eventful days will not be repaired in so many years.

Government Communique on Calcutta Events

The indiscriminate shooting of these unarmed children sent a wave of indignation all over the city. The people became resentful and revengeful. There was a general strike by all transport workers. Some reckless and heedless drivers of military lorries added fuel to the fire. A military lorry driving at a reckless speed, killed a pedestrian near Jagu Babu's Bazar, Bhowanipore. Tempers were already high and the lorry was chased. Neither the drivers of military lorries nor

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the military authorities themselves took any precaution after this unhappy incident. They should have ordered movement of lorries in convoys and at a speed conforming to conditions prevailing. They did nothing. Mob frenzy was roused and many more military vehicles were attacked and destroyed in some cases. Towards the evening on Thursday, another incident happened. Miss Jyotirmayee Gangulee and a youth driving her car were killed in a collision with a military lorry which hit the car at a break-neck speed. There was no justification whatsoever for the speed at which the military vehicles ran.

Throughout Friday, the Congress worked hard, as did also the Hindu Mahasabha and the Students' organisations throughout the city, to pacify the infuriated people. The police completely disappeared from the scene. The military appeared on the scene after pacification had progressed considerably. The Government *Communique* states :

> During Friday morning, November 23, attacks on vehicles continued and arrangements were made for the military, who were already standing by, to take up dispositions in support of the police at various points in the city in the afternoon. By this time disturbances began to decrease and by nightfall they had died down.

This is another curious example of the presentation of incomplete facts which is now so common in the "propaganda" methods of today. The real fact is that it was the Congress and the students themselves who, through ceaseless propaganda and persuasion, had succeeded in bringing the situation under control. Throughout Friday, the police were nowhere to be seen. The credit for pacifying the people must be given in the main to the Congress and student leaders.

Miss Jyotirmayee Gangulee

Miss Jyotirmayee Gangulee lived a dedicated life to the cause of her motherland and died a martyr's death. During the fateful night of November 21 and the whole day following, when the city of Calcutta seemed to be on fire, she was with the boys that sat on the road determined to go to Dalhousie Square after their blood had been shed. On Thursday evening, as she was proceeding to the Keoratala burning ghat to attend the funeral of the first martyr, she was killed in a collision of her car with a military lorry.

She was born in Calcutta on January 25, 1889. Her father was Dwarkanath Gangulee, one of the makers of modern Bengal and the father of the organised labour movement in the country. Her mother, Kadambini Gangulee was one of the first women delegates to the Congress who attended an open session of that great body.

Miss Gangulee inherited the patriotism of her parents. She participated in the Special Session of the Congress in 1920. She acted as the Captain of the Lady Volunteer Corps. It was under her leadership that the first women volunteer corps was organised within the Congress. Lala Lajpat Rai, President of the Special Session, was deeply impressed with her abilities. At his invitation, Miss Gangulee joined the Jullunder Kanya Mahavidyalaya. Subsequently she acted as the head of various girls' educational institutions and organised and inspired them.

In 1930, during the civil disobedience movement, she organised along with Sja. Urmila Devi, Nari Satyagraha Committee and led bands of women to offer civil disobedience. She was arrested while resisting the mounted police who were dispersing the crowd by charging through them. She was convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. In 1932, she was again sent to jail.

She had for some time acted as the Principal of the Ceylon Buddhist Girls' College. The Ceylon National Movement was started through her inspiration during her stay there.

A devoted fighter for the freedom of the country, she has died the glorious death of a martyr. It is an irreparable loss to Bengal and to the cause of Indian womanhood.

Indo-Chinese Battle for Freedom

The Indo-Chinese nationalists were the first to refuse to go back to the old Imperialistic rule after the end of the war. The Indonesians were quick to follow suit. The men who fought the Japanese found to their bitterness that this was no war of liberation. They were expected to submit meekly to their old masters and go into slavery. Little news percolate through the strict French censorship about this brave struggle by the Annamites. The British and the Americans are helping the French Empire to stand again on its legs. In Indonesia, Britain alone is doing the job of re-establishment of Dutch imperialism with the help of Indian troops. The summary of an account of the Indo-Chinese battle against the Imperialist despots published in the *Militant* of New York and written by Joseph Hansen is given below:

> American troops are being used against the Indo-Chinese movement for independence. Sent in by air, they broke up a demonstration on September 12 of Annamese Nationalists in Hanoi. They ordered Annamese leaders to release arrested local representatives of the French despots. In subsequent fighting, American troops inflicted casualties among the fighters for independence. An American officer in turn was killed and others wounded.
>
> Saigon continues "under a virtual state of siege, with Annamites firing from places of concealment at French, British and Americans," according to press reports. The American army transport personnel was summoned from an airfield to help "guard" a hotel held by Allied troops.
>
> The American forces are fighting in Indo-China, because, "we are committed," as CBS Correspondent Bill Downs puts it, "to returning the old French colonial regime to Indo-China."
>
> On September 20, the British Army declared martial law throughout south Indo-China "in a move to head off a threatened uprising by anti-French nationalists." The British commander forbade anyone outside of Allied forces to carry arms and decreed the death penalty for 'looters' and 'saboteurs', the Allied labels for strikers and revolutionists.
>
> The French despots said they had "intended to grant independence to Indo-China," but the widespread character of the independence movement had for the present "made that impossible." This lying propaganda is cut from the same cloth that alleges the Indo-Chinese battle for freedom is "Japanese inspired."
>
> The British command has instructed the Annamese to turn over utilities to "Japanese commanders." These commanders in turn would relinquish control to the British who are trying to hold down the Indo-Chinese until the French can get sufficient troops into their former colony to do the job.

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On September 25, the British turned "mortars and heavy machine guns" on the independence forces in a brutal attempt to drown in blood the growing uprising. "Armed Japanese troops are fighting side by side with British and French against the revolutionist Annamites," declared Bill Downs.

"The revolutionists are resisting the return of French rule which would leave them subservient as in the days before the war. Armed bands of thousands of these Annamite irregulars are now moving toward Saigon. Truckloads of Japanese troops with rifles drive through the streets toward the front." Some of the fighters for the freedom of Indo-China are armed with rifles they obtained by one means or another from the Japanese forces, "but most have only sticks and clubs and bamboo poles tipped with knife blades."

Britain Using Japs and Indian Troops for Suppressing Indo-China Nationalists

Describing how even Jap forces are being used to crush nationalist movement in Indo-China, Hansen continues :

The British Commander at Saigon, according to the September 26 PM, "is using 5,000 armed Japanese troops as well as his 2,500 British Indian troops and about 2,000 French soldiers released from prison camps." The number of American troops in use is not listed.

The resistance of the Indo-Chinese against the Japanese was launched soon after imperialist Japan seized the colony from the French. Insurrections occurred repeatedly. The first took place in October, 1940, at Bac-son in the mountains of northern Tonkin; the second in Cochin China in November, 1940. This uprising spread to Saigon. The third insurrection was at Do-louong in January 1941. The present battle for independence began as early as last March when both Tokyo and Paris reported fighting in various parts of Indo-China. Tokyo said the fighting was over in a few days in the south and central areas and in a few weeks in the north. Paris, however, claimed the struggle continued.

On September 16, the Nationalist movement proclaimed "a general strike" and called for a boycott against all French in Southern Indo-China. By September 25 the fighting had grown intensive. The Nationalists burned the Saigon market place. This fire together with the capture of the city slaughter house left the city virtually without food. The Annamese fire department took the fire engines and joined the Nationalists.

"There is every indication that the revolt will continue in the northern section of Annam" says a September 25 press dispatch. "The Nationalists are reported to have withdrawn into the jungle country to organise resistance forces."

The Extent of the Indo-Chinese Movement

Hansen then gives an account of the scope and extent of the movement as follows :

The scope of the movement can be judged from a September 25, *Christian Science Monitor* report: "Since August 19, the Annamites have been in control of most of the coastal provinces of Annam, Cochin-China, and Tonkin, where they have set up the Republic of Viet Nam. They are being backed by the primitive Moi tribesmen from the hills."

Saigon Radio reported September 19 : "Backed with 80,000 rifles and several wealthy Annamite financiers the . . . party holds marches through Saigon with youths marching in blue and white uniforms. . . Military training continues daily in a large park . . . and today the city is packed with Annamites. They live outside the city area, but come in each morning."

French Role in Indo-Chinese Movement

Hansen concludes his article with the following account of the French role in the suppression of Indo-Chinese movement :

Chinese troops in control of Hanoi have not interfered with the Nationalist administration of the city. The Hanoi Radio consequently is broadcasting to the world the Nationalist side of the struggle. On September 19 a Declaration of Independence was broadcast. It said in part :

"All men are born equal; nature has given them sacred rights—the right to be free, the right to look for happiness . . . Yet for more than 80 years . . . France refused us all liberty, thrust upon us inhuman laws and planned to set up three different administrative regimes in the north, centre and south to prevent our national unity. France built more prisons than schools, executed without mercy men whose only crime was that they loved their motherland, suppressed in blood all efforts at independence, strangled public opinion, muffled news, and used opium and alcohol to exhaust our race."

The proclamation charged the French with opening the doors to the Japanese imperialists and describes the joint French-Japanese oppression during the occupation years. The declaration concludes : "His Majesty Bao Dai abdicated and we have broken our 100-year old chains of monarchy, which have given place to the republic, and therefore we proclaim a definite break with France."

Britain under a Labour Government has now assumed the role of a guardian of World Imperialism. This may not seem unnatural. But what really appears unnatural and painful is American participation in this nefarious game of re-establishment of the British, Dutch and French Imperialisms in the East. People of Asia expected a better deal from the land of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.

Plight of Indians in Burma and Malaya

The suggestion that a well-equipped Medical Mission should be sent from India to South East Asia is made by Mr. S. B. Adityan, Editor of *Thanthi* in Madras, who has just returned from a tour of Burma, Malaya and Siam, in an interview with a representative of the *Associated Press of India*. He says, serious and widespread distress prevails among the Indians in those places and vigorous and urgent measures are necessary to contact them. Cloth scarcity is so acute in Burma that the poor classes of Indians are still wearing sack cloth. In Malaya, Indians who are sick and destitute are dying in the streets. The situation is indeed so bad that the International Red Cross Association, Geneva, drew attention of the Government of India to the need to relieve the distress. The Government of India has placed a sum of one lakh of rupees at the disposal of the Association.

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Mr. Adityan says that the funds placed by the Government of India at the disposal of their agent in Malaya is totally 'insufficient'. If the Government of India could spare seven crores of rupees to U.N.R.R.A., could they not spare one crore for the relief of Indian nationals in Burma, Malaya and Siam?

Government of India certainly cannot do it. Mr. Adityan demands money for the relief of Indians in distress. The seven crores of rupees were given to the U.N.R.R.A. because this money was demanded by White men for the relief of White destitutes.

Need for Medical Relief for Indians in East Asia

Continuing, Mr. Adityan says that a hospital in Rangoon was run by a Committee known as "Azad Hind Workers' Relief Committee" and they had a sum of Rs. 10,000 in their hands. The Medical Officer in charge of the hospital was Dr. (Lt.-Col) Lakshmi, but she had been removed to Kalaw, a village 400 miles away under orders restricting her movements. The hospital was now without a doctor. The members of the Committee had requested him to inform the Congress President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the hospital was badly in need of a doctor and medical equipment.

Concluding Mr. Adityan said, "I am sure, if the Congress President decides to send a Medical Mission to the East, there will be patriotic Indian doctors ready to go with the Mission and serve the cause of humanity. The Congress which sent a Medical Mission to China some years ago, will be able to find the men and the means to send a similar mission to help the Indians in the east in their hour of distress."

The Government have evidently failed to do their duty. The people may now expect the Congress to act.

British Diplomacy in Palestine

A special correspondent of the Australian *Daily Mirror* has given a background of the double-faced British diplomacy in Palestine and has pointed out the fruits Britain is reaping there. Rivalry between Jews and Arabs for control of Palestine goes back to 636 A.D. when the Romans, after having conquered the Jews, were themselves conquered by the tribal followers of Prophet Muhammad. The rivalry continued through the age of the crusades and the Turkish occupation which began in 1516 A.D. It has lasted well over 400 years and is as acute today as it was at the beginning.

The argument between Jews and Arabs rests today on two promises made during that period. The Zionists or that section of Jewry which aims at the creation of a Jewish national state in Palestine, claim that Britain in 1917 promised Palestine to the Jews as a "national home" for the Jewish people. The Arabs, on the other hand, say that Britain promised them future independence in Palestine in 1915.

The Zionists base their claims on a paragraph in a letter written on behalf of the British Government by the British Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour, to Lord Rothschild on November 2, 1917. The paragraph is :

> His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.

This statement was made in recognition of the special aid given to Britain by certain Jews in World War I, and with a desire to enlist still further aid, particularly from Jews in the United States.

The Arabs base their contention that Britain promised them complete independence upon a letter written in October 1915, *i.e.*, two years before the Balfour declaration, by Sir Henry MacMahon, British High Commissioner at Cairo, to the Arab leader Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca. Britain at this time was concerned in enlisting Arab support for the Allies in World War I, and to secure their aid for driving the Turks away from the precincts of the Suez canal. Sir Henry MacMahon's letter indicated that the British Government would recognise Arab independence on the Arabian peninsula subject to certain reservations. Two districts in Northern Syria and some portions of Syria lying to the west of Damascus were clearly specified and sought to be excluded from the limits demanded by the Arabs. It has been held that these reservations still left Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was to be recognised by Britain.

At the time, French had already laid claim to Syria and Palestine, and one view is that MacMahon's letter intended to exclude both from the area of Arab independence. After the war, France secured a mandate over Syria only, and the Arab have persistently maintained that only Syria and not Palestine was thus excluded from their future control by MacMahon's letter.

In May, 1916, Britain further complicated the issue by agreeing secretly with France and Russia that Palestine should be put under a special regime to be determined by the Allies. At the Peace Conference in 1920, France quickly claimed her mandate over Syria, but no country was anxious to assume the responsibility of a mandate over Palestine. Suggestions that the United States might do so was declined, and after the British military government had been obliged to cope with a long series of riots, Britain finally assumed the responsibility.

At this stage Winston Churchill appeared on the scene. As Colonial Secretary he attempted to defend Britain's interpretation of her commitments under the Balfour Declaration and Sir Henry MacMahon's letter to Hussein. In a White Paper, he disclaimed that Britain had any intention of creating a wholly Jewish Palestine or contemplated the disappearance or subordination of the Arab population, language and culture. The idea of partitioning Palestine was thus mooted by Churchill.

In 1923, partition of Palestine was tried with the separation of Transjordan from the rest of the country. The Arabs were given self-government of that area under British tutelage and the Jews were excluded from buying land there.

The partition scheme satisfied none. It did not pacify the Arabs and antagonised the Zionists. Both rejected a further proposal for the partition of Palestine when it was put forward by the Peel Commission in 1937. Conferences of the parties were held in London in 1939 but all attempts at negotiation failed. Britain then decided to foist her own decision which she alone considered as a solution. The British Government

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decided to allow 15,000 Jews a year for five years to migrate to Palestine subject to the total number of Jews in the country being kept at the then existing level of one-third of the total population. This agreement terminated last year but Jewish migrants continue to find their way into the country. The influx of Jews into the country in recent years has brought a marked rise in economic prosperity from which the Arabs have benefited. But the latter fear that it would be only a matter of time before they would be dominated entirely by the superior numbers, greater wealth and more advanced industrial and political consciousness of the Jews.

Against this background, the present disturbances in Palestine may be understood.

Separatism Once Begun Knows No End

Separate electorates were, in 1919 created for the two sections of the Indian people—Muhammadans and Non-Muhammadans. In 1935, number of groups increased and separate electorates were provided for Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Europeans, etc. Attempt to create two separate electorates for the Hindus, one for Caste Hindus and the other for the Scheduled Castes, was frustrated. The creation of separate electorates was ardently supported by the Imperialist designers of Indian constitution. Now there is a demand for separate electorates among the Muslims, at least for the two sections—Shias and Sunnis. The All-Parties Shia conference has demanded that the Shias should be given separate electorates, but at the same time it had the good sense to suggest an alternative and said that it was prepared to accept joint electorate with adequate reservation of seats.

Addressing the press representatives Mr. Hooseinbhoy Laljee explained the fundamental differences between the Shias and the Sunnis, the two leading Muslim sects which had existed side by side since the death of the Holy Prophet Mohammad. The Shias had played their part in the history of the Islamic countries of the Middle East as well as in India. Among the Muslim rulers of India there had been Sunnis as well as Shias. The position had continued under British rule. The Shias by virtue of their ability and educational advance had carved out for themselves a position of importance in the body politic. At present they numbered three crores in India and 75 per cent of them were educated. But recently the Shias were being discriminated against and pushed back. In the legislatures, local bodies as well as public services, Sunnis were being given the dominant position without any regard to ability or competence. During the last six years even riots had occurred between the two communities because of the determined assault of the Sunnis on the religious rights of their Shia brethren.

It was because of these developments that an apprehension had grown in the minds of the Shias leading to the demand for protection and special rights.

The best remedy against such never-ending demands for separate electorates is the immediate re-introduction of joint electorates.

Election Prospects for the League

The election campaign in the United Provinces has brought out some significant features which tend to show that the Muslim League is facing loss of ground, particularly in the rural areas. Frantic attempts to invoke Government aid for overcoming this difficulty is being made. The U.P. League leader Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman had recently undertaken a tour of the eastern districts of the province to counteract the effects of Pandit Nehru's earlier visit which had set the prairie on fire. The League leaders have begun to feel that their candidates are not safe in the rural constituencies. Reports from Lucknow state that evidence of this fear is corroborated by the request made by Khaliquzzaman to the U.P. Government to change the dates of election in the Muslim constituencies to a common day.

Why is this being done? Congress leaders in interviews to pressmen are stating that this is being deliberately done in order to prevent the results of elections in rural Muslim constituencies influencing the minds of voters in urban Muslim constituencies. Congress believes it is safe with the Muslims in the countryside. The results of rural Muslim voting would naturally influence urban Muslim voting in favour of Congress. It is a matter both of constitutional purity and political morality whether such an understanding between the Muslim League and the Government should have been reached at all.

In the western districts of U.P. the Jamiat-ul-Ulema which has always been strong is becoming stronger. Mr. Jinnah has been good enough to make a present of his elaborated Pakistan scheme. It is being torn to shreds by Congress and Nationalist Muslim leaders, and some of Mr. Jinnah's supporters are seriously doubting the wisdom of his announcement of the Pakistan scheme on the eve of the elections, when obviously it makes the case for the opposition stronger than before.

Additional factors which are believed in Muslim opinion to be against the League are the recent announcement of the Anglo-American policy towards Palestine, which in spite of all the sugar-coating is being condemned as a broad concession to American high finance and extreme Zionism, and the I.N.A. trials in which Muslim youths are standing side by side with non-Muslim youths in the dock for the crime of patriotism. Leaguers are regretting that Pandit Nehru and the Congress have made the cause of the I.N.A. their own, and the Government have by a huge indiscretion put a few more stones in the sling of the Congress.

Much had been made of the bye-election results to indicate League stronghold over the electorate. These bye-election victories had been gained when the Congress was in jail. With the Congress in the field, the League stalwarts have already begun to feel nervous. We may here recall the statement made by Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan made to the *Orient Press* after his release that the League influence was confined to the towns, it virtually has no hold over rural areas.

That by-elections are hardly any true indication of a party strength has recently been revealed beyond doubt by the British election results. In almost all the bye-elections the Conservatives had won but they were swept away when they came to face the general electorate. There is no reason why things will be different in India.

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Lessons from the Frontier

The special correspondent of the *Leader*, who is visiting various provinces to report on election prospects, has just completed a tour of the North-Western Frontier Province. In his report he has given a good account of the achievements of the Congress Ministry of the Frontier. The greatest achievement of Dr. Khan Saheb's Ministry is his sincere and successful effort to meet the popular demand for the immediate revision of electoral rolls. While the other Ministries and the Governors' administrations in other provinces, as well as the Central Government, manoeuvred to sidetrack this vital issue and the Sind and the Punjab Governments imposed fees for the registration of new voters, Dr. Khan Saheb ordered a full scale revision of the electoral rolls. How this gigantic task was successfully completed within a very short time, has been graphically described by the correspondent as follows :

> This revision was preceded by a magnificent publicity campaign. Fleets of lorries went round every village and town distributing leaflets, and telling people through loudspeakers that every eligible person should come forward to get himself registered as a voter. He had not to incur any expense or travel long distance for this purpose. He was only required to contact his *patwari*, near at hand, who was instructed not to delay the registration.
>
> Thus, such a gigantic task, which the other provincial Governments refused to undertake, was accomplished in the record time of two months and seven days as against the normal period of one year.
>
> The revised list shows a phenomenal increase in the number of voters. Whereas in 1941, there were only 290,000 voters for the Provincial Assembly, the number has now swelled to over 600,000, recording a general increase of 110 per cent. The highest figures are 270 per cent for Nowshera South and 200 per cent for Teri North and Lower Pakhli. The total figure is about 20 per cent of the entire population of the N.-W. F. P. including men, women and children.
>
> This result is the index of the political consciousness among the people of the province and their realization of the fact that this is going to be the last election under British rule.
>
> While other provinces are still hesitant to accept the voters' insistent demand for ensuring secret vote, the Frontier Congress Ministry has already met it. It has passed orders that in future no voter will be required either to cross the ballot paper or to place it in the ballot box in the presence of the returning officer. There will be coloured ballot boxes, different colours being assigned to different candidates.

The correspondent then says that during the League regime, cities were getting a larger share of the controlled civil supplies than the rural areas. The Congress Ministry has ensured fair and equitable distribution of these commodities throughout the province. *Nepotism and jobbery have been eliminated and black-market killed.* Freedom of press and speech, unheard of during the Muslim League regime has been reassured. This Frontier example conclusively proves that nepotism, jobbery and black marketing can be stamped out in no time only if the highest administrators are themselves pure and sympathetic for the sufferings of the people.

The Ahrar Party is very strong in the Frontier Province. The policy of the Frontier Ahrars was disclosed to the correspondent by Maulana Abdul Qaiyum, a prominent Ahrar leader. He said, "Although the Ahrars will fight the elections independently, we will, wherever possible, support the Nationalist Muslims. There is even a possibility of an election pact between us and the Congress, but not with the League." The correspondent asked him who had the greater hold on the Muslim masses, the Congress or the League ? The Maulana declared, "Certainly the Congress. The Congress Ministry has honestly served the people. That cannot be said of the League."

Fakir of Ipi Compares Jinnah with Lawrence of Arabia

The *Leader's* correspondent says that the Frontier Pathans are taking their political inspiration from men like the Fakir of Ipi who is recently reported to have said that Pakistan is a false cry and that Mr. Jinnah is playing the role of another Colonel Lawrence of Arabia fame disrupting the Mussalmans of India.

Calcutta Corporation Strike

The general strike of the workers of the Calcutta Corporation was declared on November 23, the third day of the disturbances following the students' demonstrations against the I.N.A. trials. Two facts must be noted in this strike. The strike leaders seem to have given no consideration to the fact that the city was in turmoil and 20,000 labourers were let loose at a time when they would add considerably to the turmoil—which they did.

Secondly, supply of water was totally cut off which should have been the very last resort in a strike, specially under the circumstances then prevailing. This action cannot be termed anything but inhuman. Even the wounded could not be properly dressed for want of water and there were actual cases of death amongst the citizens due to this cause.

The city fathers must in this case take their full share of the blame for sleeping over the matter for many months since the first clear indications of the strike had been given. Even when the final notice was given they did not completely shake off their somnolent attitude. If the decisions arrived at in the first settlement meeting, which were agreed upon by the President of the Employees' Association but rejected by other leaders of the strike, were given on the previous Thursday, the strike might have been totally stalled off. Many lives that were lost as a consequence of the stoppage of water might thereby have been saved.

In the main we are all for collective bargaining and presentation of concrete and factual demands through accredited leaders. But the conduct of the strike leaders has laid themselves open to severe criticism.

It is becoming increasingly apparent to the public in general that the conduct and guidance of labour affairs are now in the hands of various groups who are jockeying for position regardless of the fact that they inflict endless privations and misery which in this particular instance has resulted in a good few deaths.

We remember the general strike of 1917 in England, the first great organised strike of its kind. Everything

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came to a standstill in the great city of London but the people were not left to die of thirst. A minimum of water supply was maintained by the strikers and standby arrangements were made for raising pressure in case of fire. Here in Calcutta, the labour leaders seem to be completely oblivious of their responsibilities to humanity.

The other point is about the flouting of the decisions arrived at in opening by the President of the Employees' Association and his committee. The later decisions which ended the strike were almost the same as the first. Only there were different presidents and in this instance some brother-strikers, who were mostly desk workers, were thrown overboard. Needless to say this delay meant added misery and a good few deaths to the suffering public. But what do humanitarian considerations or suffering of the public matter when the game of unscrupulous party politics is in full swing. We have every sympathy with the main body of strikers and we only wish that their lot would be raised on a level with the rest of the civilised world. But they must understand that as one group of human beings to others they must observe certain ethical principles common to all mankind.

Pacifism versus the Gestapo

The *Worldover Press* bulletin of October 17, 1945, contains the following news commentary by Maurice Cranston.

"*Dangerous Britishers*". I have been analyzing the list of "dangerous Britishers" which was discovered at Gestapo headquarters in Germany. An interesting conclusion emerges. The body of opinion the Nazis seemed to think most necessary to suppress, if they invaded England, was that of the pacifists! *All* the prominent members of the British anti-war movement are on the list. This is the case with no other movement.

The late George Lansbury is there; so are Vera Brittain, Ethel Mannin, Lord Ponsonby, Aldous Huxley, Reginald Sorensen, M.P., and Dame Sybil Thorndike. People who are pacifists when the list was compiled—Bertrand Russell, C. E. M. Joad, Rose Macaulay, for example—are also listed. The Society of Friends was to be suppressed, but not the Church of England.

Why should the Nazis believe that those who refused to take up arms against them were dangerous? Doubtless because they feared that in England, as in Denmark, the pacifist movement would become the spearhead of non-violent resistance. So here is documentary evidence that the Nazis, ruthless and powerful as they were, feared the prospect of people armed with nothing but their moral convictions.

The British Broadcasting Company described the Gestapo blacklist as an "Honors List". If that is so, pacifists ought to be proud of their prominence in it.

So the Gestapo was trying to benefit by the object-lesson offered in India! Our own precious exponents of Gestapo methods might give some further consideration to the matter with considerable benefit to all concerned.

Social Welfare in Australia

Progress in the field of social services in Australia, which was interrupted by the war, has been resumed as soon as the national budget is relieved of the huge cost of armaments. The Australian social service scheme touches almost every aspect of human life. It includes baby bonus, maternity allowance, education, unemployment and sickness benefits, workers' compensation, rent rebates, invalid and old age pensions and funeral benefits. It is also proposed to introduce a free medicine scheme during 1946. Health and social services take a large slice of the national budget. The Prime Minister Mr. Chiefly has stated that one half of this year's non-war expenditure will be spent on social services.

The war merely delayed and interrupted important parts of the government's welfare programme. It was not altogether stopped. Even during the war it had been possible to double the outlay on social services. The total outlay in the pre-war year was Rs. 181,333,333. Last year it was Rs. 416,000,000. It is expected to reach Rs. 693,333,333 in 1945 and Rs. 821,333,333 in 1946.

In presenting the 1945-46 budget, Mr. Chiefly announced that the Government proposed to charge all health and social services expenditure to one fund—the National Welfare Fund. This Fund was established early in the war but was not actively used. It will now become the mainspring of social service payments and its income will be increased constantly. From January 1, 1946, a social service contribution will be levied on individuals at a graduated rate rising to a maximum of As. 13 in the Rs. 10-10 on taxable income.

The 1945-46 budget provides for the social service expenditures in the following way:

	Rs.
Invalid and old age pensions	288,000,000
Funeral benefits, invalid and old age	2,133,333
Widows' pensions	33,066,667
Maternity allowances	29,866,667
Child endowments	194,133,333
Unemployments and sickness benefits	101,333,333
Pharmaceutical benefits	10,666,667
Hospital benefits	26,666,667
Tuberculosis benefits	3,200,000
Rental rebates under housing agreements	2,133,333
Total	691,200,000

Australia has taken the lead in another direction as well. Legislation was passed in 1943 to give effect to a reciprocal arrangement between Australia and New Zealand in relation to invalid and old age pensions. Under this arrangement, the nationals of either country are entitled to the pension benefits of the country in which they reside. The agreement is terminable by either Government giving six months' notice to the other Government. This is an interesting example of how international agreements might be achieved to provide a maximum of social services, raise the standard of living throughout the world and remove fear and want.

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British Policy in Asia

In a provocative open letter addressed to Labour M.P.'s under the heading *Stop this Shame to Labour*, Mr. Fenner Brockway, Leader of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, writes in the *New Leader* :

When all has been said, the fact must be faced that the British Government's policies and actions are serving the cause of imperialism in the East and crushing the movements of national liberation. This is dishonour to the Labour movement and if the present policies are continued, the Labour Government may become responsible, not only in Indonesia and Indo-China, but in India itself for the most thorough-going repression of people since the time of the Mutiny.

If this happens, British Labour will be eternally shamed. They should demand that the Government call for Netherlands' and French recognition of the independence of Indonesia and Indo-China and that British forces should be withdrawn, rather than be used to facilitate the refusal of this right. They should demand that India's right to independence should be recognised.

The Tragedy in Asia

Earlier in the letter discussing the tragedy that is being enacted in Asia, Brockway writes :

The logic of circumstances is driving Britain to proceed increasingly with war-like actions against Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese. The tragedy of the present situation is that, whilst the desire of British Labour and of many Socialists in Holland and France is to facilitate the liberation of Indonesia and Indo-China, the consequences of the courses, in which they have concurred and which reflect the fundamental wrong of Imperialism, have driven both the Labour Government here and the governments of Holland and France to make war on peoples who are claiming the right to self-government and independence, which every Socialist and anti-Imperialist must recognise as just.

In Indonesia, the Netherlands' offer failed principally because it had two limitations which leaders of people cannot be expected to accept. First was the insistence that Indonesia shall remain part of the Netherlands Commonwealth. It is time we, Westerners, recognised that the long record of evil Imperialism in the East has made anything less than complete Independence unacceptable to Asiatic peoples.

The second difficulty was the refusal of the Netherlands' Representative to confer with Dr. Soekarno on the ground that he had collaborated with the Japanese during the occupation. I know only that Dr. Soekarno has a record of self-sacrificing service to Indonesian people which led to long terms of imprisonment and deportation. He is accepted by the Indonesian people as their leader and the right of self-determination means nothing if it does not mean the right of people to select their spokesman.

Outrage on Asia Should Stop

Brockway concludes :

The use of force is being justified on the ground that the Extremists have taken control of the situation. Decisions which have been taken on this matter by generals in Indonesia would appear to reflect a military rather than political mind.

British Labour should assert its will over the traditional methods which the military will always be inclined to adopt. There is a retort which the Netherlands and French representatives could make to British Labour if the right of Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese to independesce was insisted upon. They could point to our policy in India. Clearly so long as we maintain this policy we can be termed hypocrites if we demand a more generous attitude from Holland and France.

One particular outrage should be stopped without delay. It is infamous that the British should compel Indian troops to wage war against fellow-Asiatics engaged in the struggle for freedom in Indonesia and Indo-China.

Churchill employed Indian troops for the suppression of Greek national movement. This same shameful tactics is being followed in Asia with redoubled force by the Labour Premier Mr. Clement Attlee. Not only India, but the whole of Asia considers this act of the Imperial Labour Government as an outrage on the self-respect of Asiatic peoples.

An American Review of India's Coming Elections

Mrs. Frances Gunther, the foreign correspondent of the London *News Chronicle*, has travelled widely in India and talked with the principal personalities in this country. A very interesting review by her on India's coming elections has been broadcast by the *World Over Press*. We give below relevant portions which will show how intelligent Americans view the present Indian constitution. She writes :

Viceroy Wavell stated that it would not be possible "to undertake any major alteration of the franchise system because this would delay matters for at least two years." What are the intricacies of a franchise system that would require two years of the post-atomic era merely to alter? It is an English, not an Indian system, embodied in a British Act of Parliament, imposed on India in 1935. It multiplies a millionfold the problem of converting Viceregal India into a democracy.

Recently, U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes protested against the Bulgarian one-party voting system as undemocratic dictatorship. Mr. Byrnes, when he has time, might glance at the Indian system. It has no fewer than 17 separate voting categories. These are based not on normal political lines but on religious separatism, "statutory segregation of voters by religious sects," and on sub-divisions of sex and fascist-corporative groups. The essence of democracy is the agreed rule of the majority. But in India, the majority vote can be and is nullified by minority dissent : and both majority and minority votes can be and are overridden and voided by Viceregal decree. British rule has required either total Indian agreement—and who ever heard of 390 million people, or 390 people, or 3 people, totally agreeing?—or continued British rule. Compared to the Bulgarian one-party system, the Indian 17-party system is not more democratic, but only more complicated. It does not yield more freedom, only more headaches.

Analysing the voting system in India, Mrs. Gunther writes :

Nobody in India can vote as a normal citizen of Britain or the U.S. votes. Indians, by English-made law, *must* vote by religion, by sex, or by corporative position. A Hindu is allowed to vote only for another Hindu, a Moslem only for another Moslem. There are enforced suffrage separations not

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only between Hindu Indians and Moslem Indians, but also between them and Sikh Indians and Christian Indians.

Person born of mixed Anglo-Indian parentage, with or without benefit of clergy, may vote only for persons born of similar sex aberrations.

Only 14 per cent of the 390 million population is permitted to vote, and these are subject to literacy and property qualifications, necessarily low, since after a century of British administration, only 10 per cent is literate and the average annual wage is three pounds.

To balance this mass vote is the separate representation, resembling the Italian fascist corporative system, of landholders and of persons engaged in commerce, mining, and planting, self-nominated as such. Intellectuals are separated from other classes by "university seats". Labour is kept separate from Industry. A colour line is tactfully drawn in separate seats for "Europeans". (The British call themselves such only in the dependencies of the Empire).

Everyone is separated from everyone else, and held together only by the imperial-constitutional trusteeship of the English Crown. The lists of voters in each category are theoretically computed by political mathematics in proportion to population, by an English decision: "the Communal Award". But in practice, due to political pressures, there are slidings and "weightages"—*e.g.*, Moslem Indians.

The writer then gives reasons for Lord Wavell's unwillingness to effect an immediate revision of the electoral rolls in the following words:

> Lord Wavell has promised revision of these rolls, last used in 1936. These rolls change with populations, residences, professions, and even religions. A farmer may become a labourer, a labourer an industrialist, an industrialist a landholder, a landholder may become broke and return to a Backward Area. Hindus may marry Moslems, and both become Christians. All this means a continual revision of the electoral rolls, which often become elements of discord with right or wrong people left in or out of the right or wrong roll.
>
> Small wonder Lord Wavell said that any major alteration in this voting system would take two years! It wouldn't take two years to scrap the whole hocus-pocus and enact a law that all literate Indian citizens over 21 could vote for any others regardless of race, religion, sex or job. *That could be done in two hours. But it might mean the end of English rule. So those two hours are being put off.* This doesn't strengthen the position of England or the Empire, but weakens it. Such a voting system would drive any other country totally nuts. The high Indian survival rate of political sanity is due to the unusual stability and stamina of leaders like the Hindus, Gandhi and Nehru, and the Moslem Congress President, Maulana Azad.

Finally Mrs. Gunther points out that despite all handicaps, Congress won the 1937 elections, but in the past decade tacit British approval has expanded Jinnah and his Muslim League to proportions "unexpected even by the British." As dictator of the Muslim League, demanding breaking of India and secession of a separate Moslem Pakistan State, "Jinnah was convenient to British control in India throughout the war." But for post-war economic development, Britain needs all-India co-operation.

Summing up Jinnah's role, Mrs. Gunther writes:

> Wavell inherited, did not create, the Jinnah jinx. What to do with a puppet that breaks away from his strings is not often an imperial problem. There is always the rest cure of jail. But it is significant that the head of the Moslem League has never been imprisoned. Nehru and others have spent decades in prison for advocating democracy and unity without violence in India. Jinnah shouts for secession, boldly threatens bloody civil war and global Moslem uprising—and goes scot-free, is awarded worldwide publicity. Why? One reason may be the well-known oil of the Middle East, to which so many strange new roads seem to lead these days. The coddling of Jinnah may be intended as a mollification and recording of the Moslem Arabs of the Middle East, and as a counterbalancing pressure on U.S. oil interest also paying court there. Whether the Arabs are taken in by this game remains to be seen; it can hardly fail to flatter and amuse them. But it does not amuse Indian progress in self-government.

Mrs. Gunther says that the Jinnah pay-off must come soon. We agree. The sooner it comes the better not only for India but for Indo-British relations as well.

Puckle on Britain's Duty to India

Sir Frederick Puckle, Adviser on Indian Affairs in the British Embassy in Washington, has hinted at a plan for dividing India at a forum dinner at New York which had for its central topic "The Outlook for India." Congressman Emmanuel Cellar and Sirdar J. J. Singh were among those who attended and participated. Sir Frederick said:

> India's needs are not different from the needs of other peoples—peace, prosperity and good government.
>
> There are things which, everyone agrees, have to be done in India: mobilisation of the people's small savings to finance industry, the system of land tenure, modern attitude to animal husbandry, emancipation and education of women and the removal of untouchability are some of them.
>
> Most people believe that they can be tackled only by Indians. We have to start first with getting self-government going. This may take some time. No comparable task of constitution-making in this country, Canada, Australia or South Africa has been easy or short. Must we, therefore, put aside indefinitely any attempt to tackle the economic problem? I think not. There is much spadework that could be done even under the present constitution by a suitable 'caretaker' Government. We ought to persevere trying to find such a Government.
>
> By hypothesis the Government would have popular support and might be able to go a long way towards laying the foundation for the needed economic and social reform.
>
> Sir Frederick Puckle expressed the belief that if representatives of British India could evolve a scheme for the union of India, there would be comparatively little difficulty in fitting the Indian states into the picture. He added, 'The conflict between Hindus and Muslims is a fundamental economic conflict—struggle for power. The trouble is that in India no rules have been yet laid down to which both parties will agree. This is a formidable task which lies before a constituent assembly. One of the two decisions must come out of it—a plan of India under a Hindu majority or the plan of a divided India. To get a union between Hindus and Muslims the majority will obviously have to sacrifice a good deal. Obviously, they cannot get both a union and Hindu domination. They have got to decide which means most to them.
>
> Minorities will agree to a union only if they can feel secure within it. Whatever the deci-

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sion may be, the British Government is pledged to accept it and implement it forthwith. What the Indians are invited to do is to decide not so much what they want, but what they can agree upon.'

The real motive for inspiring such separatist endencies is now crystal clear. We may content ourselves by quoting a significant comment made by erence MacSwiney in his memorable book *Principles f Freedom*. A martyr to the cause of Irish freedom, MacSwiney observed the introduction of the British olicy of divide and rule into Ireland and wrote :

> In Ireland there is no religious dissension, but there is religious sincerity. English politicians, to serve the end of dividing Ireland, have worked on the religious feelings of the North, suggesting the danger of Catholic ascendancy. There is not now, and there never was, any such danger, but our enemies, by raising the cry, sowed discord in the North, with the aim of destroying Irish unity. It should be borne in mind that when the Republican standard was first raised in the field in Ireland, in the rising of 1798, Catholics and Protestants in the North were united in the cause. Belfast was the first home of Republicanism in Ireland. This is the truth of the matter. The present-day cleavage is an unnatural thing created by Ireland's enemies to hold her in subjection and will disappear entirely with political freedom.

Rowlands Committee Report and After

If any proof was needed to show the complete utility of Provincial Autonomy, the way in which the dministrative machinery is being organised and xpanded behind the back of the Legislature and the linistry by Mr. Casey's Government is an unrebuttable roof of it.

The Bengal Administration, which has played ucks and drakes with the country and proved its utter efficiency, is moving headlong in its own peculiar way increase the strength of the futile busy-bodies nown as public servants in this country. Any increase their number means an addition of pay, pension and her emoluments to the already intolerable burden of e taxpayer. The Bengal famine was the greatest mistakable proof of the complete incompetence of e system of administration that has been run for over century in this country. In that system the officials live a ceaseless circle of fatuous procedure regardless of the oblems of the people. The chronic poverty of the ople, the widespread existence of disease, the comete lack of any system of national re-construction, the w and antiquated educational system, the economic agnation, the lack of sense of security, justice and rplay among the citizens, the complete lack of a putation for efficiency of its officials are absolute and desirable proofs of the worthlessness and incompetence of the administrative machinery foisted on by an alien power. This stagnating condition has en accentuated for the last three or four decades by oups of British officials guiding ignorant Governors d setting up an incompetent Ministry by all sorts of litical and administrative devices. The prime object the Indian Administrative system has been to stem growth of integrated nationalism and to maintain Imperialist stranglehold on this country.

The Reports so far written by the officials themves to paint their glory had shown to all outside the untry the excellence of that administration. In the Rowlands Committee Report, however, there has been a departure. It admits many of the defects of the system which the people have so long persistently pointed out. Nevertheless, it could not rise above the spirit which permeates the "Services" and finally suggested very clever security measures for their safeguard. The people alone know, at a tremendous cost in blood and money, the real tragic truth. The Bengal famine has been a visual demonstration of the cumulative effect of that inefficiency and incompetence of a system which has been manned by the highest paid services of the world in the poorest of all countries. Salaries had been fixed at fabulously high levels to check corruption among British officials. How it has worked should now be the subject-matter of an impartial enquiry.

If one analyses and scans the official expansion during the last 20 years and checks that up against the economic and moral deterioration and degradation of the people of the country, one will have an amazing picture. Official expansion had been pushed further during the war that has just come to an end. Since 1939, people have found Directors-General, Controllers-General, Commissioners, etc., in plenty; their Deputies, Assistants, Deputy Assistants *ad nauseam*; Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, First Additional Secretaries, Additional Additional Secretaries, etc., *ad infinitum*, with their whole hierarchy and official paraphernalia. With the increase in officials have come the increase in the demand for accommodation, its upkeep, its outfit, and to crown all an unending demand for taxes to provide for the huge show. The Director-General of Food maintained his office and hierarchy in tiptop condition when millions died for a morsel of food. The Textile Commissioner continues to argue when the people move about almost naked. Auditors-General and Accountants-General paraded about when public money in crores and lakhs could be stolen and wasted.

With such experiences on record, the Rowlands Committee have recommended further increase in the number of officials and the Government of Bengal have zealously seized upon this suggestion. They failed to see, or could not muster courage to admit that it was the spirit and not the number of members that was the crux of the problem. It is the spirit of devoted service to the cause of the people of the country that is really wanting. Such glaring omissions only confirm the popular belief that a non-national state can never inspire the people nor develop their faculties. The ruling corporation or the ruling group is only interested in overlordship. The sufferings of the people and their problem have only a sort of Platonic interest for them. They can never inspire a people with moral enthusiasm which alone can break through the stagnation, the frustration that lie so deep, the I.C.S. or their Indian shadows cannot develop the dynamics which alone can bring new life. There is no cohesion between the machine and the people. The machine develops official automatism and solves no problem, nor ever can.

Implementing the Rowlands Committee Report

Rowlands Committee recommended abolition of the posts of Divisional Commissioners. The ruling corporation dislikes this idea and has taken no action on it. The Committee recommends more members for the Board of Revenue, more addition to senior posts and

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better emoluments for them. The ruling group is pleased and immediately acts upon it. Like the swan, they sip the milk and throw out the water.

The Committee recommends splitting up of some districts. The ruling group sees in it more appointments —more District Magistrates, and Collectors, Additional Collectors, District Judges, Superintendents of Police with their Additionals. This recommendation is approved and preparations for giving effect to it has already begun. The plea for the division of districts is that it would ensure better supervision of the people. But are the people of Bankura better looked after, more progressive, sounder in economic condition and healthier and better educated than the people of Tamluk or Contai in the district of Midnapore? Is it not a fact that Bankura is one of the smallest of districts with a full contingent of heads—Magistrate and Collector, Superintendent of Police, District Judge, etc.? Is it not a district of chronic famines with an increasing death-rate, poor education and with no irrigation? Has a single problem of this small district been solved during the last fifty years? Instances can be multiplied but we refrain for the moment.

Mr. Casey seems to have made up his mind. He has declared that "too much is expected of too few." He is determined to make this "few" many. It is useless to argue. A wider knowledge, a deeper sympathy and an ardent nationalism would have helped him to see rightly, but where these are lacking it is futile to argue. The world will judge.

Rehabilitation in Bengal

The Additional Commissioner of Civil Supplies in Bengal, a British officer of the I.C.S., has assured the people of the province through a Press Conference that the Directorate of Relief and Rehabilitation had been maintaining a *continuous watch* on the situation in close liaison with the Civil Supply, Agriculture ahd Health Departments. Both the Director and the Deputy Director had toured the affected areas and comprehensive measures of relief had been planned in consultation with the local officers to be put into effect as soon as signs of distress appeared in any locality. The Executive staff in the districts had been *strengthened by the appointment of a number of special Relief Officers* and jeeps were arranged for facility of touring. Any non-official organisation which wanted to take up relief work and sought Government assistance for the purpose was asked to apply to the District Officer in the mofussil and the Relief Co-ordination Officer in Calcutta.

The Relief measures which were ready for instant implementation comprised financing of drainage and irrigation projects, road construction and excavation of derelict tanks to provide work for the able-bodied; the opening of shops for the sale of foodgrains at cheap rates; the free distribution of foodgrains and cash to those who could neither work nor had the means to pay; grant of agricultural loans, etc.

Three years after the enforcement of the denial policy and two years after the devastations of the famine, an Additional Commissioner of Civil Supplies, a Director and a Deputy Director of Rehabilitation have nothing but assurance for a people whose means of livelihood had been snatched away at a moment's notice, who were evicted from their ancestral homes at a few hours' notice and who have become homeless destitutes solely due to the inefficiency and incompetence of a government for whose upkeep they have paid taxes for generations. When it was a question of Imperial need, the "services" acted with lightning speed to snatch away boats which were the sole means of income for the fishermen and the boatmen and to turn out cultivators from their ancestral villages. The compensation that was given and that actually reached these unfortunate people hardly sufficed to meet the expenses of a month or two. Now, when the question of making some amends to the grave injustice done to these people comes, these very officials have failed to do anything during the last three years. They now come forward with a declaration that they are *watching* the situation. People believe that something will be done now in the interest of the Imperial Government, but there is grave doubt whether this will mean any relief to the really needy Bengali villager. Rehabilitation now is believed to mean re-settlement and relief of demobilised personnel alone and it is to be seen how many of the suffering sons of the soil find place in such schemes.

Rehabilitation in Bengal during these years have meant at least one thing. It has rehabilitated bloated officialdom. Society and its problems have been left alone. Can it be shown that a single rehabilitation scheme has survived the show outside the Appendix of the Report of the Department concerned? Has a single scheme taken root in the soil of the land? Public money has been squandered in large amounts only to keep up this show of rehabilitation. One could suggest that the funds available could be funded to be drawn upon when a machinery, efficient, honest and nationally minded could be evolved to function with a national purpose inspired by a national idealism. Every expenditure till then is sheer waste.

Future of Western Civilisation

In an article under the above caption, Prof. C. E. M. Joad analyses the Western civilisation. According to him its distinctive feature is the "disparity between our powers and our wisdom." Prof. Joad writes:

> In the nineteenth century the English believed in a law of progress. Each generation was to rise upon the shoulders of its predecessors to even greater heights of knowledge, beauty, culture, goodness, wealth and comfort—especially of wealth and comfort. We who have lived through two wars feel less confident. Our own substitute, I suspect for the Victorian law of progress would be the theory of civilisations' recurrent rise and fall, described in Spengler's *Decline of the West*. Civilizations, says Spengler, run in cycles. Like the individual of whom they are composed they pass through their inevitable phases; they are young, come to maturity, grow old and fall to pieces. Spengler distinguishes eight civilizations—or rather, cultures, as he calls them—in the history of mankind, each of which has passed through a roughly parallel course. Sir Flinders Petrie, digging in the sands of Egypt and the Near East has recorded the finding of the ruins of no less than seven different cultures, each of which reached a high stage of civilization and then apparently decayed. Reflecting upon Spengler's theory and the archaeological discoveries that seem so convincingly to illustrate it, one is tempted to wonder whether there may not be some fundamental flaw in human nature which, while permitting man to raise his life to a certain level, forbids him to maintain it at the level reached for more than a certain time. When the appointed span has run, the civilization, it seems,

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declines. Suppose for a moment that there is such a law. Why should we suppose that our own Western civilization is immune from its operations? What is there so particularly wise and virtuous about us, that we should succeed when so many have failed?

The flaw about which Prof. Joad is uncertain is plain enough to our eyes. It is the urge in all power-conscious peoples to impose upon the weaker and the more peaceful inhabitants of this earth and to force them into a state of passive inertia while their life-blood is being drained away for the benefit of their rulers. In short the germ of decay that has affected all civilizations of the past is imperialism, a variety of parasitism, and Western civilization is also infected by the same dread disease.

Distinctive Features of Western Civilisation

Prof. Joad continues:

What is the distinctive feature of Western civilization? It is the disparity between our powers and our wisdom. The architect of our civilization is science—science which has explored the world of physical nature, tapped its powers, and harnessed them to man's service. But while science has given us powers fit for the gods, we bring to their use the mentality of savages and schoolboys.

Look, for example, at that aeroplane humming across the summer sky; the knowledge of mathematics, of dynamics and mechanics, of electricity and internal combustion, the ingenuity in the application of that knowledge, the skill in the working of woods and metals that have gone to its making are such as to suggest that its inventors were supermen. The intrepidity, resolution, and courage which were shown by the early flying men were the qualities of heroes.

Now consider the purposes for which the modern aeroplane has been in the past, and seems all too likely in the future again to be used, to drop bombs that shatter and choke, burn and poison and dismember defenceless people, so that, as an English novelist has put it, "modern war has become a running away with one's small children and a not being able to run fast enough." These, one feels, are the purposes of idiots or devils. While the superman made the aeroplane, the ape in man has got hold of it.

This contrast, the contrast between the miracle of our powers and the imbecility of the uses to which we put them, seems to me to run right through our civilization. Just think of the things that science can enable us to do. We can talk across continents and oceans, telegraph pictures, instal television sets in the home, listen in Delhi to Big Ben striking in London, ride above and beneath the earth and the sea. Children can talk along wires, typewriters are silent, teethfilling is painless, liners have swimming baths, crops are ripened by electricity, roads are made of rubber, X-rays are the windows through which we behold our insides, photographs speak and sing, murderers are tracked down by wireless, hair is waved by electric current, submarines go to the North Pole, aeroplanes to the South . . . Yet, we cannot in England in the midst of our enormous cities provide a little space where poor children may play in comfort and safety, with the result that we kill them with our cars at the rate of 4,000 and mutilate them at the rate of 200,000 a year (these are peace-time figures).

Lessons of the Indian Civilisation

Summing up Prof. Joad brings out in bold relief the contrast between Western and Indian civilisation. He writes:

To sum up the situation, while in power we have outstripped all our predecessors, in wisdom we have stood still. We have achieved an unprecedented mastery of the means to the good life, but in knowledge of how to live we have not passed beyond the level reached by the ancient Greeks.

This, the peculiar predicament of Western Civilization, was forcibly brought home to me by an Indian Philosopher who happend to be my neighbour, just before the war at a public luncheon. In the morning's paper there had been reported some new marvel of our technical skill. Somebody had succeeded in flying from Moscow to New York in 24 hours—or was it 24 days?—anyway, he had flown very fast, or somebody had succeeded in driving a motor along the sands of Pendine in South Wales rather faster than somebody else. And making conversation conveniently, as one does at public luncheons, I commented on the feat to my companion. "What a wonderful performance," I remember saying to him. "Yes," he replied, "it is wonderful. In fact yours is a wonderful civilization. *You can fly in the air like birds and swim in the sea like fishes, but how to walk upon the earth you do not yet know.*"

Let us apply these generalizations to our present predicament. The moral is surely obvious enough. Give a schoolboy an airgun and he may break a few windows or shoot a sparrow or two, but that is the extent of the damage; give him a modern Tommy Gun and you turn him into a public menace. One does not, after all give the baby a box of matches, or a modern Government the atomic bomb. Yet this precisely is what science has done to our generation, with the result that we are within measurable distance of destroying ourselves through sheer inability to control the powers which it has placed at our disposal. It is not, therefore, necessary to show that mankind is worse than it has been in the past, to realise the danger in which we stand. It is sufficient to point to our need to be very much better; better, because we are so very much more powerful, all of which means in effect that if our civilization is to continue we must eliminate war.

An Administrator on Indian Civilisation

The fundamental truth of Indian civilisation is that it is a code of life. It permeates through the very existence of every person born in India. We give below an extract from a Minute recorded by Sir Thomas Munro, who had distinguished himself as an administrator, had worked for twenty-seven years in India from 1780 to 1807 and finally rose to be the Governor of Madras. He mixed with the people and observed their ways of life. Till then India was free from the impact of Western civilisation. Munro wrote:

If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience of luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am

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convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo.

P. E. N. Secretary on Indian Demonstrations

People outside, especially in England, need to be better informed about the Indian situation—with these words Mr. Hermann Ould, International Secretary of the P.E.N., in an interview to the *Associated Press of India* summed up his impressions of six weeks' stay in India. Asked what his impressions of the political feeling of Indian people were, Mr. Ould said :

> Now you don't expect me to commit myself after six weeks in your country, do you ? I am not that sort of fool. But I do not mind saying one or two things.
>
> I have had opportunities of meeting Indians of all kinds and opinions—Muslims, Hindus, and free-thinkers, Congressmen and Leaguers, Communists and Liberals, and I must confess that they all had one thing—and often only one thing—in common; they longed for Indian independence. Some of them thought it should come within a matter of months, others thought years, ten, fifteen.
>
> Mr. Ould frankly said that people in England generally got the impression that the whole country of India was seething with demonstrations and excited against the British. But he was happy to find on direct knowledge that it was not so. *Indians, certainly, felt strongly for and desired intensely political freedom, but they were not unruly.*
>
> Referring to what he had read the other day in papers that feeling in India was growing more intense and that hatred of Britain and Britons was in the very air and so on, Mr. Ould said : "This seems to me dangerous nonsense. I have heard plenty of criticism, bitter criticism, of British policy; I have heard attacks on civil servants in India—not only English but Indian—but *I have yet to hear the expression of hatred of English people as such.*"

The meaning of *Quit India* has been grossly distorted by some Anglo-Indian newspapers in this country who pretend to preach balance. By *Quit India* the people of India desire to express the feeling that political domination in this country by Britain should end. It is not an ultimatum to the British people *as such* to leave India with bags and baggages. The demand for an immediate transfer of power is embodied in these two words. The real meaning of Quit India has been misunderstood to a certain extent through interested propaganda, but Mr. Ould's statement shows that it has not been lost.

Sanskrit Education in India

"When Macaulay's catastrophic experiments of trying to convert us into cultural parasites of the West was inaugurated we would have lost our national soul completely but for the fact that Sanskrit culture was deep-rooted in our hearts, tradition and life. A hundred years of such attempts to make us lose our soul has not been successful"—thus observed Mr. K. M. Munshi inaugurating the All-India Sanskrit Literary Conference at Agra.

Mr. Munshi said :

> The study of Sanskrit has fallen on evil days. The old time pathshala education is out of date, unprogressive and uncritical. The Pathshala student acquires faith in form and rituals. He has not the larger faith in the fundamentals of Culture which Sanskrit has given him. It is of the highest importance that all institutions should be knit together under a Federal Council of Sanskrit education, and the courses should be modified and brought up-to-date and the titles and degrees should have the stamp of central authority. This would involve a few leading institutions in the country combining to produce an All-India Organisation. Institutions like the oriental colleges at Lahore and Benares, the Sanskrit Association of Calcutta, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay, the Sanskrit Academy of Madras and the Sanskrit College of Tirupati, in my opinion, should all combine to produce an All-India Sanskrit Academy, which would regulate the Sanskritic-studies. In this way alone you will be able to give to India an All-India University of Sanskrit.
>
> Sanskrit education as at present imported in our universities is inadequate and mechanical. Sanskrit education should be rescued from the present mechanical mode of instruction. Most of the Indian languages owe their present richness and strength to Sanskrit. Each of these languages has a growing literature and powerful literary institutions. We have Sahitya Parishads in almost all languages of India. Mr. Munshi suggests that there should be clear contact between these institutions and a keener realisation of the fact that literary evolution in the country has a uniform shape and direction and only expresses the great cultural renaissance produced by the contact of Sanskrit beauty and expressiveness with Western diversity and freedom.
>
> If India is a nation today it is because we have enjoyed a unity of cultural life. If we have a national culture today, it is because Sanskrit and all that it stands for has through ages shaped the life of millions and created languages and outlook which make us feel one. Our Epics and the Puranas, which form the very foundation of our cultural and ethical life, are in Sanskrit. We have a national consciousness because Indian leaders of modern times have sought to express the fundamental unity of culture through the modes of modern life.

Teaching by Broadcasts

A proposal for an International University from which lectures could be broadcast to students in their homes all over the world, says a *News Chronicle* reporter, is to be discussed at the United Nations Education Conference in London. It is the idea of Professor Mikolaj Olekiewicz, teacher of Mathematical Statistics at the newly founded University of Lublin and one of the Polish delegates to the conference.

Professor Olekiewicz told the reporter that an International University would provide a practical answer to many problems in Europe where text-books had been burnt, schools destroyed and teachers murdered. Explaining his main ideas, he said, "My concept of the Faculty is this—prominent men of science, art and letters will be appointed from all countries of the United Nations. These men could deliver their lecture in their own studies merely by hooking up to the University's network. There would be no resident students. Young men and women all over the world could listen in their homes and at the same time enrol in correspondence courses conducted by the University. Once or twice yearly, students of the University should be given an opportunity of meeting other students—it would be fairly easy to arrange

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Professor Olekiewicz's proposal is most welcome. It be highly profitable for those students, who for some reason or other, cannot go abroad for higher studies. It would also enable students returned from abroad to remain in close touch with the greatest teachers of the world.

Government and Scientific Research

On November 17, 1944, President Roosevelt asked in the U.S.A. Dr. Vannever Bush, Director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development to make recommendations on four points: (1) what could be done to make known to the world the scientific contributions of war time, (2) what could be done to continue the programme with particular reference to the war of science against disease, (3) what could the Federal Government do in the future to aid research activities of public and private organisations, and (4) could an effective programme be developed for discovering scientific talent in the American youth?

Roosevelt did not live to receive the report, Truman received it in July, 1945. Dr. Bush's Report is entitled *Science: The Endless Frontier*. At the very outset Dr. Bush contends that "Science is a proper concern of Government" and that "freedom of inquiry must be preserved." He observes, "We have no national policy for science. There is nobody within the government charged with formulating or executing a national science policy." Then he says:

> The publicly and privately supported colleges, universities, and research institutions are the centres of basic research. They are the wellsprings of knowledge and understanding. As long as they are vigorous and healthy and their scientists agree to pursue the truth wherever it may lead, there will be a flow of new scientific knowledge to those who can apply it to practical problems in government, in industry, or elsewhere.
>
> Scientific progress on a broad front results from the free play of free intellects, working on subjects of their own choice, in the manner dictated by their curiosity for exploration of the unknown.

Dr. Bush, in his Report, presented five fundamentals by which freedom of inquiry should be preserved under any plan for government support of science. They are:

> (1) Whatever the extent of support may be, there must be stability of funds over a period of years so that long-range programmes may be undertaken.
>
> (2) The agency to administer such funds should be composed of citizens selected only on the basis of their interest in and capacity to promote the work of the agency. They should be persons of broad interest in and understanding of the peculiarities of scientific research and education.
>
> (3) The agency should promote research through contracts or grants to organizations outside the federal government. It should not operate its own laboratories.
>
> (4) Support of basic research in the public and private colleges, universities, and research institutes must leave the internal control of policy, personnel, and the method and scope of the research to the institutions themselves. This is of the utmost importance.
>
> (5) While assuring complete independence and freedom for the nature, scope, and methodology of research carried on in the institutions receiving public funds, and while retaining discretion in the allocation of funds among such institutions, the Foundation proposed herein must be responsible to the President and the Congress. Only through such responsibility can we maintain the proper relationship between science and other aspects of a democratic system. The usual controls of audits, reports, budgeting and the like should, of course, apply to the administrative and fiscal operations of the Foundation, subject, however, to such adjustments in procedure as are necessary to meet the special requirements of research.
>
> Basic research is a long-term process—it ceases to be basic if immediate results are expected on short-term support.

America is going to make up for this deficiency of a national policy of science. A bill closely following Dr. Bush's recommendations, has been introduced in the American Legislature. This bill, commonly known as the Kilgore Bill, would create a National Science Foundation which would survey and study all government financed research. The Foundation would be authorised to promote any research that is in the national interest. The Bill provides that at least fifty per cent of the Foundation's Funds be spent through contracts with non-profit educational and research institutions. The Foundation would be directed to make available to the public full data on all significant findings, but a proposed defence committee should be authorised to classify as secret any information which the President might certify as being essential in the interest of national defence.

In India, scientific research has always been neglected. At the outbreak of the war, the Government of India were kind enough to grant a sum of rupees five lakhs per annum for the creation of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. We are yet to know the activities of this body beyond some small help it rendered to the Government's war effort. At the silver jubilee celebrations of the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay, Sir John Colville, the Provincial Governor, said that many of the scientific inventions were made possible not due to the financial help and support from Government alone but also due to large donations by public benefactors and philanthropists. This might be true for Western countries, but in India both are absent. In the United States, apart from Government expenditure on research, American industries were spending in 1940 nearly 300 million dollars which amount was later increased to 700 million dollars in 1944. American Universities in large numbers offer to do industrial research at cost in fields for which they are equipped. In our country, inquiries into the possibilities of scientific research have been made, British experts have been imported to investigate, and finally reports have been submitted by Prof. Hill. But all these seem to have reached their final destination in the pigeon-holes of the Imperial Secretariat.

Indian Enterprise and Foreign Capital

The question of investment of foreign capital remains an important subject of discussion inside and outside the Legislature. Recently the subject came under fire in the Central Legislature. It has now been examined by the National Planning Committee. The discussion in the National Planning Committee is of great importance because any decision arrived at by this body is bound to have a profound influence on the economic conditions of the country when a National

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Government is formed. The resolution passed by the Committee after detailed examination of the subject is as follows :

The investment of foreign capital in Indian agricultural, mineral and industrial concerns, since the establishment of British rule, has resulted in the acquisition by foreign interests of a measure of control over India's economic and political life which has both warped and retarded national development.

It is important that the investment of foreign capital in Indian enterprises should not ordinarily be permitted hereafter in a form which could entitle it to ownership and management in respect of industries of national importance.

In particular, in the case of key industries, involving the use of secret processes which would not otherwise be available to the country, foreign participation in ownership and management may be permitted ; such participation should be subject to the approval of the State which will lay down the conditions and limitations which would safeguard adequately Indian national interests.

It is possible, in view of India's vast capital requirements in the coming years, that she may need capital from other countries. It is not, however, in her interest to accept it, if it is required for essential industries, except in the shape of loans or credits raised by or through the State.

India's credit in the world market is sufficiently high to justify the expectation that she will be able to secure enough capital assistance in this form and for her to insist as a matter of national policy that foreign capital should be admitted only on these terms for essential industries.

That foreign investment in India has an important bearing on the future economic and political development of the country is well understood. That the question is urgent is also admitted. The framers of the Government of India Act 1935, foresaw this and inserted a number of sections in the constitution itself for safeguarding the vested interests of these companies. The activities of such companies in India, their unfair competition in particular, had roused public opinion against them and for a number of years the people have put up a persistent demand for their total removal. The resolution of the National Planning Committee, however, is clear and realistic. They admit the need for foreign capital but at the same time it has been made quite clear that no sort of power should follow the capital. Foreign capital is desired, but it must be understood that such capital is supplied against India's credit in the world market. The nation supplying the money should, under no circumstances, claim any control over the application of that capital in India. That part of the business must be left to the Indian National Government and Indian enterprisers.

The Committee has divided industries into three categories, namely, essential industries, industries of national importance and key industries. According to it, it is not in India's interest to accept foreign capital if it is required for essential industries except in the form of loans or credits raised by or through the State; in respect of industries of national importance, the investment of foreign capital should not ordinarily be permitted which would entitle it to ownership and management; and in case of key industries foreign participation and management may be permitted only in the case of those industries which involve the use of secret processes otherwise not available to the country and that also subject to the approval of the State and on such terms and under such limitations as the State may lay down.

The present provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 relating to the safeguard of non-Indian companies in this country have also been discussed by the Planning Committee. The relevant portions of the resolution are given below :

In order to enable India to plan her economic development on lines that would ensure and promote the best interests of the country, the special statutory safeguards provided in the Government of India Act 1935, in respect of non-Indian concerns should forthwith be repealed.

It is essential that foreign interests which now exercise a predominant control over certain vital industries in India, particularly those involving the utilisation of the State, be brought over on payment of reasonable compensation.

Foreign interests now exercising a predominant control over certain vital industries in India should be acquired by the State on payment of reasonable compensation. Where such interests are held by companies with sterling capital, the payment of compensation should be effected by means of the sterling balances.

The Government of India Act has extended to British industries in India (India Limiteds) which were counterparts of foreign concerns, the same degree of protection as to a nascent Indian industry. The eleven clauses in the body of the Act have been a source of continuous menace to Indian industrialisation. In the Central Assembly debate, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the well-known Bombay business magnate, urged that all these eleven clauses be treated as dead for the purposes of the country's economic development plan. The only group in the Legislature to whom this suggestion was not acceptable was the European group. The clear and unequivocal opinion expressed by the National Planning Committee on the subject will prove invaluable at the time of the drafting of the future constitution of India.

Jinnah Getting Subsidy for Pakistan-?

The Bengali daily *Navajuga* of Calcutta, conducted by progressive Muslims, gives the following information on the strength of a news published by a Urdu newspaper *Hakikat*. It writes that Mr. Jinnah is receiving a sum of six lakhs of rupees annually from the Government of India through the State of Hyderabad. This news was circulated by Master Tara Singh who claimed to produce evidence in support of his assertion from the records of the Income-tax department. He said that Mr. Jinnah was asked to explain the increase on his normal income by twenty lakhs of rupees. Mr. Jinnah in reply informed that this extra income has come from native States. The Urdu *Hakikat* should have prosecuted Master Tara Singh if his statement had been false. But it kept silent.

The Urdu newspaper *Amari* of Delhi has also published the same news item and added that Mr. Jinnah was getting money not only from the Hyderabad State but from some other native State as well for the propagation of the Pakistan bogey in order to place obstacles on the way of India's fight for freedom.

This news has been published on Nov. 10. We wait for a reply.

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BRITAIN'S NEW PLEDGE FOR SPEEDY SELF-RULE IN INDIA AND THE TREND OF WORLD POLITICS

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS,

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There must be many Indian politicians and nationalists who are skeptical of the new declaration of the British Labour Government and the radio broadcast by Lord Wavell to the effect that the British Government is most anxious to bring about "early realization of full self-government in India." This skepticism may arise from the existing distrust of Britain and also because of the trend of post-war settlements in Asia. Furthermore, some of the Indian politicians and Congress leaders in the past had only one policy—pursuing Russian policy with the native idea that Soviet Russia will aid India to be free and independent of British imperialism. Lest I be misunderstood, I must say that in the past the policy of the British Government in India has been such as to inspire distrust from Indians. The present trend in the solutions of tht problems for the freedom of the subjugated peoples of Asia is not bright. For instance, instead of according freedom to the Korean people, the country has been partitioned,—Russia occupying the industrial half of the west and the United States occupying the other half and using the Japanese officials to carry on the government of the land. We know Russia has virtually secured military control over Manchuria and particularly of Port Arthur. Britain to counter-balance the situation has re-established herself not only in Hongkong, but also policing Indo-China for France so that the Indo-Chinese people may not demand and assert their freedom. It is also reported that Britain is interested in securing a part of Siamese territory. Of course, there is no reason to think that Britain is going to give up Malaya nor do the Dutch wish to relinquish their hold over Dutch East-Indies. There is no reason to believe that the status of Burma will be similar to a Dominion, in near future. *Yet the British Government has made the offer for speedy self-rule for India, because the present international situation demands such a change.*

To understand Britain's policy towards India, one must keep in mind the fact that India is the centre of Britain's foreign policies. Britain must not allow her rival powers to use India directly or indirectly against her. Britain must use India's strategic position, manpower, economic power to her advantage against her rivals in world politics. This has been the history of British foreign policy since the days of the East India Company and particularly from the era of the Napoleonic era up to the present time. Without going too far back into the realm of past history, it may be emphasized that during the Crimean War against Russia, during the Congress of Berlin in 1878, during the Anglo-French rivalries of the latter part of the nineteenth century, particularly when France concluded a treaty of alliance with Burma in 1885, during the Boer War, during the rising tide of the Anglo-Russian rivalry at the opening of the twentieth century before the Russo-Japanese War and during the British expedition to Tibet, during the Boxer Uprising in China, during the World War I and the present World War, India has been effectively used to maintain British supremacy in Asia and world politics. *The present trend in the developments in international situation makes it imperative that Britain must have whole-hearted support of India to maintain her position in world politics.*

To understand this point one must carefully study recent developments in world politics as partially unveiled at London in connection with the Foreign Ministers Conference. Anglo-Russian rivalry exists in every front and Britain has support of the United States in many subjects of dispute. Anglo-American powers have the common foreign policy regarding the Balkan countries. Anglo-American Powers are not anxious to see that Russia gets control over one of the Italian colonies in North Africa which may serve as air bases for the Mediterranean, the Near East and even towards the Atlantic. Russian desire to have a port at the Red Sea is a direct challenge to British control of the Indian Ocean which is vital to British influence in India, Russian moves for partitioning Persia is a step towards Russian march towards the Persian Gulf which is dangerous to Indian security, recent moves of Russia in Egypt and the regions of the Near East are to undermine British position in that region. Russian occupation of Kurile Isles is heartily opposed by the United States, although the United States Government has not officially protested against it. Russian occupation of a part of Korea is so much opposed by the American authorities, that they have preferred to use the Japanese in governing Korea, instead of letting Russia march any further into Korea. There were incidents between Russian and American Forces in Korea, at least one B. 29 was shot down by the Russians.

It is the considered judgment of the Anglo-American authorities, including such military experts as Marshall Wavell, the present Viceroy of India, that Anglo-American-Indian understanding is essential for preserving their vital interests. I wish to make it clear that the British Government has not a sudden change of heart and developed a sudden love for Indian freedom; but the international situation is such Britain, nay Anglo-American Powers need Indian co-operation in world politics.

During the World War I, Indian nationalists—revolutionists—made formal alliance with the Central Powers specially Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Turks and established their provisional governments and negotiated loans, etc. During World War I, Indian soldiers, inspired by Indian revolutionists revolted at Singapore and kept Singapore under their control for several days, until the Japanese forces from Japanese cruisers relieved the situation. The growth of the Revolutionary Movement between the first World War and the second World War should be measured by what happened in India and outside of India. The British Government recognizes that there was a serious revolt in India and they had to use machine-guns and bombs from aeroplanes and imprison hundreds of thousands of Indian nationalists. Outside of India, Subhas Chandra Bose established the provisional Government of India,

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formed an alliance with Japan and raised an army of more than 50,000 from Indian prisoners of war under the Japanese. Subhas Chandra Bose has been denounced by Indian leaders and others, but the British Government knows that he or his policy had hearty approval of millions of Indians. Lastly, the British authorities are fully aware of the change of circumstances due to the latest developments in air warfare. The British, the Russians and others supplied arms and ammunitions, by air, to the underground forces in Europe to fight the Axis Powers. India became the base of air-borne supplies to China. If Anglo-Russian relations degenerate into Anglo-Russian conflict, which is the opinion of many trained observers in the United States, and if Soviet Russia can induce an important faction of Indian nationalists or revolutionists to side with her, then Anglo-American position in the whole of the Near East and India, even in China, will be seriously menaced. *Thus from the standpoint of practical politics, the Anglo-American Powers want an alliance with India which will whole-heartedly co-operate with them and must not ally with their rivals in the game of world politics. They also understand that this cannot be brought about unless proper concession is made to India's legitimate demands. Thus one may say the changed international situation makes it imperative for Britain to have India as an ally.*

Some Indian politicians who do not know much of world politics and who wish to free India by using "slogans" will oppose any understanding with Britain and they will even suggest fighting Britain with the false hope of Soviet aid to India. Those who have an illusion of Soviet aid to freedom should remember what has happened in Korea and Manchuria, what is happening in Persia and Turkey and also partition of various European countries. Soviet Russian Imperialism is marching on the foot-steps of Tsarist imperialism. Some Indian politicians will suggest that it will be inconsistent to their policy to co-operate with Britain, because they have been non-co-operationists. To them, I wish to remind the teachings of Sukracharaya who advised that statesmen should frame their policies regarding international relations to suit the circumstances and only for the benefit of the State, *i.e.*, for the preservation of national interest. He suggested that under peculiar circumstances a weak nation must even concede defeat and surrender to save the existence of the State. (It seems that the Japanese are following this principle). They should analyse what happened during the World War II, so far as Soviet Russian and Anglo-American diplomacy was concerned. Soviet Russia was in 1939 and 1940 a virtual ally of Germany, so that Germany would not attack Russia, on the contrary, Germany would attack France and Britain. Soviet Russia was also a virtual ally of Japan through a non-aggression pact which indirectly led to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. But we find later Anglo-American-Russian alliance against Germany,—Russia partitioning Germany, so that she will be able to appropriate a large slice of Poland—and later Russian declaration of War against Japan so that she would be able to get control over Manchuria and part of Korea. Soviet Russia to save Baku and Batum from falling into British hands, just after the Revolution formed an alliance with Turkey; but now she suggests that owing to changed condition, she must control the Straits and occupy territories at Caucasus region. In international politics there cannot be any permanent policy, except preservation of interest of the State. Therefore, a nation must change its course in dealing with another nation to suit its own interests. *India's relations with Britain must be based upon foreign policies of India. Either there must be Indo-British alliance or Indo-British conflict.* This is fully understood by British statesmen, if it is not understood by Indian leaders. This is evident from a sentence of Lord Wavell's statement :

> "His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of a treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India."

It seems that the British Government is thinking of forming an alliance with India as it did with Egypt. This will be the first step for the Indians to assume their independent status.

If Indian statesmanship is not altogether bankrupt, it should follow the suggestions of the late C. R. Das who even during the first non-co-operation days was the first Indian nationalist statesman to suggest to Lord Reading for an Indo-British alliance on the basis of Indian freedom. Under the changed world conditions, Indian Foreign Policy must be Anglo-American-Indo-Chinese-Alliance and an understanding with Britain is the first requisite.

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THE LAST WAVELL PROPOSAL

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.),
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Barely within a period of three months we have had two important declarations of great political import for India from Lord Wavell—the first one made on June 14, 1945 popularly known as the Wavell Plan or Wavell Offer and the second one made on September 19 last. We propose to discuss in this article some of the implications of the second declaration, but we cannot fully understand them except against the background of what are known as the Cripps offer and the Wavell offer of which the present declaration is in the direct line of succession. The Cripps offer of the spring of 1942 had two parts—one relating to the future form of Government in India and the other relating to the *interim* arrangement with a view to total mobilisation of India's resources and manpower for an all-out war effort against Japan which had become urgent in view of the critical turn in the war situation in the Eastern theatre at that time. We need not recount here the circumstances in which the negotiations between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Indian leaders broke down which are only too well-known. We should simply point out that the negotiations failed over the interim arrangement on which

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discussion was mainly focussed, although it is not to be understood that there were no objectionable features in the other part. We need not also recount the unfortunate events following the rejection of the Cripps offer—the so-called Congress rebellion, wholesale arrest and imprisonment of Congress leaders and followers, repressive measures, the long spell of political deadlock, corruption and inefficiency of administration followed by a devastating man-made famine on an unprecedented scale, etc. No serious attempt was made to find a way out of the impasse till the last summer when Lord Wavell took the initiative with a view to explore the possibilities of ending the deadlock and went home to discuss, it is said, certain proposals formulated to that intent on the basis of what has come to be known as Desai-Liaquat Ali pact with the members of His Majesty's Government. The outcome of the protracted deliberations and discussions he had with Messrs. Churchill, Amery and other important members of the Cabinet was the first declaration of June last. The main features of the plan announced in that declaration were :—

(*a*) Institution of a temporary interim government at the centre, a sort of a caretaker government, within the framework of the existing constitutional machinery;

(*b*) Continuance of the existing overriding authority of the Governor-General under the constitution with an understanding as to its use sparingly ;

(*c*) Transfer to Indian members of all portfolios including Finance, Home, and Foreign Affairs and excepting Defence which was to continue in charge of the Commander-in-Chief;

(*d*) Composition of the Executive Council on the much criticised principle of communal parity *i.e.*, allocation of equal number of seats in the Executive Council to caste Hindus and Moslems ;

(*e*) Institution of an office of a High Commissioner in Delhi representing the British Government.

The declaration was followed by a conference at Simla of Indian leaders representing the principal political parties in the country, the leaders of parties in the Central Legislature, Prime Ministers of provinces with ministry functioning and ex-Prime Ministers in the Section 93 provinces. It should be noted, however, that the Hindu Mahasabha was not invited to send any representative to the conference. A strong caveat was entered by Mahatma Gandhi against what he thought to be an insidious implication in the Viceroy's declaration to deny the character of the Congress as a national organisation and to represent it as representative of caste Hindus only. On an explanation being offered by the Viceroy the Congress was ultimately persuaded to participate in the conference and despite the obnoxious nature of the parity clause and the retention of the Viceroy's veto signified its readiness to co-operate with the Viceroy in forming the interim government. It is common knowledge, however, that the conference broke down due to the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah in insisting on the claim of Muslim League to be the sole representative of the Muslims in India and consequent refusal to accord any of the Muslim seats to any other Muslim organisation. It must be admitted that Lord Wavell adopted a faulty procedure, unless, as it has been suggested in some quarters, it has been forced upon him under pressure from Whitehall or from the bureaucracy here——in conceding the right of veto to any particular group or leader. No conference of heterogeneous groups of diverse interests can succeed if the dissent of any one element can foil its proceedings. This is exactly what happened in the Simla Conference. There was a general agreement among the invitees to the conference on broad principles of the plan, although there were differences of opinion about details. Controversy centred round the question of nomination to the Executive Council. Failing an agreed list different party leaders were asked to submit separate panels which was done by all except Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, on the ground stated above. The only sensible course in the circumstances for Lord Wavell and the British Government, if of course they meant business, would have been to go ahead with the co-operation of the other elements forming a great majority of the conference, leaving the door open for the Muslim League to come in subsequently. Such a procedure would in all probability have put an end to the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah through pressure being brought on him by the more sober and moderate sections of his following. The failure to recognise this simple truth has been imputed to the fact that the whole move was an election stunt as there was a curious coincidence in the sudden change in attitude of the Viceroy, perhaps under pressure from above or below or both, and the last day of elections in Britain *i.e.*, July 7. Whatever may be the truth, the fact remains that Mr. Jinnah was allowed to create an insuperable roadblock in the path of the conference and on the 14th of July, *i.e.*, exactly one month after the announcement of his plan Lord Wavell proclaimed the failure of the conference, modestly taking the sole responsibility for the failure on his own shoulders.

There was a veiled reference to a fresh attempt to reopen the talks without any commitment as to the time when that would be done. In the meantime, the results of the elections at home brought a Labour Government in power with a thumping majority. As one of the issues on which the Labour Party fought the elections was India and high-lights of the party like Mr. Bevin and Prof. Laski held out big promises to India, expectations were aroused in some quarters for a fresh move. They were heightened by the departure home of Lord Wavell to hold conversations with the new Cabinet. It was on his return to India that the second declaration was made on the 19th September last. It was no attempt to take up the threads of discussion where they were broken. It simply laid down the procedure to be adopted for a constitutional settlement in future. So far as the ultimate objective and the means by which it was to be attained are concerned, the declaration broke no new ground. Unlike both the Cripps offer and the Wavell offer of June last it did not hold out anything for the immediate present. The steps that it proposed in order to lead India on to full self-government were all to be taken after the elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures. The main points in the declaration are as follows :

(1) After the elections, discussions would be held with the representatives of those elected to the provincial Legislative Assemblies to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable, so that the representatives would not be tied down to a plan formulated in altogether different circumstances.

(2) Discussions would be held with representatives of those elected and also of Indian states "to determine the form which the constitution-making body should

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take, its powers and procedure". It may be noted in passing that the language of the declaration is vague as to how the representatives of the states were to be chosen,—whether through popular election or nomination of the autocratic princes. Presumably through the latter procedure. That would introduce complications by bringing together people chosen through two different principles. The objections taken against the composition of the constitution-making body envisaged in the Cripps Plan would apply equally here. The redeeming feature is that the whole question of composition, powers and procedure of the constitution-making body would be discussed *de novo* and determined on the basis of the mandate given by the electorate so far as it can be given under the limitations of a restricted franchise and communal electorates, provided however no veto is given in the hands of the nominees of the princes.

(3) A constitution-making body would be convened as soon as possible after these preliminaries have been gone through. The constitution-making body would have its hands unfettered by the provisions of the Cripps plan or any other private understandings or pacts. It would be open, therefore, to the constitution-making body to abrogate the obnoxious features of the Cripps plan like the procedure of forming the constitution-making body, the non-adherence clause etc. This is a great merit of the present plan.

(4) During the preparatory stages the existing machinery of Government is to continue dealing with, as best as it can, the varied and urgent post-war economic and social problems.

(5) Steps are to be taken, however, soon after the results of the provincial elections are known, to reconstruct the Viceroy's Executive Council from leaders of the different parties which is to be a sort of caretaker Government pending the coming into force of the new constitution. This is almost the same as the Wavell Plan of interim government only constituted after the verdict of the people has been given through the elections and the relative strength of the different parties has been tested.

(6) It envisages a treaty which is under the consideration of His Majesty's Government by means of which the final settlement in the relations of Britain and India is to be effected. It will appear from the above summary that the declaration promises nothing for the immediate future. This is a serious defect of the whole scheme. At the present moment time factor is a vital consideration. The world is moving fast and urgent problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation, as also of external relations confront the country in common with every other country in the world which the present unrepresentative and effete Government of India is hopelessly incompetent to deal with. Even the caretaker government consisting of party leaders envisaged in the plan cannot come into existence earlier than, say, next March and perhaps near about another year has to elapse before the new constitution emerges through all the different stages and actually comes into force. But this intervening period would perhaps be the most crucial epoch in the history of India and, for the matter of that, of the world. Decisions of immense consequence will have to be taken by the present Government which may injure the permanent interests of the nation and which may not be rectified by the future democratic government of India. It is vitally important therefore that something must be done immediately. From this angle the first Wavell Plan was a move in the right direction, only if it had been carried through to its conclusion with courage and resolution and the present plan must be judged inadequate. It should be pointed out that the constitution-making body envisaged in he present plan also will be foredoomed to failure if the mistake made in July last in giving the right of veto to any particular group be once again repeated.

Lord Wavell stated in his broadcast that His Majesty's Government were determined to go ahead with the task of bringing India to a self-government at the earliest possible date. There was a similar promise in the King's speech at the opening of the present Parliament . . . "My Government," the King observed, "will do their utmost to promote in conjunction with leaders of Indian opinion early realization of full self-government in India." Now if the Labour Government be sincere in their professions they should not like Churchill and Amery make complete agreement among all parties a condition precedent to a settlement with India and transfer of power to Indian hands, that is simply permanently blocking the way to advance. It is only plain common sense that such agreement cannot be expected among people with diversity of interests and outlook.

There is one thing commendable about the declaration and it is this that the Indian representatives, as we have seen above, can begin anew with a clean slate. The Cripps Plan may remain the basis of their discussions, but they would not be bound by its provisions. It would be, therefore, political wisdom for Indian leaders to take up a constructive and helpful attitude and explore the possibilities of the plan for what it is worth. They can expose and discard the obnoxious features of the Cripps scheme and modify it in such a way as to turn it into an instrument for the furtherance of a comprehensive social and economic programme of which the country stands in such urgent need. They can also go beyond the scheme and introduce new provisions which, they think, are demanded by the changed situation and the present needs of India. If, however, the British Government do not reciprocate to the helpful and co-operative spirit shown by Indian leaders they would have ample time and opportunity of thinking about returning to the war path. The Congress leaders have already given evidence of this spirit at the Simla conference which was appreciated by the Viceroy and even the critics of Congress in England and it is hoped they would not give it up unless forced by the unhelpful attitude of the British Government.

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THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

The present chaotic political situation in the country naturally gives cause for concern to all who are genuinely interested in the political future of India. In this situation, the most disconcerting factor is the growing demand for the division of India into a Hindu and a Moslem India. We think it our duty and the duty of all who share our views to give expression to our concern and to raise a timely note of warning as to the direction in which we are drifting.

In the first instance, none of us is clear in his mind as to the precise implications of the two-nation theory. Much less so perhaps are those who advocate the theory. The country has never been given any precise details of the territorial division of the country and the lines of demarcation between the two Indias. When Mr. Jinnah is asked to define the territorial demarcation, he has always evaded the issue by demanding that in the first instance the claim of the two-nation theory should be granted as the basis of any further negotiations. Those of us therefore who are *definitely* opposed to the very idea of breaking up the unity of India suffer under a handicap as we are not in a position to know precisely the nature of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan.

Close upon two hundred years of British rule in our country have given us a uniform system of administration of a highly centralised character, a common system of laws and an education imparted in the higher stages through the medium of the language of our rulers. Whatever might be said with regard to the economic exploitation of this country under British Imperialism, and whatever the sufferings and sacrifices imposed on the people in consequence of foreign rule, the one bright feature in two centuries of slavery was the growing sense of a common citizenship linking the various peoples into a single nation. This sense of geographical unity and integrity was a slowly acquired incidental result of British domination, a result which though never deliberately intended by the unimaginative bureaucracy or their masters at home, was nevertheless regarded with intense pride and satisfaction by Englishmen.

But a blessing, so inadvertently earned by the millions of India, incurred the envy of the gods, who inspired our administrators to undo the work of their own hands when in 1906 the Morley-Minto reforms introduced in the constitution of the country the principle of separate electorates. Communities that were hitherto working hand in hand in the struggle for freedom were for the first time thereafter made to believe that their interests were conflicting and that the minority which was then about sixty millions required the protection of its separate interests by a device which stereotyped politics on the basis of religion and made it impossible to organise parties on a basis of secular interests. In this country with a foreign domination in control, the formation of parties on lines of interests, classes or opinions, characteristic of what is known as a democratic form of Government, might well have been replaced by a two-party system,—those who are supporters of the foreign rule and those who are in the opposition. But even if the ordinary alignments of parties, usual to democratic system had been advisable, they were effectively torpedoed by the institution of communal electorates. Religion was turned into a vested interest, bigotry was allowed to grow, and parties were induced to concentrate on a division of spoils.

The institution of separate electorates was the first step in the process of creating a divided India of which the crowding achievement is the proposal for Pakistan. That measure was hailed as "a work of statesmanship", the pulling back of 19 million people from their friendship and co-operation with Hindus in the Indian National Congress. British officials have gloated over the thought that the creation of a strong and united India is now probably difficult, if not impossible. The Secretary of State for India as late as 1940 observed in the House of Commons :

> "In religious and social outlook, in historic traditions and culture, the difference between the Moslems and their fellow countrymen goes so deep, if not deeper than any similar difference in Europe."

Is there anything unnatural if we conclude that the head of the Moslem League in India is encouraged in the demand for a separate Moslem state by British political leaders ?

We do not propose to analyse the various factors that contributed in the course of the last 40 years to the growing communal tension till it culminated in the present demand for a separate Moslem India. Religion was never a factor in the creation of the tension. The two communities are not fighting for the domination of their respective faiths. There is no enthusiasm for proselytising except as a political weapon for acquiring numerical strength in voting. So also the racial factor does not enter into the situation. The large majority of the Indian Moslems today are descendants of Hindu converts to Islam. Though so much has been made of difference in culture and traditions and ways of living these differences are the exaggerated products of afterthoughts prompted by economic interests. In the villages Hindus and Moslems are hardly distinguishable by their habits and customs. They speak and use the language of the district in which they live. They share even in religious festivals on a basis of mutuality. In essence the tension between the two communities is the product of a struggle for spoils, for power and for economic privileges. The increasing association of the people of the country in the work of administration has been marked by an increasing sense of bitterness and suspicion on the part of the minority community.

The presence of the British as rulers in the country may not unreasonably be said to keep alive the divisions. Left to ourselves we could have come to an amicable compromise. Whichever was the weaker party, would have yielded to the wishes of the stronger, and would have been content with taking what they could get. That the British rulers of the land should make use of these divisions is but natural in the game of power politics. But even vice has to pay homage to virtue by putting on the garb of virtue. It is equally natural that in the world of today economic exploitation could have a chance of survival only if it put on the cloak of trusteeship and sanctified its doings by its eventual concern for the chaos that would result by leaving the people to settle their quarrels.

The demand for a Moslem India separate from Hindu India has of late acquired an exaggerated

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importance owing to the mistaken zeal for conciliation and compromise on the part of the leaders of the India's National Congress. No measure and no rapprochement could have been so fatal to the unity of India as the Congress resolution bearing on the right of self-determination for the federating units and the even more regrettable negotiations which took place a year ago between Mr. Gandhi and the spokesman of the Moslem League. British India under British administration for the last 200 years was a unitary form of Government with the provinces closely knit to the centre as an integrated whole. The surprise flung at the country as the outcome of the round table conferences in the shape of the Act of 1935, creating for the first time a federal constitution for British India, was accepted even by our leaders without protest. It was flattering to the provinces to regard themselves as independent sovereign states, a status which they had not dreamt of in the year gone by. One more potent source of conflict and disruption was thus ingeniously introduced into the body politic. As separate electorates humoured the minorities, provincial 'autonomy' humoured the provinces. The Cripps proposals finally gave the finishing touch by granting them the right to secede, and the theory of the process of mangling and disruption was completed. The achievements of two hundred years in the shape of a consolidated united India, with a people growing increasingly conscious of a common want, were to be deliberately undone.

The principle of self-determination applied to the provinces in India implicit in the Act of 1935, and expressly recognised by the Cripps offer, and the Congress resolution of self-determination are in direct contravention of all lessons of past world history. Federations have grown out of the union of states once exercising sovereignty and independence. They have never been the outcome of a deliberate attempt at breaking up the well-knit parts of a single state into conflicting and rival powers. Every school-boy who has read about the growth of the federal constitution of Switzerland and the U.S. of America is familiar with these facts. The political trend throughout the world today is not to break up existing states into smaller units, claiming sovereignty as the advocates of Pakistan do, but to bring into closer co-operation larger political units like the British Commonwealth, the U.S. of America and the U.S.S.R. Political isolationism such as the principle of self-determination involves, has been aptly characterised as "a vestigial survival in an age of atom bombs."

Nationalist self-determination in a world that is geographically shrinking, and whose teeming population can be wiped off by national rivalries, has become an anachronism. In the international world of the future, it is cultural self-determination which is likely to be the best expression of national freedom. The U.S.S.R. is a notable experiment in the encouragement of regional cultures developing freely and unfettered under a unified Government; but none of the nations in the Soviet Republic has a right to unlimited development of its cultural personality with political independence as the end. This is what the cry for Pakistan implies and what the Indian National Congress in its zeal for compromise appears prepared to grant to the Provincial units. We appeal to all thinking people to consider these implications before they concede the Congress principle of self-determination or the equally disastrous claim of Pakistan.

V. SREENIVAS SASTRI,
P. A. WADIA,
K. NATARAJAN,
JEHANGIR PETIT.

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RUSSIA AND THE PROBLEM OF THE STRAITS

BY J. SEN, B.A. (Oxon.)

THE key to the foreign policy of Russia throughout the centuries is the urge towards warm water ports. Her Arctic coast being of little value except in summer, she has been forced to seek outlets in other, more favourable, directions. The process began in the days of Peter the Great when Russia became a European power. She began to feel her way through Siberia to the Pacific coast, through the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, through Turkish territories towards the Black Sea and through Swedish lands to the Baltic coast. It was like the elemental urge of a surging river towards the sea.

Peter succeeded in "opening a window" to the west and founded St. Petersburg, an event of profound significance in the history of Europe and the world. For good or evil, a power with immense resources and potentialities stepped into European life and became a partner in the game of European politics. Peter's work was carried forward by Catherine the Great who broke the Turkish monopoly of the Black Sea coast and challenged for the first time the Turkish hold on the gates to the eastern Mediterranean. Catherine's victory over the Turks and the Treaty of Jassy (1792) are events which may be said to have ushered into European politics the Near Eastern question. Catherine forestalled Czar Nicholas I in proclaiming Turkey as "the sick man of Europe", gained a permanent foothold on the Black Sea coast, stepped into the Danubian principalities, raised the first storm in Balkan politics which developed into a tempest in course of a century, and claimed the right of navigation in Ottoman Waters. British policy was profoundly affected by the Russian urge towards the Eastern Mediterranean. Pitt the younger was the first English statesman to scent danger in the Near East and laid down, without perhaps knowing it, the policy of Great Britain towards Turkey which has been the governing factor of British diplomacy in the East from that day to this. The debates in Parliament in 1791 are strangely reminiscent of the classic contest in 1878 between Gladstone and Disraeli, and one can without historical perversion put into the mouths of Whig leaders like Burke and Fox the "bag and baggage" speech of Gladstone and the "jingoism" of Disraeli into that of William Pitt. The fear of Russia and the need for a strong Turkey guarding the gates of the Eastern Mediterranean became the foundation of British policy in the Near East. The Anglo-Turkish treaty of 1809 affirmed the

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"ancient regulation of the Ottoman Empire", that is, the opening of the Straits to merchantmen and the closing of the Straits, in time of peace, to ships of war. In time of war the Sultan would open the Straits to his friends and close them to his enemies. Thus Britain extended the hand of friendship to Turkey and by treaty bottled up the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, giving the Sultan the guardianship of the Straits with the option to open them to his friends. In 1827 when the historic naval battle of Navarino was fought, Russia although helping Britain and France, found the Straits closed to her warships and the Russian fleet that joined the British and the French came from the Baltic.

In 1841 the problem of the Straits which so long had been the exclusive concern of Great Britain and Turkey came to be a problem of international importance and after the defeat of Mehemet Ali of Egypt, thanks to the diplomatic skill of Lord Palmerston, the first international agreement with regard to the Straits was signed, and Turkey was confirmed in the possession of Constantinople and the Straits with the right to exclude men-of-war belonging to a hostile power and to admit those belonging to a friendly power. This arrangement was put to the test during the Crimean War when an Allied fleet sailed through the Straits and dismantled Russian fortifications on the Black Sea coast. The Peace of Paris (1856) maintained the Straits convention of 1841, closing the Straits to ships of war in time of peace but admitted light vessels for the service of the embassies at Constantinople and for policing the Danube. The Black Sea was neutralized.

During the Franco-Prussian War, Russia with Bismarck's encouragement, once more militarised the Black Sea coast—the first in the long series of unilateral action and denunciation of treaties in which the history of the Near East abounds. The London conference of 1871 recognised the *fait accompli* but maintained the international agreement with regard to the Straits. The Treaty of Berlin of 1878 which carried Disraeli to the height of his fame in European Councils marks an important stage in the history of the Near East and of the problem of the Straits. Besides redrawing the frontiers of the Balkan States and creating the explosive problem of Bosnia. Herzegovina, it reiterated the fixed resolve of the British Government supported by an unmistakable expression of public opinion, to maintain the Sultan's possession of Constantinople and the international agreement with regard to the Straits. British policy as laid down at that time remained substantially unaltered till almost the eve of the First World War. When Sir Edward Grey was requested by the Russian foreign minister, in the early years of the twentieth century, to agree to a reopening of the Straits to Russian warships, the British Foreign Secretary's reply endorsed more clearly than ever the international character of the Straits convention and reiterated the resolve of the British public to maintain the *status quo* in the Straits.

On the other hand, the Treaty of Berlin satisfied for the time being Russian ambitions in the Black Sea area. The Black Sea remained, for all practical purposes, a Russian lake dominated by Russian warships and coastal guns with the Sultan standing guard at the Straits. For more than a quarter of a century the Straits question was kept in cold storage and expansion towards the Far East and the Persian Gulf because the preoccupation of the Russian Government.

From 1905 Europe began her descent into the abyss of war. In the west the Anglo-French Entente of the year before led up to the Moroccan Crisis which kept Europe rocking for years. In the East the disaster of the Russo-Japanese War hurled Russia back to Europe and brought into bold relief the problem of the Straits once more. Hence forward the opening of the Straits to Russian warships became the major ambition of Russia and the central thread of Russian negotiations with the Western powers. Isvolsky, the Russian Foreign Minister and the stormy petrel of Europe in the pre-war years, cut his losses in the Far East, patched up all outstanding disputes with England and concluded the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907. But the Straits question, the central issue of Russian policy, remained unmodified.

This was followed by sensational development in the Near East. The Young Turk Revolution and the consequent ferment throughout the Balkans led to the famous Buchlau interview between Isvolsky and Aehrenthal the Austrian Foreign Minister. A secret agreement was reached by which Austria was to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina and Russia might fulfil her long-cherished dream of occupying Constantinople and the Straits. What happened afterwards is known to all students of European diplomacy in the pre-war years. The Bosnian Crisis, the complete failure of Isvolsky's plan and his peregrinations stand out in the tangled web of international relations before the war. Isvolsky, a cautious statesman and a genuine internationalist, now realized that the Straits question could not be solved by peaceful negotiation, and the idea dawned on him that it was only through a European conflagration that Russia might fulfil her dream. Events moved rapidly towards a tragic finale. The Austro-German power came to dominate the Balkans, Turkey, in spite of the British pledge to maintain in her integrity, rapidly developed signs of disintegration, German influence in Constantinople became supreme as is evident from the despatch of the German military mission headed by Liman to the Turkish capital, and the Sultan, as the Russians rightly believed at that time, "sank to the position of the Emir of Bokhara."

Clearly the traditional British policy towards the Straits could not be maintained. Turkey, the ancient and undisputed guardian of the Straits, had gone over to the Austro-German power. When the war broke out the question of Constantinople and the Straits lost its rigidity and Isvolsky's dream came true. By a secret Anglo-Franco-Russian agreement in 1915, confirmed a year later by the well-known Sykes-Picot Agreement Russia was to acquire Constantinople, the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the Gallipoli peninsula and a stretch of terrirtory to the South of the Bosphorus. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, however, upset the plan. The Soviet Government quickly repudiated all secret treaties entered into by the Czarist Government and thus left a void in the Straits zone. After the Armistice the first proposal was for an American mandate over this area. But America refused. Joint control by England and France was also considered unsatisfactory. Hence the Treaty of Sevres was drawn up giving Turkey Constantinople but reopening the Straits to merchantmen and warships alike and demilitarising the territories on both sides to safe-

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guard the freedom of the Straits. An International Commission was set up with a police force to administer the Straits as a "neutral zone". The resurgence of Turkey made a clean sweep of the Treaty of Sevres. By the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 the International Commission was abolished, the Straits again became Turkish and Turkey agreed to respect the demilitarisation of the Straits zone. In 1936, the dangers of the Abyssinian War and Hitler's militarisation of the Rhineland made a modification of the Lausanne Agreement necessary. Turkey, supported by Soviet Russia who had not been a signatory to the Treaty of Lausanne, entered into fresh negotiations with the Western powers. A European conference including Soviet Russia was held at Montreaux, and the powers assembled drew up the Straits convention of 1936 by which Turkey was authorised to remilitarise the Straits. This was substantially a return to the arrangement of 1878 created by the Treaty of Berlin. Turkey again became the door-keeper of the Straits. No hostile fleet enjoying the freedom of the Straits might enter or come out of the Black Sea. Freedom of trade was assured during peace. But warships might be excluded in time of war, unless authorised by the League of Nations or sent under a regional pact to which Turkey was a party.

The second world war seems to have thrown established conventions and long-cherished notions into the melting pot. The Straits question, like other issues at the present day, is once more under fire, and Russia is seeking, as the report goes, a new solution of the problem, although the exact nature of the Russian approach has not yet been revealed. The ancient rule that the Straits should remain in Turkish hands with England and France acting as guardians held good so long as Turkey and England and France were strong enough to maintain the *status quo* in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Berlin agreement of 1878, therefore, had been the sheet-anchor of Russian foreign policy for a quarter of a century. Even that arrangement had grown out-of-date in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Russia of 1900 was not the Russia of a quarter century before. She was forging ahead as an industrial and trading power with a growing urge towards wider seas and equal opportunities for expansion and inter-oceanic communication. During the Russo-Japanese War Russia could not send her Black Sea fleet to the Far East, because the doors to the Mediterranean were barred, and only a few Russian merchantmen escaped through the Straits with guns concealed in their holds. Russia, therefore, had to send to the Far East her Baltic fleet creating the Dogger Bank incident which almost dragged England into a war with Russia. Again, during the second world war the Eastern Mediterranean became a storm-breeding centre. The German occupation of the Balkan States, German domination of the Aegean and intrigues in the Middle East reduced neutral Turkey to a helpless spectator of grim developments around her borders. Von Papen was active in Istanbul and German warships passed clandestinely through the Straits, and this German defiance was checked when strong Allied representations were made to Turkey. Obviously, the Montreaux Convention had become unworkable and out-of-date and Turkish neutrality and guardianship of the Straits meaningless. Russia's demand for a revision of the Straits convention is, therefore, based upon experience.

The Black Sea, today, is more a Russian lake than a Turkish *mare clausum*, and an outlet through the Straits to the Mediterranean and the wider Oceans beyond is a compelling urge which, in view of recent experience and Russia's role in the Second World War, cannot be denied. If collective security is going to be a genuine thing and not the explosive balance-of-power theory over again, those who have fought shoulder to shoulder and shared the hazards of war should agree on the outstanding issues of the day without mental reservations. Unhappily, the century-old suspicion of Russia still lingers. The Russian domination of the greater part of the Balkans, the conflict of policies between the Soviet and the Anglo-American power all over South-East Europe, the growing tension and ferment in the Middle East are indications that old prejudices die hard. It is not possible yet to enter the *arcana* of Soviet policy. Both before and after the Second World War Soviet actions have appeared to the Western democracies mysterious, indefensible, annoying and strangely reminiscent of the shock tactics of Germany from the days of Bismarck onwards. Recent developments in Europe and in the Far East, however, have revealed the possibility of an accommodation, in spite of ideological differences, between the Soviet and the Western world. And yet Russia remains today, as always, an unknown quantity. The Russian solution of the Straits problem, whatever it is, because of its secretive nature, is giving the powers concerned considerable anxiety. But the western powers also, without whose assistance obviously Turkey can do nothing in the matter, have not completely shed their mental reservations. This is deplorable indeed, for at this moment when all the major problems making for war are being hammered out, the frankest exchange of views is a desideratum for world peace and security.

Viewed from a wider angle, the Straits question is amenable to a different solution. The time perhaps is ripe when an attempt should be made to have a single International convention for all the inter-oceanic canals and lines of communication. The Suez Canal convention should serve as the pattern for a convention for all vital waterways. An Anglo-American treaty to which all the powers of the world have tacitly agreed has given exclusive power to the U.S.A. to police the Panama Canal, because the U.S.A. is considered strong enough to enforce the freedom of passage through the Canal. The Suez Canal convention completely neutralising the Canal has been based on the notion that Egypt to whom the Canal zone territorially belongs is not strong enough to maintain freedom of passage through this important waterway. A solution of the problem of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus on the lines of the Suez Canal convention may be an urgent need at the present moment, considering the risks Turkey had to face as guardian of the Straits according to the Montreaux convention. A surrender of rights over the Straits area would not mean the surrender of sovereign rights by Turkey. In the technical language of international law Turkey would have to submit to a "State servitude", retaining theoretical sovereignty over all Turkish territories and waters. At the same time she would be relieved of a heavy burden involving great expenditure and also great risks.

But perhaps the matter is not so simple as that. A complete internationalization of the Straits would

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revive ugly memories of the Treaty of Sevres which nationalist Turkey had indignantly rejected. Any arrangement regarding the Dardanelles, which alone features in the press today, would have to be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the Bosphorus as well, for in all international transactions so far the two Straits have been dealt with together. In that case the status of Istanbul becomes uncertain and has got to be clarified. If the whole of the Straits zone is neutralized, Turkey obviously becomes a non-European power and a torso. Let it not be forgotten that during the war just ended when the German domination of the Balkans and the Aegean and the German drive towards the Caucasus caught Turkey in a huge and powerful pincer, Turkish neutrality and Turkish control of the Straits alone prevented the Near and Middle East from being completely submerged and thus upset the German plan. It is of the essence of international agreements that they are founded on international goodwill, and in a vital matter like this if a satisfactory settlement is to be made it should be grounded on Turkish consent freely expressed.

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HISTORY OF LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

II

Even after the elaborate recommendations of the Committee of Circuit, no improvement could be noticed. Ramsbotham thinks that it could not be maintained in the face of the mass of evidence revealed by the letters received from the districts that Warren Hastings and the Committee of Circuit had succeeded in improving the methods of collection of land revenue in Bengal. He says :[25]

In fact, they had introduced a more evil element than had hitherto existed by the putting up of the revenues to public auction. The revenues had been farmed long before the Company's day, but the farmers had been selected by Government from men of position, who knew the land. The new regulations introduced by the Committee of Circuit made it possible for any man to bid for the land. Those who know India will realise the consternation which such a change must have brought upon all classes except speculators. Men who were mere nobodies now bid for and obtained farms : many were speculators from another part of the country, whose sole object was to squeeze out every anna from the land and its cultivators, utterly careless of what resulted, so long as their speculation was successful. Others bid from malicious and hostile motives in order to turn out or embarrass some zemindar against whom they had a grudge ; in a word, the land revenue was placed at the mercy of every kind of disreputable gambler . . . If farming was necessary, it could have been carried out on different lines, working with the assistance of men of substance and with the existing zemindars, many of whom found themselves ousted by some bidder from the control of lands whose revenue they had collected for generations from people who knew them.

This account shows what desperate attempts were made to increase collections and the degree of misery brought upon the native people by the Company's depredations after the devastating famine of 1770. Samuel Middleton, a member of the Committee of Circuit, pointed out in 1775 that "the present revenue is beyond what the country can afford, and consequently that the increase cannot be realised without the ruin thereof." The following extract from his letter is illustrative[26] :

As to agriculture, population, commerce and manufactures it is too melancholy a truth that the whole country suffered a very dreadful depopulation at the time of the famine, and that the present thinness of the inhabitants manifest very clearly that the effects of that calamity still remain. The consequences, and most naturally, have been that a smaller portion of the lands are cultivated than before that event, and also that the manufacturers most particularly have suffered, as the manufacturing body are a peculiar caste who dedicate themselves to any particular branch of manufacture, not from choice or abilities but simply for the reason that their forefathers did the same, so that those members of this body who perished in the famine were a loss in great measure not to be repaired in future from the body of the community. When the manufacturers suffer, it is needless to say commerce must languish. Such being the state of the country in general, there is no doubt that the zillas I superintended must have felt their share of the general effects, and in Rajshahi . . . they have been experienced with greater extent, the manufacture of silk having been ever so considerable in the province : moreover the western part of it has been greatly detrimental by the oppressive and rapacious conduct of Amrat Singh who heretofore farmed that division. Under these circumstances, it is but too evident that the agriculture, population and commerce of those zillas (superintended by him) must be in a much worse state than before the famine . . . I must again revert to the famine as the real and genuine source from which the actual defalcation of the revenues has originated.

After the famine, not even a temporary respite from the Company's ruthless exploitation was given. Middleton says in the same letter referred to above :

"Had the proper measures been pursued after that event, probably the effects of it might by this time have been felt in a much less considerable degree. But too much regard having been then and thereafter paid to the realising as considerable a present revenue as possible to Government, those efforts have, of course, continued aggravating instead of wearing away of themselves. Had an adequate remission been made in the revenues, and every other suitable encouragement been afforded to agriculture, inhabitants would have come in to cultivate our lands from the neighbouring countries,

[25] Ramsbotham, *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*, p. 30.

[26] Governor-General's Proceedings, April 7, 1775.

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where they suffered the oppressions usual in black governments, and population and agriculture would have recovered. Instead of which, when a very considerable portion, supposed over a third of the whole inhabitants, had perished, the remaining two-thirds were obliged to pay for the lands now left without cultivators, and thus the native ryots being oppressed, and no particular encouragement given to foreign ryots to come in—on the contrary the oppression on the others, as it were, held out to deter them,—the country has languished ever since and the evil continues enhancing every day.

Assessments made in the districts, after the famine, were cruel, arbitrary and distinctly predatory. P. M. Dacres, another member of the Committee of Circuit, speaking from his own experience and observation of conditions in Jessore, attributes the failure to pay the revenue to the effects of the famine of 1770.[27] Many officers, like Dacres, had recommended remission in rent after the famine, but that was not done. Dacres wanted to remove another cause of distress and failure to pay the revenue, *viz.*, the public auction of the farms, but here also his recommendations were rejected. He wrote :

> "The auction of lands for so long a period was not before known to the inhabitants of Bengal . . . it is evident that they (ryots) are taxed beyond what they can afford . . . The lands have been taken in farm at a rent exceeding their ability. The farmers to fulfil their engagement have realised from the husbandman a larger rent than he has been able to afford : under this hardship to forsake his profession and his country has been the easiest and speediest means of relief."

Two more similar remarks may be quoted. W. Harwood, Chief of the Provincial Council of Dinajpur, wrote[28] :

> "The system of collecting the revenues of Rangpur by means of zilladars has been very prejudicial to the prosperity of that province : it has increased the charge of collection to an enormous sum. As adventurers and temporary residents in the districts, they are not interested in its welfare, and, as men without credit or responsibility, they have no concern for the good or ill-management of the public business."

N. Bateman, Chief of Chittagong, wrote[29] :

> "Arbitrary taxes . . prevail in Roshnabad province to such an excessive degree that they have not only banished commerce almost entirely from that country, but greatly depopulated it."

These oppressions were done by the Company's diwan.

Ramsbotham says that the Minutes of the Governor-General in Council for 1775 are full of complaints and petitions to the Board for extortion and oppression ; of "balances" which cannot be recovered ; of rivalries and jealousies between individual farmers ; of bribery and dishonest conduct against all the servants, Europeans and Indians alike, of the Company.

Dacres recommended, in his despatch dated, February 10, 1775,[30] the grant to the ryots a total remission of the taxes which have been accumulating on their payments for the last 15 or 20 years past. He also recommended that let a settlement be made with the zemindars fixing the rent to perpetuity. Being disgusted with an unplanned temporary settlement which proved thoroughly unsatisfactory, unworkable and fraught with the most dangerous evils, the idea of permanent settlement was already gaining ground. Eighteen years before the Cornwallis settlement, we find Dacres suggesting it. He said that the zemindars might be trusted to a sale of their property as a security for their payments.

The real causes of the mounting economic distress had not, at the same time, escaped the notice of intelligent observers. Dacres wrote :

> The great quantity of specie, which has of late years been exported from this country and the large investments annually sent home to England for which no returns are made, have also had a considerable influence in producing a decay of the revenues.

G. G. Ducarel, giving evidence before the Board attributed the unhappy state of the country "to a constant drain of money without proportionable returns, which has impoverished the country and lowered the value of the land and their produce. Whilst the revenues of Bengal were spent at Murshidabad, the great concourse of people assembled there, and the luxury of a Court, required ample supplies of all the necessaries of life from the distant provinces ; their productions were then in constant demand, and regular returns of specie were made to answer the remittances of revenue. Murshidabad is now reduced to a village compared to its former state . . . The Company spent the revenues of the provinces chiefly in the maintenance of their troops, and provision of an investment for Europe."[31]

The Company was at this time in desperate need for money. R. C. Dutt points out that "in India an Empire was being acquired, wars were waged and administration carried on at the cost of the Indian people without the British nation contributing a shilling." The brunt of the cost was borne by the people of Bengal upon whose resources other provinces like Madras and Bombay had freely drawn to meet their own deficits.

Ducarel was then Collector of Purnea district. He also favoured a permanent settlement and said, "I am fully of opinion that a person of experience with discretionary power might render great service to the Company and province by effecting a permanent settlement in the most eligible mode according to local and particular circumstances, and upon an equitable valuation." Explaining his plan of permanent settlement Ducarel said, "I know it to be practicable, if the ryots can be brought to give their consent." Permanent settlement was later made but on a basis entirely different from what Dacres or Ducarel had suggested. They wanted to have it as an equitable basis and with the consent of the ryot. Lord Cornwallis rejected both these essential conditions. Ramsbotham says[32] :

> "The best evidence from the mofussil was unanimous in considering the settlement made in 1772 to be too high, and in condemning the irresponsible gambling introduced by the system which put the

27 Governor-General's Proceedings, April 7, 1775.
28 *Ibid*, June 7, 1775.
29 *Ibid*, July 7, 1775.
30 *Ibid*.
31 *Ibid*, July 18, 1775.
32 Ramsbotham, *Ibid*, p. 71.

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farms up to public auction. The most arresting advice is that of P. M. Dacres, G. G. Ducarel, whose proposed remedy, *viz.*, a permanent settlement, evidently impressed Francis and was propounded by him at a later date without acknowledgment to its authors."

At the time of the arrival of Warren Hastings as Governor-General, the quinquennial settlement of 1772 was drawing to a close. The members of the Supreme Council were divided in their opinion as to the methods of collecting and settling the revenue. The majority were driven to the damaging but frank admission that at this moment we should be very much embarrassed if we were called upon to make a new settlement of the lands, and were entrusted with power to do it." The minority, however, led by Hastings' implacable enemy Francis, wanted to take a definite step and favoured permanent settlement. Francis produced his own plan, the main features of which were taken without acknowledgement from the suggestions submitted by P. M. Dacres in his despatch, dated, Feb. 10, 1775, mentioned above. This controversy dragged on till the end of August, 1776, when Hastings expressed his anxiety in a minute with regard to the approaching settlement in 1777, in which year the Committee of Circuit's quinquennial settlement was due to expire. Hastings made some proposals of his own but could not produce any concrete plan.

The combination of Francis, Clavering and Monson had put Hastings in an unenviable minority position in his Council. On September 25, 1776, Colonel Monson died. Hastings now regained his authority in the Council through his casting vote. Hereafter he wanted to concentrate on the preparation of data for a new settlement of the different districts. Hastings proposed the establishment of a temporary office under one or two covenanted servants of the Company with a suitable staff to undertake the work. In a weighty minute, Hastings explained the necessity for creating this office. He said,[33] "The general design was to obtain an accurate state of the real value of the lands, . . . so that the burthen of the public revenue should rest with an equal weight upon the whole body of the people." In his eagerness to remove the inequality of assessment, which in his own opinion acted as a heavy oppression, he wrote, "The land tax has been collected for these twenty years past upon a conjectural valuation of the lands formed upon the receipts of former years and the opinions of the officers of the revenue, and the assessment has been accordingly altered almost every year." Hence, he said, "the necessity of obtaining an accurate state of the value of the lands to enable us to levy the public revenue with an equal weight throughout the whole province."

Although his intention was good, Hastings made the greatest blunder by dismissing the method of actual survey and measurement" of the lands to be evalued as "too tedious, expensive and uncertain," and he gave his preference for an examination of local accounts.

General Clavering and Francis vigorously protested against this proposal of Hastings and prophesied that all the mischief of the Committee of Circuit will be renewed." A bitter controversy raged but Hastings remained firm. The proposed office was created. David Anderson and George Bogle were appointed on the Commission on November 29, 1776.[34] A week later, Charles Croftes, Accountant-General of the Revenue Department, was added to the Commission. This office came to be known as the "Amini office" in contemporary records.

On assumption of their duties, the Commission sent out amins into all the districts to collect the necessary accounts and papers. The task was not at all easy. The zemindars were not enthusiastic about showing their accounts and there were many evasions. One of the amins Ramram Basu deputed to check the accounts in the zemindary of Rani Bhowani reported, in reply to accusations brought against him by the Rani's agents, that[35], "They have not yet given in many papers which are necessary to check the Sadar *hastobud* and Sadar *jama, wasil, baki* with their subsidiary accounts : some say they will deliver them as soon as they can get them from the country, but they have broke several promises which they made to deliver them within a certain time. Others allege that there are none : such are the evasions of the people, and thus delay as occasioned in checking the accounts of the Sadar offices." Allegations of torture in order to elicit these informations were made against Ramram Basu but he repudiated the idea of flogging any one as had been alleged.[36]

With the time for resettlement drawing near Hastings made some suggestions of which the following are the main[37] :

> That such lands as are now in charge of the zemindars be left under their management, if they will consent to hold them on the *jama* and *kistibandi* (instalment) of last year.
>
> That such lands as are now in charge of the zemindars be left under their management, although they shall refuse to hold them on the *jama* and *kistibandi* of last year, if they will consent to hold them for such a rent as the Provincial Council of the Division to which they belong shall judge adequate to their real worth.
>
> That for all lands let to the zemindars as above directed, be it expressly stipulated in their *kabuliyats* that in case of their falling in arrears they shall be liable to be dispossessed and their zemindaris or portions of them sold to make up for the deficiency.

The experiences gathered during the five years 1772-1777 by the Company's district officers in their efforts to provide the basis for a sound revenue settlement has been summed up by Ramsbotham in the following words[38]:

> First, and perhaps most important of all, they had learned that no imported theories could assist them in the revenue administration of the districts committed to their charge ; they recognised that some system based on local custom and tradition was necessary; they laid stress on the corrupt and oppressive state into which that system had fallen. They realised that the Company's first attempt to collect the revenue of the Diwani lands had been vitiated by an assessment that was excessive, by

33 Ramsbotham, *Ibid*, p. 79.

34 Governor-General's Proceedings, Nov. 29, 1776.

35 *Ibid*, March 14, 1777.

36 Ramsbotham, *Ibid*, p. 83.

37 *Ibid*, p. 91.

38 *Ibid*, pp. 94-95.

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ignorance of the country and its numerous customs, and above all, by the employment of a wrong agency in the wholesale use of *ijaradars* or farmers. They had found out the feebleness of the traditional collecting agency, the zamindars, and had detected, but failed to break, the collusion between the zamindars and the registering agency, the kanungoo. They had painfully discovered that no two districts had the same customs, and that in every pargana the local traditions and methods must be taken into calculation when assessing or collecting the revenue. The senior officers of the districts were unanimous in their condemnation of the system of public farming, and they recognised the danger of the centralising policy to which the Board adhered in spite of all warning and advice . . .

The defects were still glaring: the main cause of them was the weakness or nervousness of the Directors who constantly and peremptorily forbade the employment of officers by themselves in the mofussil, and in this they were to some extent supported by the Governor-General whose fixed obsession was that the revenue administration could most efficiently be handled in Calcutta by the Board working through Indian diwans and amins in the districts. No touring was permitted, in spite of repeated applications to the Board for permission. The same ignorance of the amount actually paid by the ryots, and the difference between the amount and the sums received by the Company still prevailed; but progress was being made in this respect, and the district officers were learning the right methods of obtaining that knowledge. A serious obstacle, by the irony of fate, to a vigorous district administration of the revenue was the Governor-General himself, whose acumen and judgment enabled him to select good officers, but whose ignorance of the work required from revenue district officers, and whose fixity of purpose, for good or bad, was responsible for that rigid central control which was so detrimental to an efficient revenue administration and which was never relaxed so long as he remained in India.

The need for a long-term settlement of land tenure had by now been well appreciated. Dacres and Ducarel, as we have seen, were the first to suggest permanent settlement and Philip Francis was the first to emphasise it. In his Minute, dated, January 22, 1776, Francis had amplified his scheme of settlement with the zemindars, as of right, in perpetuity.[39] Barwell had previously advocated a settlement with the zemindars for one or two generations. Warren Hastings agreed with the claims of zemindars in preference to farmers, but before committing the Court to any definite plan, he wanted to ascertain in detail the resources of the country. There were two conflicting claims. This conflict has been described by Ascoli[40] as follows:

> The claim of the zemindar at this period was the right to hold his estate in perpetuity, subject to his agreement to pay the revenue fixed by the Company from time to time; in case of his refusal to agree to the revenue as fixed at any time, he considered himself entitled to a maintenance allowance known as *malikana* or *mushahara* (moshaira) from the farmer who accepted settlement. His right rested on one of two facts—either he was a permanent official with an hereditary right to collect the revenue of the estate, or he possessed a proprietary right in the soil. The farming theory rested on the assumptions that the proprietary right vested in the state, that the zemindar was not a permanent hereditary official, and that the Company possessed the right of its capacity as Diwan, to let out estates on lease (farm or *ijara*) temporarily to any person selected by the Company.

This problem has been extensively discussed in the Grant-Shore controversy. When it suited the Company they flouted the zemindars' claim of hereditary proprietary right and farmed out land to anybody and everybody they liked for short periods. When however they gradually began to realise that it was impossible to establish an effective system of revenue collection without the help of some powerful local agency, they leaned back on the zemindars for this purpose. By 1776, the Company was able to realise the difficulty but was unable to take any definite step. In that year, just before the term of quinquennial settlement expired, the Court of Directors replied to the Hastings-Francis controversy in the Council:[41]

> Having considered the different circumstances of getting your lands on leases for lives or in perpetuity, we do not for many weighty reasons think it at present advisable to adopt either of these modes; but in the meanwhile we direct that the lands be let for the succeeding year on the most advantageous terms and that none be in future let by public auction.

This order was carried out in spite of Hastings' Minute advising inquiry into the resources of the country. Hastings had not given up his own idea and had already appointed the Amini Commission. Amidst great odds, this Commission concluded its labours and submitted its report in March 25, 1778. This Amini Report was the first technical and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal. On this basis annual settlements were made, ordinarily with the zemindars, for 1777 and the three succeeding years. By the appointment of this Commission and by arrogating the power of revenue settlement in his own hands, Hastings had practically reduced the provincial councils to mere figureheads.

Drastic changes now took place. The Supreme Council had decided on the course of complete centralisation in Calcutta. The Committee of Revenue was placed in full control aided by a Dewan. Provincial councils were abolished on February 9, 1781 and collectors were again appointed over the various districts. In order to maintain the centralised structure of the new machinery, Collectors were denied any interference with the new settlement of the revenue. Special officers were appointed for the purpose. Even as collecting agencies, the Collectors were not trusted and the zemindars were encouraged to pay their revenue direct into the *khalsa* or Exchequer in Calcutta. In the districts, kanungos were reappointed to assist the Collectors, but they were placed under Sadar kanungos who acted under orders of the Committee of Revenue.

39 Francis, *Plan of Settlement of Revenue*; 1776; Fifth Report, p. 327.

40 Ascoli, *Ibid*, p. 34.

41 Ascoli, *Ibid*, p. 35.

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The new Collectors were thus mere figureheads. The settlement of 1781 was made principally with the zemindars for varying periods not exceeding three years, in different districts. Annual settlements of 1784-86 showed an increase on the figures for 1781, but the defects of the new system were already apparent. In 1782, Shore had stated his opinion, "The real state of the districts is now less known, and the revenues less understood, than in 1774 ; . . . the system is fundamentally wrong and inapplicable to any good purpose."

The first attempt to change the land laws of India was made in 1784 when the Act for the "Better Regulation and Management of the Affairs of the East India Company" was passed by the Parliament "to settle and establish . . . the permanent rules by which the tributes, rents and services of the rajas, zemindars, polygars[42], talukdars, and other native landholders should be in future rendered and paid."

In passing this Act, Parliament no doubt did the first land legislation for India but it did not prescribe a permanent settlement. It merely established permanent rules for the payment of rent. Nor did the Parliament direct that zemindars other than actual proprietors should be declared proprietors of the land, to the exclusion of other proprietary rights. The permanent rules, for the payment of rent were directed to be consistent with justice and in accordance with the laws, customs and constitution of India. This principle, however, was not followed. The Court of Directors, in 1786, ordered that the settlement of land revenue should in all practicable cases be made with the zemindars.

The centralisation plan of Hastings had failed. Sir John Shore next developed a new reform scheme aimed at a complete decentralisation. The new scheme was published on April 7, 1786. The whole of the province was divided into small districts each under the control of a Collector. The Collector made the settlement and collected the revenue of his district. The Committee of Revenue merely retained a general power of sanction and control. Native dewans were abolished and the kanungo was revived after a thorough revision. On the very day of the publication of this great reform, James Grant was appointed Sheristadar with the special object of reconstituting the kanungos department. The office of Sheristadar at that time corresponded to a Keeper of the Records and was an office of great importance.

The division of the province into districts was the backbone of the reforms. The new districts were territorial units and were thirty-five in number. The revenues of each of them approximated to eight lakhs of rupees. On the suggestion of Shore, these districts were reduced in 1787 to twenty-three in number. Ascoli[43] points out that the process of rendering the districts more compact continued until 1793, but the system evolved by Shore, based on a series of compact districts, each controlled directly by a Collector, who was responsible for the whole administration, subject only to the general control of the Board of Revenue, has formed the basis of all subsequent administration. The Collectors were also given the powers of the Judge and the Magistrate. A strong local administration on a decentralised model was thus created.

The Committee of Revenue was dissolved in 1786 and re-established as the Board of Revenue. Its power of interference was taken away, its duty of making settlements of revenue was ended. Its main duty was now to sanction, subject to a certain extent to the control of the Council, the settlements made by the Collectors.

The reforms of 1786 laid the foundation on which the Permanent Settlement subsequently rested. In September, 1786, Lord Cornwallis landed in Calcutta. The Court had instructed him to make a decennial settlement. At the beginning of 1790, regulations were issued for the decennial settlement of Bengal.

During the period, till the inauguration of the permanent settlement, two great controversies must be noted,—the Grant-Shore and the Shore-Cornwallis controversy. Three treatises by Grant may be mentioned, the Political Survey of the Northern Circars, published on December 20, 1784, the Analysis of the Finance of Bengal issued on April 27, 1786 and the Historical and Comparative View of the Revenues of Bengal, issued on February 28, 1788. In his first treatise, Grant attempted to show that the zemindar was merely a temporary official, and that the right of property in land vested absolutely in the State. In the second he justified the amount of the assessment in the last half century of Mughal control and in the third, he tried to prove that great defalcations had occurred in the Company's revenue since the commencement of the control of Muhammad Reza Khan. His implication was that while the full assessment of the Mughal days was being realised, only a small portion of it was being actually paid to the credit of the Company. His attempt to show that the assessment in the Mughal period was a practical figure capable of realization was considered as the weakest feature of his case. Grant recommended that settlement should be made of the Dewani lands at the highest Mughal assessment as found in 1765. In respect of the ceded lands, however, he maintained that assessment should be made after a detailed measurement.

Shore replied to Grant's treatises in a monumental Minute on June 18, 1789. The Minute is an elaborate exposition of the status of the zemindar and the cultivator, so far as it was understood at that time. Shore was the first to admit the incompleteness of administrative knowledge at that period. The minute concludes with detailed proposals for a decennial settlement, which was to be based on the previous year's revenue. Shore abandoned Grant's proposal that the highest Mughal assessment should be adopted as the standard, he also abandoned as impracticable the principle that one-fourth of the gross produce should form the basis of the revenue and accepted the experience of the twenty-four years of the British administration. Shore based his arguments on "practical experience in the collection and management of the revenues, which Mr. Grant does not profess to have acquired." There was a very important distinction between the two men. Grant, with his intimate knowledge of the old records and books of account and no practical experience, beyond an unofficial connection with the settlement of Dacca in 1771, did not attempt to test his conclusions by the facts of experience, while Shore, threw aside theoretical speculation and based his argument entirely on the facts of experience which however he admitted to be incomplete. There had been two distinct schools

42 Polygar: A military chieftain in Southern India, not found in Bengal.

43 Ascoli, *Ibid*, p. 39.

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of thought on this subject—the one headed by Philip Francis who had maintained in 1776 that Bengal was grossly over-assessed, the other headed by Grant who insisted that Bengal was capable of paying a higher revenue.[44] Although arguing from different premises trying to contradict Grant, Shore himself arrived at a conclusion which was not much different from that of Grant. He admitted that the assessment up to the death of Aliverdi Khan was not abnormal, and probably did not cover the imposts levied by the zemindars on the raiyats.[45] He leaned on the side of a high assessment but wanted to make it thorough and scientific. In his masterly exposition, he argued throughout that any settlement must be based on the immediate experience that had been acquired. He stated that it was first necessary to discover the real paying capacity of every village and every pargana. He suggested a decennial settlement because he believed that this discovery could be made in the course of a ten years' settlement by compelling the zemindars to deposit detailed lists of villages within their estates, showing their boundaries, areas and assets ; during the course of the settlement such lists could be tested. This opinion together with his great reforms shows that Shore was really the first Imperialist who wanted to push the revenue assessment at the highest possible level consistent with the cultivators' ability to pay and sought to create an effective administrative machinery able to collect the revenue that was assessed. Despite some subsequent modifications, Shore's scheme provided the most thorough Imperialist machinery for Bengal which remains the foundation of her administrative structure even to this day.

The Court of Directors had made up their mind. They were bent upon doing two things—first, to make the assessment such that the highest revenue was obtained and second, a permanent settlement of the land with the zemindars should be made. They had decided to win the zemindar over their side leaving the cultivator to his fate. The selection of Lord Cornwallis was not without significance. Ascoli says[46], "A man of the highest integrity and loyalty but possessed of no conspicuous originality, he had doubtless been selected for the post of Governor-General under the conviction that the orders which he carried with him would be executed punctiliously and successfully, and without criticism." The claims of Shore, a calm and clear-headed administrator who had gained experience of all the phases of administration since 1769, "a man of great honesty and integrity who had remained poor while his brethren in office had amassed wealth,"[47] was passed over because he held pronounced views of his own which conflicted with those held by the Directors. Shore was appointed a member of the Supreme Council in 1787 and remained Cornwallis' chief adviser until the end of 1789. Cornwallis differed from Shore on one important point only, the question of permanence and his determination to carry out the orders of the Court induced him to override the experience of Shore. In his first Minute of June 18, 1789, Shore advocated decennial settlement and maintained that a period of ten years would be fully adequate to enable the zemindars to attend to the development of their estates ; he feared that a permanent settlement would only tend to perpetuate abuses, which might otherwise be abolished at the end of the ten years' term. Cornwallis, in his Minute of September 18, 1789, affirmed that the Court of Directors were determined to make the settlement permanent, provided that their servants did not betray the trust placed in them. Shore's proposal, limiting the term of settlement with the proprietor to ten years, implied that at the end of the term settlement would again be made with the proprietor, subject to such assessment and such obligations as the experience of ten years might prove to be necessary. Cornwallis did not attempt to argue with Shore on this, the essential part of Shore's case. Cornwallis was no champion of the old zemindar families. He wrote, "It is immaterial to Government what individual possesses the land, provided he cultivates it, protects the raiyats and pays the public revenue."[48] The penalty for failure to pay the revenue had already been determined by Shore and accepted by Cornwallis, *viz.*, immediate sale of the whole of the defaulting estate.

In his second Minute on the same date, Sept. 18, 1789, Shore delivered a reply to Cornwallis and suggested the grant of conditional ten-year leases in favour of men of known capacity who would promote cultivation by bringing more land under the plough by a speedy clearance of the jungle. He pointed out that a permanent settlement would perpetuate abuses in the case of bad but capable landlords. In his third Minute of December 21, 1789, Shore stated that the permanent settlement would result in an unfair distribution of the assessment because in the absence of a survey, the settlement must be made on the basis of indeterminate boundaries and unascertained areas and profits. He argued that, in case of a decennial settlement, at the end of ten years the revenue would be less than at the beginning and maintained that Government should retain the right to recover that loss at least by a fair redistribution of the assessment. His other important argument was that if the zemindar was to be treated as a proprietor in the sense intended by Cornwallis, Government would not be justified in interfering in the relations between the zemindars and cultivators.

A few days after he wrote this Minute, Shore left for England. Cornwallis replied in his Minute of February 3, 1790. He did not agree with Shore's opinion that the revenue would tend to decrease. He thought that the profits of the zemindars would increase so rapidly that the Government revenue would be fully safeguarded even against the effects of drought and famine. He believed that the ability of the proprietor to dispose of his lands at will would consolidate his position and the power to sell or mortgage would safeguard the interests of Government. Replying to Shore's second argument, Cornwallis maintained that Government must retain the power of interfering in the relations between the landlords and tenants.

Cornwallis never succeeded in returning a convincing reply to Shore's arguments. From the beginning of the controversy, Shore appealed for further experience and warned against the undue haste in perpetuating an experimental and untried scheme in the provinces, the conditions of which even the most experienced men in the Administration had failed to understand. On February 10, 1790, the rules for the Decennial Settlement of Bengal were issued and on March 22, 1793, in accord-

44 *Fifth Report*, Ed. by Ascoli, p. 170, para 9.
45 *Ibid*, p. 171, para 44.
46 Ascoli, *Ibid*, p. 63.
47 Ascoli, *Ibid*, p. 63.
48 *Fifth Report*, p. 473.

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ance with the orders of the Court of Directors despatched on September 19, 1792, the Decennial Settlements of Bengal and Bihar were declared to be permanent,

The permanent settlement was not received submissively. Ascoli says[49]:

"Contemporary official correspondence proves that the larger zemindars were very strongly opposed to the measure . . . The main points of objection were the amount of revenue assessed, and the means that had been adopted for the enforcement of payment. The zemindar was faced by the immediate prospect of being liable to pay a revenue, which, in view of the difficulties of realising rent from his tenants, was very heavy. Over his head was brandished the axe of sale, ready to descend and destroy him if the smallest arrear accrued ; it was the law of sale that rendered the Permanent Settlement unpopular."

By the time the permanent settlement was introduced, it was abundantly clear that the people of Bengal were not going to accept the British Company as their natural Ruler and pay revenue submissively to them as they had done to their own monarchy. They denied the British administrators all knowledge of revenue matters and non-co-operated with them to the best of their ability. Sir John Shore's Minutes show that even the most astute administrator with the wide experience felt a degree of helplessness in the face of this systematic non-co-operation and hesitated to impose any system in this country which might prove unnatural to the people of the land. Even Warren Hastings faltered. But the Directors were impatient and wanted to increase the revenue at any cost so that the expenses of wars might be met and more dividends might be declared. They decided upon permanent settlement with the biggest loophole in it which, we may say, was left purposely open for the loyal zemindars to enter. The rent payable by the zemindar was permanently limited without permanently limiting at the same time the rent payable by the cultivator. Cornwallis might have contemplated a permanent assessment or fixed rent from the ryot to the zemindar of exactly the same character as the permanent settlement with the zemindar. But this was not attempted either by Cornwallis or by the Directors. It was Sir John Shore who sought to secure some safeguard for the peasant against zemindary oppression. In his Minute of June, 1789, he wrote[50]:

In relying therefore on the example of good faith which the Government gives to the zemindars, we ought not, while the example is taking effect, to abandon the ryots to caprice or injustice, the result of ignorance and inability. . . . At present we must give every possible security to the ryots as well as, or not merely, to the zemindars. This is so essential a point that it ought not to be conceded to any plan.

This shows that Shore did not want the ryots to become tenants-at-will under the zemindary settlement. The loophole in the permanent settlement scheme was left open in spite of Shore's warning, and this significant fact leads to the only conclusion that it was deliberate. It succeeded in its main objective, the revenue of the Government was now fully secured and the collection was easier, but it worked at a tremendous cost to the sons of the soil. The rights in wrongs had now become vested rights.

The assessment on the zemindar was high enough to make the corresponding levy on the peasant unbearable for him. The peasant's second stable source of income through cottage industries was being destroyed by means of the unfair competition of imported goods made in England. The land became the cultivator's sole means of subsistence. The oppressive rent killed all initiative of improvement of agriculture and extension of cultivation took place only when the prime motive of self-preservation demanded it. Within two decades the oppressive nature of the rent was apparent and even an Imperialist like Lord Grenville remarked, in the House of Lords debate on the renewal of the charter, on March 16, 1813, "No system of taxation could be more detestable in a country than a tax upon the abilities and industry of the husbandman. This system left to the agents of the Company all the villainous oppression of the Mahommedan government and imposts were levied upon the cultivators of the ground according to their discretion." The oppressive and ominous character of the land tax was well understood but the greed of the Company goaded them to continue their predatory policy and to impose a tax which pressed on the people. It was seen later that the apprehensions which led Grenville to utter those memorable words were fully justified. In 1873, the Bengal Board of Revenue reported that under that settlement, the majority of the zemindars were impoverished ; the conditions of a large proportion of ryots were bad, and the only class that had signally and chiefly benefited was that of the moneylenders, who thus crowned the pinnacle of England's honour and glory from the permanent zemindary settlement.

The great mischief of the permanent settlement was perceived by others as well. Sir Edward Colebrooke wrote on July 12, 1820[51]:

The errors of the permanent settlement in Bengal were two-fold : first, the sacrifice of what may be denominated the yeomanry, by merging all village rights, whether of property or occupancy in the all devouring recognition of the zemindar's permanent property in the soil ; and secondly, in the sacrifice of the peasantry by one sweeping enactment, which left the zemindar to make his settlement with them on such term as he might choose to require. Government indeed reserved to itself the power of legislating in favour of the tenants, but no such legislation has ever taken place; and on the contrary, every subsequent enactment has been founded on the declared object of strengthening the zemindar's hands.

In his Minute of February 3, 1790, Cornwallis had asserted[52]:

"In order to simplify the demand of the landholder upon the ryots, or cultivators of the soil, we must begin with fixing the demand of the government upon the former ; this done, I have little doubt but that the landholders will, without difficulty, be made to grant pottahs to the ryots upon the principles proposed by Mr. Shore for the Bengal settlement."

49 Ascoli, *Ibid*, p. 74.
50 *Fifth Report*, p. 486, para 531.
51 *Revenue Selections*, Vol. III, p. 167.
52 *Fifth Report*, p. 486.

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Colebrooke's comment shows that the wishful thinking of Cornwallis did not materialise.

It was expected that the zemindar, having the advantage of all the revenue from bringing waste lands into cultivation, would conform to the law which prohibited him from increasing the ryot's rent. But the strained relations between the zemindar and the ryot, and the multitudinous suits for enhancement of rent, have long since dispelled this illusion. Sir Frederic Halliday wrote[53], on September 2, 1856 :

"The intention of the permanent settlement was to recognise and confirm existing rights in the land, to prevent encroachment on those rights for the future. The effect of the settlement was, however, to erect into landowners men who were mere tax-collectors, and to give them almost unlimited power over all the old village proprietors, thus exposing to hazard a vast mass of long existing rights and creating new and unknown rights of property where they had never been before. The consequences of this have been deeply injurious to the great body of real proprietors whose rights were sacrificed on the occasion; and the bad consequences of the measure may be traced at the present day in many of the evils which penetrate into and vitiate so much of the constitution of our rural societies. The only chance of breaking any part of this system down (and every breach of it is a blessing to thousands) is through the purchase of zemindaries by Government at auction sales . . . Every zemindary so purchased is a population redeemed and regenerated."

Enhancement of rent had been similarly condemned by Sir John Peter Grant. Sir John wrote[54], on February 10, 1840 :

"The right to enhance according to the present value of the land differs not in principle from absolute annulment of tenure."

It was expected that the zemindars, with a fixed land tax (and it might be added, with the acquisition of a new proprietary right in the properties of millions) would lay out capital in improving agriculture. The testimony recorded is, that the zemindars have done little or nothing, the ryots everything, for the extension and improvement of cultivation. The Court of Directors themselves observed[55], on May 9, 1831 :

There is scarcely any fact to which there is more frequent testimony in your records that the improvidence and prodigality which characterise the zemindars. On the subject of their inattention to the improvement of their estates, the following declaration of Mr. Ernst, in his answer to the questions which were circulated in 1801, may serve as a specimen of the body of evidence which fills your records : "I have never seen or heard of a zemindar in Bengal who took any measures for the improvement of his estate on a large and liberal scale. Landholders do not carry their views beyond granting waste lands on the terms which are customary in the pergannah; they hardly ever encourage cultivation by digging a tank or making advances to the ryots." . . . The words of the Board of Revenue are: "The ryots generally clear and cultivate the lands at their own expense. The period of exemption from rent may in some instances exceed that specified in the talookdar's grant, but the burthen of expense, generally speaking, falls on the ryot."

Mr. Holt Mackenzie stated[56], on April 18, 1832 :

The system must oppose a serious obstacle to the successful cultivation of new and better crops. The zemindar, who is neither agriculturist nor owner of the soil, and stands in a position little favourable to the growth of enlightened and liberal ideas, must be expected to act as a tax-gatherer, and as a short-sighted tax-gatherer nipping in the bud and seeds of improvement. And we cannot hope that any new or increased demand for the produce of the country can be met with that promptitude which might be expected if the occupants were secured in their property, so long as the contractors for the Government revenue were on their watch for every new occasion of exaction, and the ignorance or inefficiency of our courts permit them unjustly and arbitrarily to tax the industry of the country."

Frequent ejectments had become a source of unmitigated curse to the peasant. Harish Ch. Mookerjee, Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* and Sambhunath Pandit wrote[57], on September 27, 1851 :

"Frequent removals of habitation (ejectments) are proverbially injurious to the industrious classes of the Bengal peasant, who builds his own hut, irrigates and manures the land at his own expense, and owes his landlord nothing but the use of the bare natural powers of the soil, who is absolutely without a reserved capital, and is almost always encumbered with a family ; a single removal completes the ruin."

Justice George Campbell wrote[58], on June 1, 1864 :

The great zemindar, as a rule, (and the exceptions are most rare), does not spend a farthing on the improvement of his estate. He neither himself cultivates and introduces an improved agriculture, nor does he prepare farms for his tenants to build farm-houses, fence fields, drain and plant,—he does nothing whatever of all this, he performs none of the functions of a landlord in the English sense ; he merely permits ryots to cultivate at their own expense and takes from them the dues to which the law entitles him, or more if he can get it.

Among the foremost results of the permanent settlement may therefore be placed the destruction of those rights of millions of cultivating proprietors which in theory were recognised in the Proclamation of the Zemindary Settlement. The Select Committee which submitted the Fifth Report, stated that in India "subordinate rights were found to exist, which justice and humanity required should be protected, before the privileges of the zemindars, under the new system, were declared fixed for ever." But this was not done. On August 1, 1822, a Government Resolution[59] stated :

As far, therefore, as concerns the ryots the perpetual settlement of the lower provinces must be held to have essentially failed to produce the contemplated benefits with whatever advantages it may have otherwise been attended.

As a natural consequence of the permanent settlement, the ryots' rights were destroyed ; they passed away *sub silentio*. By permanent settlement the country has profited nothing. The ryots have lost heavily. The zemindars have benefited but little. The bulk of the zemindars today are poor and mostly in debt.

(Concluded)

53 "Zemindary Settlement in Bengal", App. IV, p. 61, para. 6.
54 *Ibid.*
55 *Ibid*, App. IV, p. 63.
56 *Ibid*, p. 64. App. IV.
57 *Ibid*, App. IV. p. 67.
58 *Ibid*.
59 *Revenue Selections*, Vol. III, p. 886.

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RESEARCH : THE FOUNDATION STONE OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL SUCCESS

Du Pont Research Laboratories—A Great Example

When a great industrial laboratory devotes itself to fundamental research—the study of science instead of its commercial application—the results are unpredictable. Nylon, for example which in peacetime made the most glamorous of women's hosiery and now in a dozen forms is an essential war product, is one of the results of such pure research by scientists of the laboratories of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company in the United States.

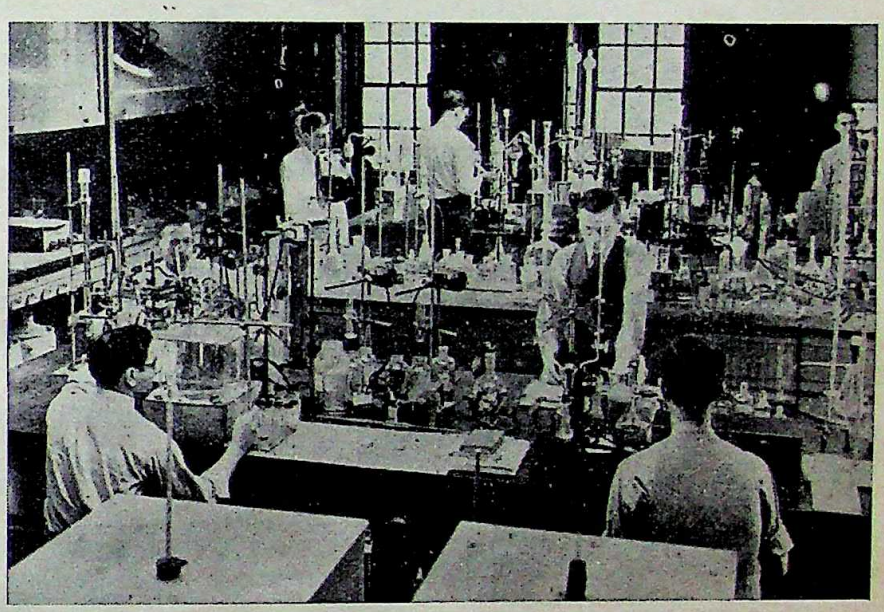
Research by du Pont was initiated with the very beginning of the company in 1802. The founder, Eleuthiere Irenee du Pont de Nemours, was a pupil of Lavoisier, called "the father of modern chemistry." From him the 17-year-old student learned not only how to make gunpowder but also the importance of continued research. After the French Revolution young du Pont went to America with his father and a brother and set up a powder mill near Wilmington, in the Atlantic Coast State of Delaware. Successful from the start, it furnished much of the powder used by the U.S. Army in the early part of the 19th century. One of the early scientific investigations completed for the company was made by Lammot du Pont, grandfather of the present chairman of the Board of Directors, when in 1857 he invented a successful blasting powder based on sodium nitrate instead of the conventional potassium nitrate.

Du Pont's first formal research laboratory, erected in 1902, was one of the first chemical research laboratories in America. It was devoted to research solely in the field of explosives ; a year later an experimental station was opened to explore the various other fields in which the company had become active.

The policy of the company has always been to diversify its activities by acquiring companies well established in certain lines of industry, such as plastics, paints, coated fabrics, electrochemical products and sporting arms and ammunition. By purchasing patents and processes from established companies in other countries, especially Great Britain and France, du Pont began the manufacture of intermediates and dyes, ammonia, rayon and cellophane. The acquisition of each new business was soon followed by the establishment of a laboratory devoted to improving the product and the processes involved, and to developing new products in the same field. Today the company maintains 33 such laboratories, employing nearly 3,400 workers.

Central Chemical Department

In addition to these specialized laboratories is the Central Chemical Department, with laboratories at the experimental station. This department, because of its independent position, is not troubled by daily problems arising from manufacture. Its field is fundamental research with freedom to investigate any problem in the entire field of chemistry. Its fortunes do not follow a profit and loss curve, for the company realizes that research must be continuous. During the depression days of the 1930's Lammot du Pont, then president of the company, told the chemical director that "it is more important to carry out research than to pay dividends."



A corner of the main analytical laboratory of the chemical department of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

Both nylon and neoprene, the first commercially successful synthetic rubber, were children of the depression. When Dr. Wallace Carothers of Harvard University joined the du Pont research staff in 1928, he chose to work on the project of making big molecules out of little ones, the process technically called "polymerization." The molecules which result are formed of regularly recurring units and are often compared to a chain of paper clips hooked together. While Dr. Carothers was experimenting with the polymers, Father Julius Arthur Nieuwland, professor of organic chemistry at Notre Dame University, was working with acetylene. Some of his results were suggestive of the du Pont aims, and so a patent and royalty agreement was made, and his ideas were turned over to Dr. Carothers and his picked team. In 1931 du Pont introduced neoprene, the first synthetic rubber which could be used successfully for tires. Better than rubber in some respects, it resists the deteriorating action of sunlight and heat, gasoline and lubricating

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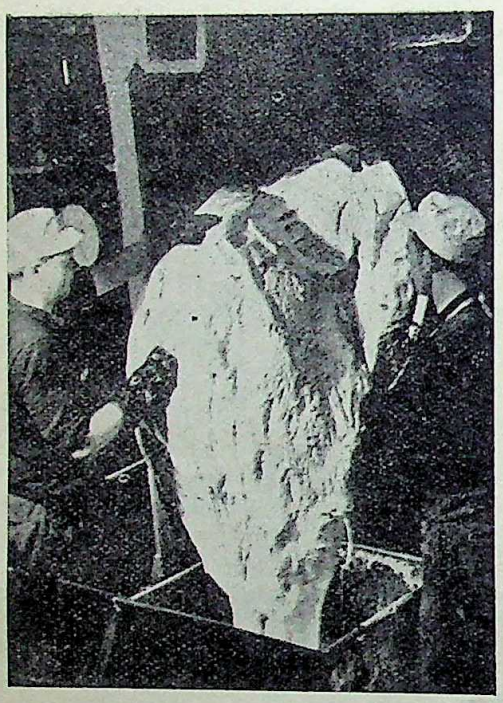
oils and many chemicals. Because it is more gas-tight and air-tight than natural rubber, it finds a wide war use in barrage balloons, life rafts and airplane de-icers.

Nylon Developed

With neoprene safely launched, Dr. Carothers returned to his laboratory to continue on fundamental research. William Haynes, telling the story in *This*



A batch of neoprene, the first commercially successful synthetic rubber, is being poured from the polymerization kettle of the Du Pont Co.

Chemical Age, describes the scientist as a "curious, melancholy enthusiast who relished a really profound chemical problem as a connoisseur enjoys a vintage wine." He felt that a new type of synthetic fiber was the most promising possibility among the polymers he had been studying for so many years. Working with his associate, Julian Hill, he found a chemical compound which when hot could be drawn out through a hypodermic needle into a fine thread ; unlike the other plastics, upon cooling the thread remained elastic and pliable. His material was a compound of members of two large families of chemicals. Any member of either family might combine with any one of the other group to form a better material ; the possible combinations are almost infinite in number.

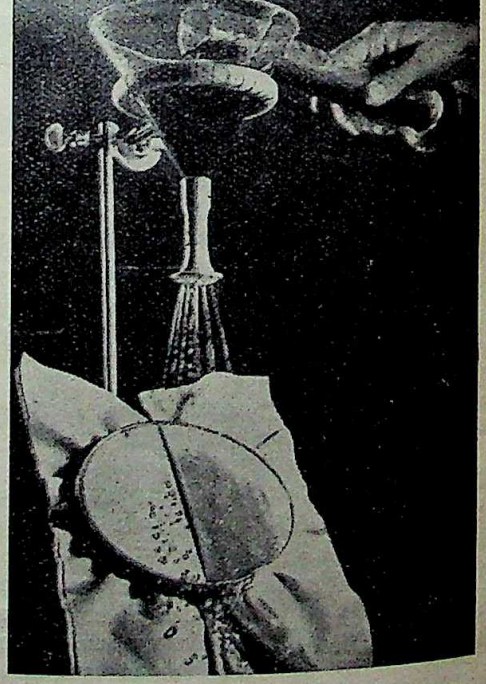
Two years of intensive work led to the selection in February, 1935, of one particular fiber, made from a compound chemically known as "polyhexamethylene adipamide" and generally referred to as "66". When it was decided that this was the ideal fiber, light, tough, elastic and resistant to most solvents, the company determined to reduce to a minimum "the time between the test tube and the counter." About 230 chemists and chemical engineers were assigned to work on the new fiber. By October, 1938, a manufacturing plant was begun for the new yarn, now christened nylon, which had been tested and approved by hosiery manufacturers. Within 16 months the plant was in operation, turning out nylon at the rate of 8,000,000 pounds a year.

With nylon now dedicated entirely to the war, current production figures are not disclosed, but it has proved invaluable as material for parachute fabric and shroud lines, cords for bomber tires and tow rope for gliders. In the jungles, nylon resistance to mildew and rot had made it increasingly important for tents, insect netting, ponchos, hammocks and even shoe strings. Nylon itself is a plastic, the fiber being only one of its many forms. It is widely used for wire insulation, carburetor diaphragms and surgical sutures. Experimentally it makes machinery packing bearings, window screens, transparent packaging, zipper fasteners, coated fabric and coil springs, all fabricated from nylon sheets, rods, tubes, liquid or molding powder.

Developed Dyes

Before the war of 1914-18 the United States depended for most of its dyestuffs upon Germany, which had built up a virtual monopoly among the coaltar dyes. When the war cut off these foreign deliveries, all the American textile, paint, paper and other dye-consuming industries were in desperate straits. It was with great difficulty that even enough dyes could be obtained to color military uniforms for the last war. To meet this urgent need, du Pont began the manufacture of the simpler dyes, indigo and sulphur black, meanwhile working out the formulas for the more complex secret dyes.

From this beginning has grown up the plant of the Chamber Works, across the Delaware River from the



The standard spray-testing equipment used to determine the water-repellancy of a treated fabric in the laboratories of the Du Pont Co.

company's headquarters in Wilmington, where today more than 7,000 men and women are contributing to the war effort, not only in the manufacture of dyes but in many other war materials. When an official of the company recently asked how many products manufactured there were in the construction of the B-29

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Superfortress, a list from the Chamber Works, admittedly incomplete, named 86 different materials.

Paints and dyes and related chemicals are even more vital in this war than in the last. The armed forces are using three or four times as much anthraquinone vat colors, one of the most important types of dyes, as the whole population used before the war. At present, the Organic Chemicals Department is supplying not only increased quantities of dyes, but more than 2,000 other materials, each contributing directly or indirectly to the conduct of the war. They include rubber chemicals, such as accelerators and antioxidants; extreme-pressure lubricant bases; tetra-ethyl lead, which makes possible the powerful high-octane aviation gasoline; synthetic camphor; textile finishes; "all-water" soaps; wetting agents; seed disinfectants; photographic chemicals; synthetic Vitamin D; and chemicals for smoke screens.

Many War Uses

War uses of familiar products are many. Moisture-proof cellophans wraps dehydrated foods and Army rations. It serves in the hospitals as a "germproof" wound dressing. "Freon," the fluorine chemical used in many pre-war electric refrigerators, is used for air-conditioning equipment on naval vessels, especially submarines, because it is non-toxic and non-explosive.

The crystal-clear plastics perfected in the du Pont laboratories find many wartime uses. "Lucite," methyl methacrylate resin, in curved, highly-polished sheets, is used as cockpit and gun turret enclosures on Flying Fortresses and other fighting planes. This plastic meets the U.S. Army specifications for good vision, lightness of weight, weathering properties, toughness and ability to withstand shock at low temperatures. The U.S. Coast Guard uses a plastic-protected electric water lamp attached to a life-preserver which lights automatically when it touches the water. Lucite's chemical resistance makes it valuable for lining acid plating tanks and transparent pipe sections which permit constant inspection of the flowing material. In medical research laboratories the ultra-centrifuges have small Lucite rotors spinning at 60,000 revolutions a minute, at a cost of $5 as compared with $1,000 for the metal ones they have replaced. Lucite is fast supplanting metal in bone grafting and plastic surgery. The ability of Lucite rods to transmit "cold light" around curves makes it particularly good for the familiar combination flashlight-tongue-depressor and similar instruments used by the physician. Because of Lucite's excellent optical properties, it is used in many types of unbreakable lenses, such as contact lenses which are worn on the eye to replace spectacles.

In the field of plastics a new material called polythene is proving to be particularly valuable for electrical insulation. Originated by Imperial Chemicals Industries in England and further developed by du Pont Laboratories, it can be flame-sprayed onto metals to form a protective coating, and it has been developed as a wire insulation which gives remarkable protection against many kinds of corrosion.

The story of du Pont plastics in wartime would not be complete without mention of a new pressure-sensitive cement developed by du Pont as an accessory product. While in manufacture, transparent plastic sections for fighter planes are protected against scratching by a tough-masking paper, which must cling tightly yet peel off easily leaving a clean surface. Before the war the best adhesive used for this purpose was a rubber latex compound. To replace this du Pont chemists experimented with over 150 formulas before they developed a new adhesive far better than the old one.

Recently announced is a chemical treatment that improves wood, transforming it into a new and harder substance. Soft wood becomes hard and hard wood

A colour expert making a series of tests of a dye being developed in the laboratories of the Du Pont Co.

becomes almost steel-like, and may actually replace steel in certain machinery parts. The treated wood resists splitting and scratching, is resistant to rot, insects, flame and moisture. Furniture so treated can have close-fitting doors and drawers which will neither swell nor stick. The chemicals used are inexpensive; urea, also called carbamide, and dimethylolurea, known as DMU. When forced into the wood by vacuum-pressure process, the chemicals react with each other and with the cellulose to form a resin within the structure of the wood. The process is the result of long-range investigations conducted by du Pont and other laboratories in co-operation with the Forest Products Laboratory of the U.S. Forest Service.

Ingenious Applications

Ingenious war applications have been made of the special properties of materials obtained through research. It was found that the seepage of gasoline from bullet holes in self-sealing airplane fuel tanks created a highly inflammable vapor. To eliminate that hazard, synthetic cellulose sponges, first treated with a water-repellant so as to prevent them from absorbing moisture, were placed around the tanks to take up the leaking gasoline. Another example of adapting materials to war is a special use of dyes. Smoke brightly colored with special dyes is used to identify tanks on the ground to pilots of airplanes.

Early in the war, buildings camouflaged with paint could be detected by enemy aerial reconnoissance cameras loaded with infra-red film for trees and grass reflect the infra-red in sunlight differently from ordinary camouflage paint. Chemists specialising in paint then developed the so-called infra-red reflectance paint which reflects the sun's rays to the same degree as the surrounding vegetation.

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Scientific tests of DDT led to its use to kill body lice which carry typhus. This material is credited with preventing a typhus epidemic in Naples. Investigations on the ability of DDT to kill other harmful insects are now under way. Although DDT was developed by others, du Pont participates in its manufacture, and the company's improved production methods recently made possible a 40-per cent price reduction on DDT to the U.S. Government.

While devoting their peak effort to speeding victory, the chemical laboratories such as those of du Pont will be able to turn quickly, when the time comes, to the work of contributing to a better living standard. Some idea of the volume of new products created by industrial research can be gained from the fact that in 1942 nearly one-half of du Pont's sales consisted of products that either did not exist in 1928 or were not then manufactured in large commercial quantities. Research has provided millions of jobs—approximately one-fourth of the Americans gainfully employed owe their jobs in whole or in part to developments based on scientific research.—*USOWI.*

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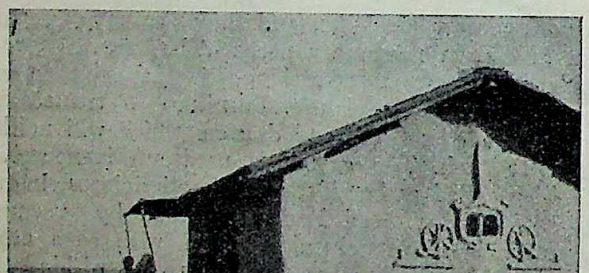
A PEEP INTO THE GANDHI ASHRAM AT SEVAGRAM

By Prof. R. V. RAO, M.A., B.T.

Far away from the bustle and hustle of life, the Gandhi Ashram at Sevagram looks like a different world altogether. It is well-known that many a fateful decision which affects the present and the future of India is taken in this little hut of Gandhiji at Sevagram which is but a hamlet of Wardha, aptly spoken of as the unofficial capital of India or to put it in the words of Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, "the *de facto* capital of India, since the service of the country is the function of a capital city." The man stays here not giving sermons on the mount but practising his philosophy of life and giving an object lesson to the nations of the world particularly as regards the constructive programme.



Mahatma Gandhi's hut at Sevagram

It may be said that, we may have big plans for the economic development of India. Grandiose plans may be prepared in the seclusion of secretariats and these may place before our mind's eye a painted picture of prosperity which may after all prove to be a mirage, a delusion or even a utopia. We may say "industrialize or perish", "mechanization is the best"; but we must know that in the ultimate analysis it is the manpower or labour that is the true wealth of the country and all our plans must give gainful occupation to the abundant labour force we have in India. Our emphasis must be on the human factor. His emphasis upon the constructive programme is, therefore, full of tremendous possibilities. It is but natural that simplicity is the keynote of the Ashram life. Even though Gandhiji was still recently like a volcano without fire in the absence of the working committee members still he was full of hope since he is a firm believer in India's destiny.

It is not possible to give in this brief contribution a vivid description of the Ashram life. Suffice it to say that though originally an insignificant village—Segaon—as it was then called, with not even a cart track leading to it, in the course of the last few years (after Gandhiji went there and named it Sevagram—since he wanted to be dedicated to service), it has become a centre of world attraction and a place of pilgrimage. No external decorations are to be found here as at Adyar or Gurudev's (Rabindranath Tagore's) Santiniketan. Further, the Ashram recognizes no difference of race, language or caste. Gandhiji has, indeed, been trying to make it an ideal place to live in. All his ideas regarding buildings, diet, organization, etc., are all experimented here since an ounce of practice is more than a ton of theory. Again no work is regarded as mean or degrading and the Ashramites are expected to clean the latrines and look to sanitation themselves. They also work from morn till night according to a time-table. One has to refer here to the services of Kasturba Gandhi who, alas! is no more but when she was alive was a source of solace to the Ashramites and any visitor to the Ashram used to be struck by her proverbial simplicity.

Gandhiji at Work

All of us talk about man establishing living contact with nature. But many of us do not mean it seriously. But, Gandhiji, *Bapu* as he is endearingly called, leads the life of a villager. His residence which is but a small hut is built of mudwalls and it is here that he transacts his business. His secretaries open the letters. Alas! Mahadev Desai is no more. He, indeed, outboswelled Boswell; but for him posterity would have lost the spoken words of Gandhiji. Gandhiji has also remembered his services and no leader has done so much to honour his secretary as Gandhiji does. Every evening, he goes to the building where he used to stay and spins for one hour. Gandhiji as the readers know takes spinning as the chief thing which according to him is the greatest factor in our achievement of freedom. Gandhiji sits on a mat and even when he is speaking to the streams of visitors he spins on the Takli (a small spinning instrument).

He observes Mondays as days of silence. They are

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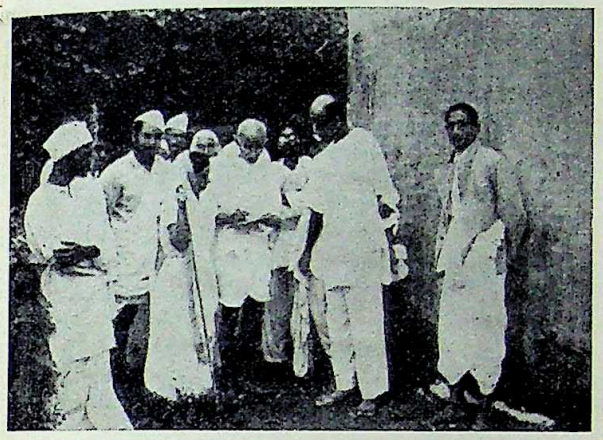
in reality not so much meant for rest as for getting through his writing work which piles up during the week. Gandhiji offers prayers in the open, sleeps in the open and preaches the ethics of open life with the propagandist zeal of a prophet. When Lord Lothian visited the Ashram he suggested to him to sleep in the



Mahatma Gandhi snapped at A.I.V.I.A., Wardha. Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa is seen standing by his side

open assuring him that he would not catch cold and the wonder is that he did not catch cold.

Bulk of his time is occupied in other directions as well, because he is the physician, an arbitrator of disputes in the village, an adviser to numerous people who gather round him every day from the Himalayas to Dhanushkoti. The funny part of it is that he is not even a four-anna member of the Congress.

Wants to Live for 125 Years

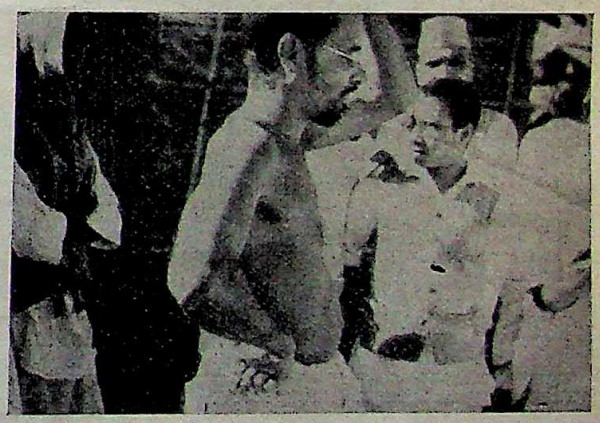
The cream of India gathers here and it is really heartening that there are prospects of the Congress coming back to power. He wants to live for 125 years. Sitting in the tiny village created by his magic wand, he is giving a new lead as a sentinel would do on the watch tower with the followers ready to answer the clarion call. He has now given a reorientation to the activities of the All-India Spinners' Association. Every wearer of Khadi, he says, must spin yarn and every spinner must wear it. One can visualize that a bright era is opening for Khadi.

'Earn while you learn' may be a good slogan for recruiting people for war effort, but this has equal application to the spinner who earns while he learns. Not only this, basic education or "Nai-Talim" as it is called, emphasizes this point. Gandhiji is no doubt trying his hand at many things. What magnet is to a needle he is to constructive activities. Critics may call them "Gandhi's last fad" or "Gandhian utopia"; still they are enough "to brace up India's millions to a new way of life in accordance with our ancient traditions and culture." Our great men are what we make them and the sooner we realize their greatness and follow them, the better it will be for the regeneration of India.

To many it may be a news that a leper used to stay in the Ashram, he is the veteran Sanskrit scholar—Parchure Shastri who recently died and for whom Gandhiji used to have great regard. Shunned by every one, he went to Gandhiji and almost decided to undergo a fast unto death. In the meanwhile, Gandhiji's treatment with "Sarsu" oil did him good and so he gave up the idea of the fast. It will be wonderful to note that Gandhiji used to spend over two hours a day for him. Some of our leaders come here for rest and treatment among whom mention may be made of Srijuts Vallavbhai Patel. Rajendraprasad, and others.

Gandhian ideals of simplicity based upon non-violence and decentralization are bound to have their effect upon the present war-ridden world. The distinctly important place attached to cottage industries and rural uplift in Indian Economics even by theoretical writers is entirely due to Gandhiji. He has, indeed, made simplicity sublime and poverty beautiful. To the mind that is moved by the spirit and to the eye that can see, Gandhism shall never die.

Coming to the lighter side, representatives of the Press want to flash something big every day which is rather difficult. That is why they have to try to get inspiration from their fertile brain and flash something about the "projected fast", "what next", etc. Gandhiji is the *Bapu* of not only Sevagram but of India and Sevagram is, indeed, India's real capital where the various institutions for the political and economic regeneration of India are working. He represents the seven



Acharya Vinobha Bhave snapped at the Ashram

lacs of Indian villages whose life is typified in this Ashram. That is why the simple and unostentatious Ashram at Sevagram has become the cynosure of the world. Let us hope and pray that Gandhiji may fulfil his mission in life and live long !*

* For other details the reader is referred to the present writer's *Wardha : The Unofficial Capital of India.*

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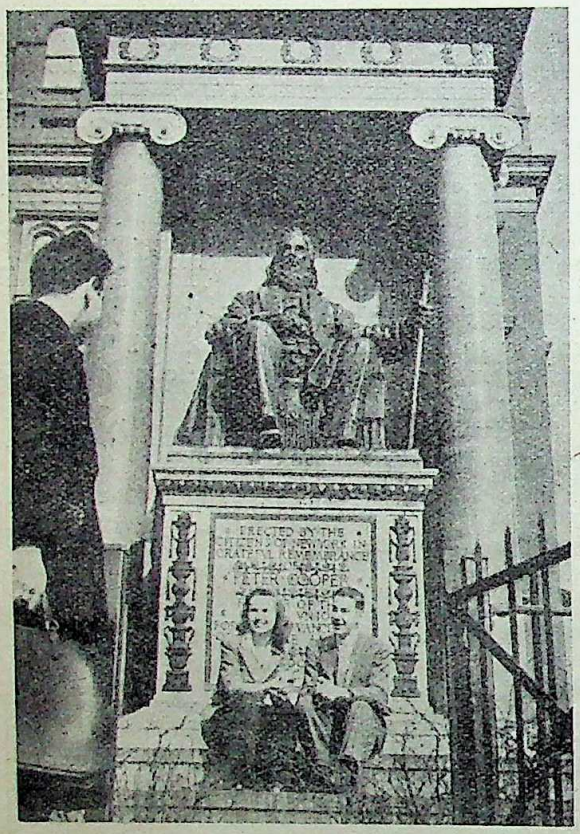
COOPER UNION OF NEW YORK

A Free School for the Advancement of Science and Art

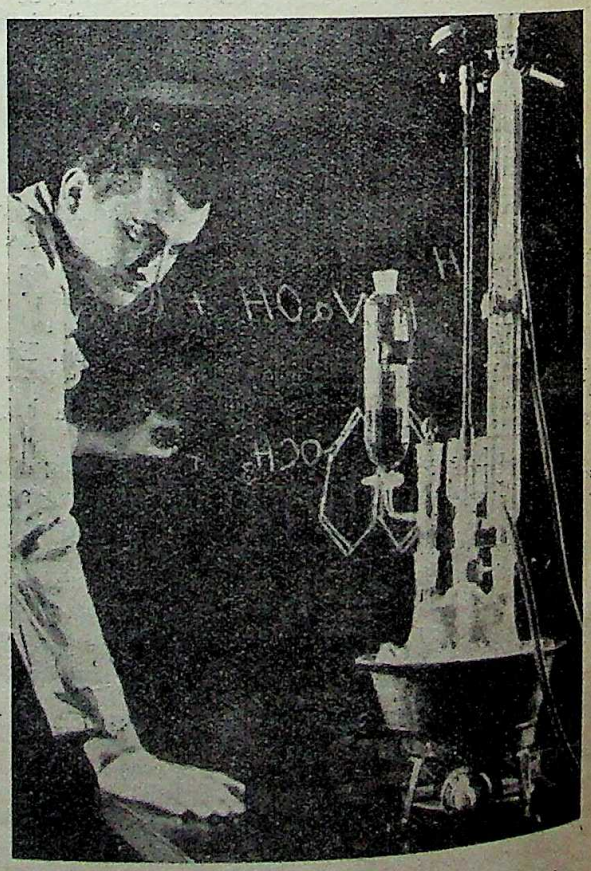
One of America's most unique educational institutions —Cooper Union—was established in New York in 1859. It is a seven-story brownstone building on Cooper Square in the heart of New York City. Here, more than 200,000 young men and women have been prepared for practical careers in the sciences, arts, and engineering since it was founded. All instruction at the school is free, and is open to all who meet the entrance requirements, irrespective of race, creed, or color.



Immortalized in bronze, Peter Cooper who founded Cooper Union stands in front of the school

The Director of Cooper Union confers in his office with a student and his professor

Students may take courses at night after work, or during the day. Cooper Union's school of engineering offers standard training in civil, electrical, mechanical, and chemical engineering during a six-year night school course, or a four-year day school course. Art and its industrial applications may be mastered in a three or four year course. Students have full access to the school's well-equipped library which was New York's first great public library and reading room. Both engineering and art students enjoy the fine museum of arts where they receive visual training through such unique displays as a famous collection of textiles, a great collection of 17th and 18th century drawings of ornaments and decorations, and an extraordinary collection of wallpapers, textiles, and clippings and photographs relating to the decorative arts. Some of the fabrics in the museum's collection date from 1500 A.D. The director of the school, Dr. Edwin Burdell believes that



An American mechanical engineering student at Cooper Union works out a chemistry problem in the chemical engineering laboratory

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good health and recreation help make good students and has established a thousand-acre camp in the country where Cooper Union boys and girls may go on week-ends to paint and relax out-of-doors.

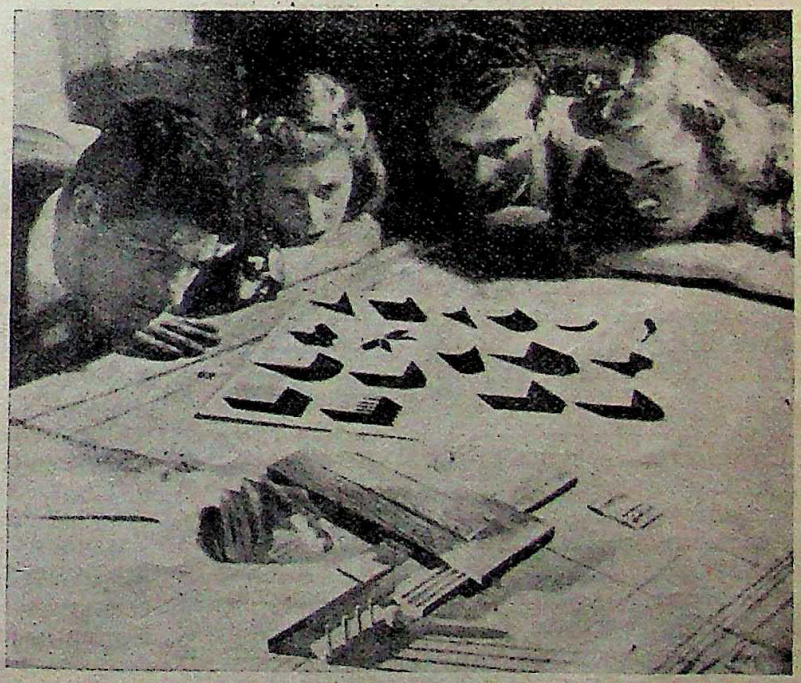
An American student sketches before a giant painting, one of the art treasures in the museum of Cooper Union

The Great Hall of Cooper Union is famous in the history of political education and reform. Free lectures for the public are given here by world famous scholars and scientists under the auspices of the Department of Social Philosophy. Here in 1860 the great Abraham Lincoln gave the famous address which led to his nomination for the presidency in the following year. Here, also, John Tyndall, the English physicist, gave lectures on light which stimulated the building of scientific laboratories in American universities. For nearly a century the Hall has carried on its tradition of free speech before intelligent, enthusiastic audiences of mingled nationalities such as those which still gather there for discussion and enlightenment.

Cooper Union, true to its great liberal traditions, has equipped students in special skills to help the United Nations to victory. During the war the school offered special speeded-up courses in all phases of engineering for men prior to their entering the armel forces. Women were trained in industrial design and camouflage for war, as well as in science and engineering, in order to replace men in industry. The school offered special war-training courses at night while retaining daytime war jobs.

The founder of this great institution, Peter Cooper, was born in New York 152 years ago. Famous as a pioneer industrialist, as an inventor and as a philanthropist, his social ideals were a century ahead of his

American students build wooden instruction models which illustrate assembly line techniques in modern industry at a class in industrial design at Cooper Union



American students in a class in war camouflage at Cooper Union are shown how to disguise a building through the study of shadows

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times. A poor boy, who had won wealth as a man, he pleaded for a program of public works to relieve unemployment and headed the successful fight to secure a free public school system in the United States. And the Cooper Union of New York today serves as the splendid realization of the life-long dream of a noble man whose feelings, desires and hopes embraced humanity throughout the world.—*USIS.*

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"PAALADAS" OF THE ASOKAN EDICTS

By Diwan Bahadur T. BHUJANGA RAO

Three Asokan Rock Edicts, found respectively in (1) Girnar in Guzerat, (2) Kalsi in the lower Himalayas west of Mussoorie, and (3) Shahbazgarhi north-east of Peshawar, state that, within the limits of Asoka's empire, various tribes were conforming to the king's "instruction in morality". The names of two of the tribes are coupled together in the Edicts. One of them is the tribe of Andhas or Andhras, later generally known as Aandhras (with an elongation of the vowel in the first syllable). The other tribe has been respectively referred to as *Paarimdas, Paaladas* and *Palidas* in the three several edicts. The question of the identity of this latter tribe has led to differences of opinion amongst scholars.

Dr. Buhler equated this latter tribe with the Pulindas, relying on the form of the name in the first, *i.e.*, the Girnar Edict. Pulindas are generally referred to as savages in the old Sanskrit works. But in some places, especially in the Narmada Valley, some of the Pulindas had become civilized and had cities and kings, as is referred to in the Digvijaya sections of the Sabha Parva in the Mahabharata. It is thus not impossible that the reference in the edicts was to the Pulindas. But the chief difficulty in accepting Dr. Buhler's theory is that it is not quite in accord with the forms of the name of the tribe given in the other two edicts. So the theory has not found acceptance with scholars like Dr. Hutzsch.

Mr. Sathianathaier of the Annamalai University has recently advanced another theory. He thinks that the reference in the Edicts was to the Pallavas of Thondaimandalam, *i.e.*, the Kanchi area. His theory no doubt fits in with the forms of the name of the tribe as given in the Kalsi and Shahbazgarhi Edicts. But there are three difficulties in the way of accepting Mr. Sathianathaier's theory. The first is that it does not easily fit in with the form of "Paarimdas" found in the Girnar Edict. The second is that no Asokan Edicts have been discovered in Thondaimandalam up to now and the existing evidence about its having been a part of the Asokan Kingdom is so scanty and unacceptable that scholars like Vincent Smith have excluded Thondaimandalam from the Mauryan Empire. The third is that, though Thondaimandalam may have been included in the Mauryan Empire, there is no satisfactory evidence that the Pallavas existed in Thondaimandalam as a race or tribe in Asoka's day. In fact, several scholars are of opinion that the Pallavas merely founded a kingdom in the Kanchi area and constituted the ruling dynasty in Thondaimandalam. It is said that they emigrated thither subsequent to Asoka's day but did not form a part of the indigenous Tamil population of Thondaimandalam. It is also said by some scholars that the Pallavas of Kanchi were merely Pallavas of the West Coast who in Thondaimandalam chose to take the Sanskrit name of Pallavas.

There, however, seems to be room for a third theory with reference to the identity of the tribe referred to in the Asokan Edicts. In the *Harivamsa* there is reference to a tribe known as the "Paaradas".* The tribe is said to be a Mlecha tribe (*i.e.*, speaking a language not known in India and hence unintelligible). The members of the tribe are said to be warriors (Kshatriyas) but without a study of the Vedas or an observance of the (Aryan) Dharma. They are said to differ from the Mlecha tribe of Pahlavas by not wearing beards like the Pahlavas. There is also a reference in Chapter 52 of the Sabha Parva in the Mahabharata to these Paaradas. It seems to the present writer that there are reasons to hold that these "Paaradas" were early Parthian settlers in India, and that the reference in the Asokan Edicts is probably to these "Paaradas".

The article on Persia in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edition, Vol. 17, p. 566) shows that the Persian name for Parthians was "Parthavas", a name which can easily take the corrupt form of "Paaradas" in India. The same article shows (at p. 578) that originally the Parthians did not wear beards. As in the *Harivamsa* the "Paaradas" are described as martial non-Aryans who did not wear beards, it looks very probable that the "Paaradas" were the early Parthian settlers in India.

That the reference in the Asokan Edicts was to these early Parthian settlers seems to find support from philological considerations. The word "Paaradas" seems certainly to suit the forms "Paaladas" and "Palidas" found in the Edicts. Further, the article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* already referred to shows (at p. 578) that the most important of the Parthian tribes, in fact the ruling tribes, was known as "Parni." It is, therefore, likely that the Parthians were also known as "Parnivas" in India, a name that would take the corrupt form first of "Paarinvas" and then of "Paarimdas". So the "Paaradas" of the *Harivamsa* may well be the "Paarimdas" of the Girnar Edict.

There are some other considerations also which make it probable that the Asokan Edicts refer to the early Parthian settlers. These Parthians, who must have come in the early days of the Parthian period in Persian history, if not earlier, must have lost their old Zoroastrian moorings and must have become not merely domiciled Indians but people liable to conversion to the faiths existing in their new environment. Asoka's Empire comprised the whole of India except some portions in the extreme south of India. So the early

* [illegible]

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Parthian settlers in India (who are not known to South Indian History) must have been citizens of the kingdom of Asoka; and there would be nothing surprising therefore in their "conforming to the king's morality" and adopting the Buddhist faith (like the Andhras). The Andhras occupied the country to the south of the Vindhyas. The early Parthian settlers, considering the country of their origin, must have settled in Konkan and other parts of Western India and must have been the neighbours of the Andhras. This probably throws light on why the two races or tribes were coupled together in the Edicts.

It may be noticed that the present writer has referred to the "Paaradas" as early Parthian settlers, as if there were later settlers from Parthia. Undoubtedly there were such later settlers; and they are known in ancient Indian History as the Pahlavas. The *Harivamsa* refers to the Pahlavas as wearing beards; and hence they must have come to India after the wearing of beards became the rule in Parthia (*i.e.*, during the Sassanian period of Persian history). That they were Parthians is suggested by their very name, for, as stated in the article already referred to on Persia in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (at p. 578), the "Palhavi" language is merely the language of the Parthians. The "Pahlavas" were also known in India as "Pahnavas" (as stated by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao in his work *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*). This is significant, as showing that the name of the original ruling clan amongst the Parthians was either given to or adopted by both the early and the later Parthian settlers in India. It may be here added that it is not impossible that after the downfall of the Andhra Empire, some of the later Pahlavas emigrated to Thondaimandalam and founded a kingdom there and were known as Pallavas, adopting Sanskrit surnames such as "Varman" and issuing charters and grants in Sanskrit and Prakrit in the Tamil country of Thondaimandalam.

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THE INDONESIAN FERMENT

By Prof. K. K. GAJRIA

The efforts made by the Indonesians to secure freedom for their own country and to prevent the re-establishment of the Dutch imperialistic rule over their territories, have attracted the attention of the entire civilised world. Indonesia or the Dutch East Indies are a group of islands, nearly two thousand in number, over which the Dutch have ruled for nearly three hundred and fifty years. These islands are, at least, sixty times the size of Holland. The population of Indonesia approximates to seventy millions, over which eight millions of the Dutch have perpetuated their imperialism. The majority of the inhabitants of Indonesia are Muslims. For the Dutch, these islands have proved to be a veritable gold mine, a sort of prolific magic hen which lays millions of golden eggs. The Dutch East Indies are very rich in both mineral and vegetable resources. Apart from sugar, rice, tobacco and tea, the colony has huge rubber plantations, petroleum wells, and tin and coal mines. It has been estimated that more than 20 per cent of the world's supply of tin comes from these islands. Until the fall of Holland, they were ruled by the stout burghers of Netherlands, to whom they pumped a steady stream of invigorating wealth. Writing about the enormous natural resources of these islands, John Gunther, the celebrated author of *Inside Asia*, mentions the following facts:

"The dominating fact about the Netherlands Indies is that, like Croesus and John D. Rockfeller, Jr., they are rich. They are the Big Loot of Asia. They are packed tight with natives, under the steaming sun, who both produce and buy wealth. In the old days, the days of the Dutch East India Company, trade was a simple business of profitable barter: glass beeds which cost little, for spices and cinnamon which brought profit. Nowadays it is—or was—a tremendous international process. The Netherlands Indies can pour out an illimitable stream of copra, sugar, rice, tea, coffee, oil, iron and gold. They produce normally 95 per cent of the world's supply of quinine, 30 per cent of its tobacco, 22 per cent of its tin, 85 per cent of its pepper and 10 per cent of its petroleum. If necessary they could totally supply the world's rubber." (*Inside Asia*, 1942 edition, page 227).

The Indonesian Archipelago includes Sumatra, Java, Madura, Celebes, Billiton, Bali, Lombok and large portions of the island of Borneo. Of these islands Java is one of the most densely populated regions of the world—the density of population being nearly 700 persons per square mile. With an area less than that of Great Britain, it has a population of about the same number, *viz.*, forty million souls.

After giving these few facts and figures about Indonesia and her people, I shall now describe the origin and development of the national movement in these islands. The national movement in Indonesia had started long before the outbreak of the Second World War. The leader of the Indonesians, Dr. Soekarno was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in 1929 for leading the national movement. Dr. Soekarno is a colourful personality and is the idol of the people. The Indonesians consider him to be their saviour. In his eyes they find solace and from his speeches they derive vigour and energy. He occupies the same place and enjoys the same respect among the Indonesians, as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru enjoy among the Indians. Against this man the Indonesians will not tolerate a word. The Dutch, however, consider him to be a "Quisling", who, according to them, worked hand-in-glove with the Japanese and made violent speeches against the Allies, during the days of the Japanese occupation of these islands. A correspondent of *The Daily Express* of London describes Soekarno as a "cool, graceful, self-possessed figure—smooth-spoken and rapier-minded." His righthand man and Vice-President, Dr. Mohammed Hatta, is said to be the real brain of the party. Dr. Soekarno, however, brushes aside suggestions of Japanese collaboration. He said to the same correspondent:

"We hate the Japanese and all totalitarian

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systems, but I admit that we are so determined about our independence that we were ready to accept it even from dirty hands."

The Indonesians, in common with the people of other Asiatic countries, were preparing themselves for a national struggle all along. In the beginning of the twentieth century, specially after the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, surging tides of nationalism were gaining momentum in every Asiatic country, and a whole continent was being awakened from its slumbers and shaking off its inferiority complex. These national movements, naturally, could not leave the people of Indonesia unaffected. In 1918, in response to the vigorous demand of the Indonesians, the Dutch thought of establishing some sort of self-rule—of course, keeping the central citadel of power in their own hands and surrendering only the out-houses. A hotch-potch assembly, called "Volkrasad", consisting partly of nominated and partly of elected members, was established to discuss the budget, and advise the Government on matters of general importance. This was to be the first step towards the development of responsible government—Indian History repeating itself in Indonesia. By the constitution of 1918, powers of a limited nature were given to the Indonesians. The control of trade, finance and defence continued to remain in the hands of the Dutch and the powers transferred into the hands of the Indonesians were rather nominal. The administration of justice for Europeans continued to remain in the hands of the Europeans. In the defence of their country the Indonesians were not given their proper share. The majority of the services, both in the army and the civil departments, were manned by the Dutch. Even after three hundred and fifty years of Dutch rule 95 per cent of the Indonesians continue to remain illiterate. 75 per cent of the total investments belong to the Dutch and 61 per cent of the total exports go to Holland. It is interesting to note that the wages of the Indonesian labourers ranked from eight annas to twelve annas per day, while with the sweat of their brow, rubber, sugar, tin and other exports went into Holland in a regular stream to raise the standard of living of the "White Sahibs" there.

The first open revolution in Indonesia against the Dutch imperialism took place in 1926, but it was ruthlessly and silently suppressed. The outside world was kept completely in the dark. Be it said to the credit or discredit of Dutch diplomacy, that this fact of the Dutch suppression of the Indonesian national movement remained a closely guarded secret as against the outside world, and the people outside remained completely ignorant of the political earthquakes and rumblings that were taking place inside Indonesia.

In 1933, when the national movement gathered momentum and brought about sufficient political awakening among the masses, the Governor-General was empowered to declare the national party an illegal organization (like the Congress Party in India), to put a ban on the holding of public meetings and taking out of processions. These harsh and repressive measures succeeded in strangling the national movement for some time. In October, 1936, however, a resolution was moved before the Indonesian Assembly to give "Dominion Status" to these islands. That resolution was passed on the 15th June, 1937. Fortunately for the Indonesians, the Muslims there, unlike the followers of the Muslim League in India, are imbued with the spirit of nationalism to such an extent, that the policy of "Divide and Rule", on the part of the Dutch imperialists was out of the question. Even the Eurasians voted with the national party. It is interesting to note that the Indonesian leaders draw their inspiration and guidance from the Indian struggle for independence under the dynamic leadership of persons like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. Soekarno in collaboration with Dr. Mohammed Hatta has succeeded in building up the national will on firm foundations.

When these islands were occupied by the Japanese in 1942, the Indonesians, who had fought the Dutch Imperialism with unflinching determination and singleness of purpose, were brought face to face with new masters. The Indonesians, however, under their two leaders, Soekarno and Mohammed Hatta, told the Japanese in unequivocal terms that they were out to establish self-government for themselves. At this time Queen Wilhelmina of Holland also made a declaration promising complete independence to the Indonesians after the cessation of hostilities. The Indonesians, on several occasions, had to resist the Japanese who wanted perpetuation of their militarism; but the Japanese who had raised the slogan of "Asia for Asiatics", tried to satisfy the Indonesians by handing over complete control over internal matters to the accredited leaders of the people. Thus, during the period of the Japanese occupation of these islands, the Indonesians enjoyed full independence in internal affairs, and the Japanese only ran their war-time administration for the successful prosecution of the war against the Allies.

After the defeat of the Japanese and their consequent surrender, the Indonesians established their own national government and made an appeal to the Allied nations to lend their support to it by giving it full recognition. Drs. Soekarno and Hatta made a public appeal to the British Government:

> "The Indonesians", they said, "are fully confident that the British nation and all other democratic peoples will render their assistance to us for the preservation of the independence of this young republic, which had declared its willingness and preparedness to co-operate with the United Nations in the construction of a World Peace and Justice based on mutual respect."

This appeal of the Indonesian leaders, however, has fallen on deaf ears. Major C. R. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, like his predecessor, Mr. Winston Churchill, also believes in supporting tottering imperialisms everywhere, and giving them artificial props to give a longer lease of life to them. Mr. Churchill had declared, sometime ago, that he had not become the King's First Minister to "preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." Major Attlee goes a step further, and displays a missionary zeal in preserving intact not only British imperialism, but, also, Dutch imperialism over the politically awakened Indonesians. The Indonesian leaders asked for bread and they received stone. They appealed for the recognition of their newly born republic, but what they have received is British bayonets and British bullets. It is a pity that Indian soldiers are being used for enslaving the brave people of Indonesia, and perpetuating in their islands the hated rule of the Dutch imperialists. From all over India strong protests come against this policy of using Indian troops for the suppression of the national movement in a sister Asiatic country. Maulana

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Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Indian National Congress, has also registered his vigorous protest against this policy. In a statement, which he issued sometime back, he said :

"Things in Indonesia and Indo-China have come to a point when the Indian National Congress will have seriously to consider what steps to adopt to prevent the use of Indian men and materials against Asiatic peoples fighting for their freedom. Indians, who are fighting for their own freedom and democracy, cannot but sympathise and fall in line with the struggle of the Indonesians and the Annamite nationalists. The character of this true people's war has been instinctively recognised both by the workers and the exploited classes of the world and their imperialist masters and exploiters. We, therefore, find the dock and the port workers of China and Australia refusing to load munitions and other war materials for use against these East Asiatic nationalists, and on the other hand, the British, the French and the Dutch imperialists joining forces for restoring the status 'ante bellum'."

We must, however, realise clearly that to-day Indonesia is not so much under Dutch control, as under the control of Indo-British troops and the Japanese. It is really unfortunate for the Indonesian nationalists, that in their country, the Japanese enemy is joining hands in this unholy work with the Allies to maintain law and order, till Hollland is able to send enough troops to re-establish its rule over the Indonesians.

The position of the Indian troops which are called upon to suppress the national movement in Indonesia is peculiar. They are under military discipline and run the risk of being court-martialled if they disobey the orders of their military officers. On the other hand, their sympathies are with the patriots who are fighting for their mother-land. India has no desire to get a bad name in East Asia for her nationals, by fighting for western European imperialism, and it is imperative that the Government of India should withdraw Indian troops and leave the Dutch and the Indonesians to fight among themselves. But if the British Government cannot escape participation in the measures taken or to be taken for the suppression of the Indonesians, then, let that dirty and unpleasant work be done by British troops and not Indian troops.

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DECIMALIZATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

By H. L. RAY, M.I. chem. E., A.B. (Harvard), Dr. ing. (Berlin)

Recently the Government of India in their circular No. F 2 (76)-F (44) have asked for public opinion regarding decimalization of coinage. This is only a half measure. Decimalization should be adopted for all weights and measures. Movement for this purpose is an old one, and the Indian Science Congress in 1934 accepted a resolution proposed by Dr. S. K. Mitra to the same end. The wordings of the resolution and a short history of the movement in India and other countries of the world contained in the proceedings of the Congress are reproduced below for general information.

Resolutions proposed by Prof. S. K. Mitra, D.Sc. :

(1) That considering the diverse systems of weights and measures in use in different parts of India, this Committee is of opinion that it is high time that the government of this country do take steps to standardize the system and adopt for this purpose the Metric System which is in use in most of the civilized countries of the world and make its use compulsory in all government and private transactions.

(2) That a committee of five members to be called 'The Metric Committee of the Indian Science Congress' be formed to devise ways and means to press upon the Government the urgency of the reform in weights and measures by the compulsory adoption of the Metric System throughout the whole of India.

Attempts made by the Government of India to introduce a uniform system of weights and measures in India :

In 1867 a Committee was appointed by the Government of India to deal with the question of unification of weights and measures in India. The Secretary of State in approving the terms of reference of the Committee forwarded to the Government of India a report of the representations made by a deputation from the Metric Committee of the British Association on the subject of the introduction of the metric system into India. The Committee appointed by the Government submitted its report in 1868 and its majority recommended the adoption of the English standard of weights and measures and length. Three members of the committee, Colonel Strachey, Colonel Hyde and Mr. Graham, however, submitted a strong note of dissent urging the adoption of the metric system.

In 1870 the Indian Weights and Measures Act was passed (Act XI of 1870) for gradual introduction of the metric system into India. The Secretary of State, however, refused sanction to the Bill, because it was thought to be too extensive, and ordered revision of the Act.

In 1871 a new Act was passed (Act XXXI of 1871) making the 'seer', the primary standard of weight equal to one kilogramme and the volume of one seer of water (*i.e.*, 1 litre) the primary standard of capacity. In order to introduce the decimal system the Act further ordained that all subsidiary units should be integral multiples of the primary standard and should be expressed in decimal parts. Lord Northbrook's Government, however, recommended that the introduction of the provisions of this Act should be subject to the consent of Railways. The Railways, on being consulted, could not come to a unanimous decision about the simultaneous adoption of the new measure

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of the weight, and the Act, though still in the statute book, is entirely a dead letter.

In 1875 the Government of India decided that the Indian maund of 40 seers (each seer 80 tolas) should be standard in use on the Guaranteed State Railways. (Resolution No. 21-R, dated 9th Oct., 1875.) This is the origin of the so-called Government 'seer' of 80 tolas. Previous to this in 1870 the Indian Coinage Act (Act XXIII of 1870) defined a tola as 180 grains Troy being the weight of a rupee. The Indian Railways Act (Act IX of 1890) also adopted similar definitions of the maund and the seer.

In 1889 the Measures of Length Act (Act II of 1889), in which the British Imperial Yard was made the primary standard of length for use in India.

Between 1890 and 1913 the policy followed by the Government of India had been to prescribe, as necessity arose, standard weights and measures for particular districts or groups of districts similar to those adopted by the Indian Railways and Government departments.

In 1901 the Secretary of State forwarded to the Government of India copies of a paper presented to Parliament regarding the adoption of metric system of weights and measures in European countries and suggested that the first step in India would be to accustom the public to the new weights by adopting them on Railways, at Customs Houses, and in Post Offices. To this despatch the Government of India replied that though they recognized the advantages of the decimal system yet they were averse from taking any action in the matter at that time owing to serious obstacles in introducing any new measure and preferred to wait before proposing a change until the United Kingdom had decided to adopt it.

Between the years 1901 and 1913 the various Provincial Governments made attempts from time to time to introduce a uniform system of weights and measures in their respective provinces and corresponded with the Government of India for the purpose. The Government of Bombay in particular appointed a Committee in 1913 to discuss the question as far as their province was concerned. Some of the Chambers of Commerce and Trades Associations also addressed the Government of India pointing out the urgency of the reform and making various suggestions.

In 1913 the Government of India decided to reopen the question of the feasibility of securing the use of uniform weights and measures in India and appointed a Committee to enquire into the whole subject.

In 1914 the Committee of Weights and Measures submitted its report. For weights they recommended the standardization of the Indian system (maund, seer, chatak), for length the British system (yard, foot, inch), for areas of agricultural land the same system (acre, etc.), for small areas the squares of any authorized measures of length and for capacity the volume of 1¼ seer of water at 30°C as the primary unit. One of the members of the Committee, Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, I.C.S., submitted a minute of dissent in which the wholesale adoption of the metric system was strongly urged.

No substantial effect has been given by the Government either to the majority report of the Committee or to the minute of dissent owing probably to the Great War which broke out immediately after the publication of the report.

Countries in which the use of the Metric System is compulsory :

Asia : Philippines (1860), Indo-China (1911), Siam (1923), Japan (1924).

Europe : France (1794), Belgium (1820), Luxemburg (1820), Holland (1820), Spain (1860), Italy (1861), Germany (1872), Portugal (1872), Austria-Czechoslovakia-Hungary (1876), Switzerland (1875), Norway (1882), Yogoslavia (1883), Rumania (1884), Sweden (1889), Bulgaria (1892), Finland (1892), Iceland (1907), Denmark (1912), Malta (1914), Greece (1922), Poland (1924), U.S.S.R. (1927).

South America : Chile (1884), Columbia (1854), Porto Rico (1860), Brazil (1862), Equador (1865), Peru (1889), Bolivia (1893), Uruguay (1894), Venezuela (1914), Guiana (1910).

North America : Cuba (1854), Mexico (1906), Haiti (1921), Costarica, Panama, Guatemala, Hondurus, Nicaragua, Salvador (1912).

Africa : Algeria (1843), Tunis (1895), Portuguese East Africa (1910), Congo (1911)

Metric System is legally optional or partially compulsory in the following countries :

Canada, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Great Britain, Ireland, Irish Free State, Paraguay, Turkey, United States.

Looked at from a philosophical and mathematical point of view "Decimalization" is a few thousand years old counted from the introduction of the decimal system of notation and that of the invaluable zero, and its place of origin is India. This system has advanced civilization by a good few centuries. For testing the truth of this statement one is simply to compare it with the cumbrous Roman system previously prevailing in Europe.

Decimalization of weights and measures and its use in everyday life amongst the common people was first started in France in 1794, the time of the French Revolution. Since then gradually it has been accepted by most countries of the world, English-speaking countries being the important exceptions. Even amongst them the system has penetrated into some of the items, *e.g.*, dollars and cents in U.S.A. coinage.

Up till now no valid reasons have been advanced by any one against decimalization of weights and measures. Human nature, as a rule, is conservative and fights shy of any change. Main objection against it is the temporary dislocation and inconvenience during the first year or two. Moreover, it will involve some initial expenditure ; the existing weights and measures will become so much scrap. Weighing machines will require only slight alteration, re-marking of the scales. We can roughly calculate the cost to be incurred for bringing this change into effect. The population of India is about 400 million and assuming that for every 400 people there is one set of weights in use, the total cost of converting these into scrap and replacing them with new sets of weights according to the metric and decimal system including the incidental expenses would be about Rs. 20,00,000. Besides this expense there will be the temporary trouble of getting accustomed to the new system. Every other objection against decimalization is more imaginary and insignificant than real.

The advantages of the metric and decimal system have been explained many times all over the world and admitted. But still there is opposition against the introduction of the system amongst English-speaking people,

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and India is politically and mentally dominated by them. Why should we not at least shake off this slavery of the mind? For a fresh consideration of the matter it is worthwhile to review the situation.

From the educational standpoint it is found that the time devoted to the teaching of arithmetic to the school students can be halved if the weights, measures, and coinage be decimalized. And considerable saving of time in higher studies can be achieved by the introduction of this system. Similarly calculation involving weights and measures will be more directly accomplished with the help of slide-rule and logarithmic table. The amount of man-hour saved in one year will more than compensate for the money spent once only for the conversion of weights and measures for the change over to the new system. Moreover, the school-children will be spared the tedious task of committing to memory the various tables of weights and measures—foreign and Indian. In Bengal various units of weights, measures, and money are designated by different symbols. Legislators who can bring about the decimalization will earn for themselves the blessings of all future generations of school-children.

In English text-books on physics, chemistry and other pure sciences the metric system (which is based on decimalization) is generally used but English text-books on Engineering use the British units. The consequence is confusion and unnecessary work of conversion of one unit into another. There is no method in this madness.

We are, in the words of Goldsmith, though vanquished still arguing. Decimalization is slowly penetrating into our affairs. In the Land Revenue Survey periodically carried out by the Government of Bengal the unit of area is the acre, and the areas of individual plots of land are denoted by hundredths of an acre. In sports in India under the Olympic rules lengths and heights are measured according to the metric system.

At present different parts of India use different units of weights though the law prescribes only one. With the introduction of decimalization there should be only one unit which should be strictly enforced.

The Government of India at present have asked for opinion regarding decimalization of the coinage. But why this half-measure? There is one good thing about coinage; it has at least uniformity throughout the country. As regards weights and measures the country is like a veritable tower of Babel. To add to the confusion the British units are also used in the form of pounds, hundredweights, tons, miles, yards, foots, inches, acres, gallons, pints, ounces, grains, etc.

In the reform proposed the first point is decimalization and the second is the choice of the units. Against the first objective there should not be any objection, India being the originator of this system of numeration. Regarding the second point there is a possibility of difference of opinion. But considering that different parts of the world are coming closer together by means of easier communication and that international trade and commerce will go on increasing, the adoption of the metric units will be more advisable. It will also bring about uniformity of units between pure and applied sciences.

India along with the rest of the world will be passing through vast changes in the immediate future and this change of units of weights and measures is a small part of the whole process. The initial inconveniences must be accepted as an inseparable accompaniment of every new birth.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Lingua Franca For India

In an article in *The Modern Review* for August, 1945, Mr. Md. Shahidullah, M.A., D.Litt., has made a number of proposals for solving the linguistic problem of India. While I fully endorse his remarks regarding Hindustani, it is hard to see why English should be our *lingua franca*. U.S.S.R. has undoubtedly recognised all the different languages under the Union, but it has also made Russian the *lingua franca* of the Union. We too must do the same. No multi-lingual country of the world has made a foreign language, the vernacular of no part of the country, its *lingua franca*. English is certainly the international language but for that reason it has not been made the *lingua franca* of even such small countries as Belgium and Switzerland, or of Canada. If countries like U.S.S.R. and China can manage without making English their national language, surely we too can make an Indian language our *lingua franca* or national language. An Indian language like Hindi will anyday be infinitely easier to learn by Indians than English. Also our present dependence on English, which is due to our alien education and alien rule, need not continue, U.S.S.R. and Japan have not abolished or neglected English but they do not depend on it for All-U.S.S.R. or All-Japan purposes. Many provinces of India are of the size of Japan. If Japan can impart the highest scientific and technical education in Japanese without being the loser for it, surely our provincial languages can be so developed as to make English unnecessary for the highest education. It is also possible to make the *lingua franca* of India the medium of higher and scientific education throughout the country just as in U.S.S.R. There is no reason why in a free India the present place of English in the curriculum up to, say, the Matriculation stage should not be given to the Indian language which we may accept as our *lingua franca* or national language.

Above only the arguments (scientific?) given by Mr. Shahidullah in favour of English as *lingua franca* have been discussed. As a matter of fact, there are other very substantial arguments against English as *lingua franca*, not the least of which is that, in the words of Pt. Nehru, "The entire genius and atmosphere of the language is foreign and not Indian." English is not a vernacular of India. Not more than 1 per cent of the population understands it while about half the total

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population of India can easily understand and speak Hindi (Hindustani).

The surprising thing, however, is that while Mr. Shahidullah advocates that English, the international language, should be the *lingua franca* of India, he wants Urdu (and not English) to be the international language from Morocco to China. He says :

> "As for Urdu it has a distinct advantage over Hindi. Being written in a modified Arabic script and having a number of Arabic and Persian words incorporated in it, it can serve the purpose of an international language like Esperanto from Morocco to China."

The inconsistency is too apparent. Also he conveniently forgets that Sanskrit (together with its script Devnagari) and Pali have so profoundly entered the life and language of the people of Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Ceylon, Siam, French Indo-China, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, China and Japan through Buddhism, cultural contact of India with these countries for thousands of years and colonisation of many of these countries by ancient Hindus, and even to-day have so much interest for them, that Hindi, being written in the same script as Sanskrit, being derived from Sanskrit and having a large number of Sanskrit and Prakrit (Pali included) words incorporated in it, can serve the purpose of an international language from Karachi to Tokyo, comprising half the population of the world. Sanskrit is one of the three great languages of the ancient world with original literatures (Sanskrit, Greek and Chinese). On the continent too Sanskrit has profoundly affected the life and language of the people and together with its script is even to-day much more popular and much more widely known than Persian or Arabic. Professor Macdonell says :

> "The intellectual debt of Europe to Sanskrit literature has been undeniably great. It may perhaps become greater still in the years that are to come."[1]

Sanskrit is the corner-stone of Indo-European group of languages. The similarity between the original roots of European languages and Sanskrit is so striking that many philologists are inclined to the view that the latter is the mother of the former. In the matter of script too[2], Sir William Jones says :

> "Devnagri (old Nagri *i.e.*, Brahmi) is the original source whence the alphabets of Western Asia were derived."[3]

So which language—Hindi or Urdu—can serve like Esperanto from Madrid to Tokyo ?

Moreoever, while on the grounds of script and vocabulary Mr. Shahidullah has proclaimed the advantage of Urdu over Hindi as an international language from Morocco to China, he does not seem to be prepared to concede on the same grounds the same—rather much greater—advantage to Hindi over Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India or the language of inter-provincial intercourse which is much more important than international intercourse. All the Indian languages that matter except Urdu (for Kashmir, N.-W.F.P. and Sind have adopted or are adopting Urdu for all literary and administrative purposes and so Kashmiri[4], Pashto and Sindhi[5] are under the shadow of Urdu and need not be considered separately) go to Sanskrit for words of higher culture, such words are common to them all and Hindi, the language of Madhyadesha, is the natural inter-provincial language for the speakers of these languages, specially of the Sanskritic languages, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Punjabi (Gurmukhi), Gujerati and Marathi. In the matter of script too, Devnagari is also the script of Marathi and in its slightly modified or rather cursive forms it is the script of all the other Sanskritic languages. (While Mr. Shahidullah has grouped together Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Pashtu scripts as Persico-Arabic, he has separately enumerated Bengali, Oriya, Gurmukhi and Gujerati though the difference between them and Devnagari is merely a result of separate treatment of Devnagari in different regions and for one knowing one of them it is a matter of only a few hours to learn any other of them.) Even the scripts of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are phonetically the same as Devnagari. Moreover, Devnagari is the script of Sanskrit, the classic and religious language of India, for which Prof. Max Muller says :

> "Yet such is the marvellous continuity between the past and the present in India, that in spite of repeated social convulsions, religious reforms and foreign invasions, Sanskrit may be said to be still the only language that is spoken over the whole extent of that vast country. . . . Even at the present moment, after a century of English rule and English teaching, I believe that Sanskrit is more widely understood in India than Latin was in Europe at the time of Dante."[6]

Mr. Shahidullah's statement that Devnagari is not widely known outside the midland of India is absolutely misleading. Dr. Chatterji calculates that the Perso-Arabic script at a liberal computation cannot claim more than 30 millions, mostly in North-Western and North-Central India, but Devnagari, in its pure, unmodified form, is in use among 140 millions and more. From the statistical point of view, on the basis of census of 1931 the question can be presented in this way : Out of 10,000 men in India :

(*a*) 7,235 speak languages of the Sanskritic family, the literature and vocabulary of which have been shaped mainly by Sanskrit ;

(*b*) 4,053 of these use languages which are written in the Devnagari script ;

(*c*) 2,662 use languages which are written in some

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1 *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 42.

2 Urdu script is most unsuited for typing, quick printing and other modern appliances. Turkey has given up Turkish script in favour of Roman. Other Middle-East countries may do likewise. Then the Urdu script will not have even that advantage which Mr. Shahidullah has supposed. No Indian language will have advantage over another on the ground of script if his proposal that all Indian languages should adopt the Roman script materialises.

3 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 423.

4 "Kashmiri is a Dardic speech profoundly influenced by Indo-Aryan and Sanskrit." (Dr. S. K. Chatterji).

5 "Sindhi, though it bears many marks of Arabic and Persian influence and is written in a form of Perso-Arabic script, is nearer the original Sanskrit than any other Indian language." The Persian script was adopted in 1857. Before that Devnagari was used. Many old Sindhi books, written in the Nagari script, are preserved in the libraries of Sindh. Shah Abdul Latif (1689-1752), described as the *Shakespeare of Sindh*, has used Sanskrit words profusely in his famous *Risal* (Poetical Works); out of 20,000 words used by him in all his works, more than 12,000 words are Sanskrit. Regarding the unscientific attempt of the present Sind Government to Arabicise Sindhi arbitrarily and forcibly, *vide*, Swami Jagadiswaranand's article in *The Modern Review* for August, 1941.

6 *India : What Can It Teach Us ?* p. 78.

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form of Devnagari, that is, in all 6,715 persons can easily accept the Devnagari script.

So both in the matter of script and vocabulary, Hindi possesses tremendous advantage over Urdu in India, and if the use of Urdu and not English can be advocated for international communication from Morocco to China, certainly Hindi and not English can serve as the inter-provincial language or the *lingua franca* of India.

Regarding Mr. Shahidullah's proposed division of India into three linguistic zones, it is hard to see why the official languages of India west of Bengal should be two—Hindi and Urdu. What shall be the common language of this zone? If this zone can have two official languages Hindi and Urdu, surely the whole of India can have two official or national languages, Hindi and Urdu. Mr. Shahidullah says:

> "For one knowing Hindi it is a very easy matter to master Urdu in a few months and vice versa. There is no harm in having two official languages in the same province as in Canada."

The same will apply if both Hindi and Urdu are national languages. In fact, there should be no need of duplicating work, wasting time, money and energy by having both as national languages. Only one—Hindi—should do. If Mr. Shahidullah can ask speakers of such highly developed languages as Marathi and Gujerati to accept Hindi and Urdu as official languages in his Hindi-Urdu zone, surely he can ask speakers of Urdu in India to accept Hindi as national language of India. Turkey is getting rid of unnecessary Arabic and Persian words from her language and Persia is similarly reviving native Persian words in place of the alien Arabic. If speakers of Urdu cannot Indianise their language Urdu, certainly they can accept an Indian language Hindi as national language like Russian in U.S.S.R.

If India must be divided into linguistic zones, each zone or territorial unit must have a single official language. It is one thing for people in different provinces or zones having different official languages but quite another for people in the same province or zone rather in the same locality or in almost adjoining houses having two official languages. The analogy of Switzerland or Canada does not apply in the Hindi-Urdu region. Every administrative unit must have a single official language, which should be the predominant language of the unit, to serve as the language of administration, of the Assembly and as the common language of the unit for higher purposes. At least the two-language zone—the Hindi-Urdu zone—of Mr. Shahidullah must be broken up into two—one comprising Bihar, C.P., U.P., Rajasthan, Gujerat and Maharashtra having Hindi as official language and the other comprising the Punjab, Kashmir, N.-W.F.P. and Sindh having Urdu as official language. If speakers of Marathi and Gujerati can accept Hindi as official language in the Hindi zone, the few speakers of Urdu in the Hindi zone and the few speakers of Hindi in the Urdu zone can also accept Hindi and Urdu respectively as official language. They can learn Hindi and Urdu respectively in a few months according to Mr. Shahidullah himself. In this way infinite complications, tremendous duplication of official work, waste of time, money and energy would be avoided. There is also no reason why Southerners should adopt both Hindi and Urdu as official languages. Either they should select a Southern language for this purpose or, if adoption of a Northern language by them is necessary for cultural link-up, they should select a single Northern language in their discretion, Hindi being their choice in all probability. The Bengali zone may also accept Hindi as official language. In any case, the inter-zonal language of these zones can be Hindi, the language of the mid-zone and also otherwise most suited for this purpose.

Regarding reform of Urdu script advocated by Mr. Shahidullah, I must submit that reforms in scripts are very difficult to carry out. For all his efforts, Bernard Shaw has not been able to introduce any reform in the unscientific and incomplete Roman script. However, there is no harm in trying. But changes of script suggested by Mr. Shahidullah are beyond the realm of practicability. Bengalis cannot be expected to accept Devnagari in place of Bengali script for their language. Moreover, the entire Bengali literature will have to be re-published in Devnagari which is an impossible proposition. The same applies to other languages. Roman is also out of question *vis-a-vis* Devnagari. If China has not given up its most cumbersome script in favour of Roman, it is impossible for an ancient country like India proud of her civilisation to prefer the unscientific, incomplete and foreign Roman to her Swadeshi, complete and most scientific Devnagari, the mother of most Indian and many foreign scripts. If there are any changes of script that can be put forward with any show of justification they are that Sindhi should revert to its original script Devnagari, and Urdu, which is a form of Hindi, should give up its unscientific and foreign script in favour of the Hindi script.

In the light of the above discussion, the alternative suggestion of Mr. Shahidullah that Sanskrit and Arabic may be made national languages needs little comment. Arabic never was and is not a vernacular of India. To-day Sanskrit and Arabic are the mother-tongue of none in India. Sacred language is a different thing. Arabic is as sacred for Russian, Chinese, and Persian Muslims as for Indian Muslims but for that reason it is not the national language of Muslims in those countries. Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament, is not the national language anywhere in Christendom. Most important of all, all Hindus are prepared to accept Hindi and all Muslims are prepared to accept Urdu as national language. So if communal considerations have to be taken into account, nothing is gained by substituting Sanskrit and Arabic for Hindi and Urdu. Difficulties are not lessened but multiplied hundred-fold for very obvious reasons. Then there can be no linguistic zones. In the smallest administrative unit both Sanskrit and Arabic will have to be made official languages rendering it impossible for administration to carry on. Moreover, Sanskrit and Arabic are fundamentally different while Hindi and Urdu are not so. One knowing Sanskrit cannot as easily acquire Arabic as one knowing Hindi can acquire Urdu and *vice versa*. As more and more Hindus will express themselves in Hindi and more and more Muslims in Urdu, better understanding between the two communities will be equally promoted by knowing both Hindi and Urdu. So if we must have two national languages, let them be Hindi and Urdu rather than Sanskrit and Arabic and let every unit in the Hindi-Urdu region select one of them for administration, official work and other common purposes, though I would again emphasize the claim of Hindi to be the one inter-provincial language or the *lingua franca* of India.

PT. RAVI SHANKER SHUKLA, M.A., PH.D.

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KAUTILYA, THE INDIAN MACHIAVELLI

The Mauryan Polity in Retrospect

By D. R. DUTT, Barrister-at-Law

We may here pass in brief retrospect over the political philosophy of Arthashastra, the monument of Mauryan polity, of which the authorship is attributed to Chanakya who is also designated by the name Kautilya. The author of this treatise lays no claim to being the founder of a new political school but admits his obligations to as many as ten previous writers on the subject, from whose works he has profited largely and borrowed quite liberally. So even in this field, of which the sole credit has hitherto gone to the ancient Greeks, they will, we are afraid, have to yield the palm to their Indian cousins.

There should really be no two opinions about the authorship and date of the Arthashastra since Chanakya was a puissant historical personality and ruled the destinies of an empire. But since it has become customary with some of the European historians to indulge in something of a hair-splitting controversy on the subject, we are perforce obliged to refer briefly to it. Keith, to whom no logic is puerile and no argument fallacious if he can by this means spoil India's credit for her achievements, beats the record of his perverted distortions by declaring that since Patanjali makes no reference to this work it must not have existed. He is not quite content with ridiculing himself thus by his oft-repeated trick of argument from negation but seeks further to find some Greek affinities in the work itself so as to discover a foothold however slender, for the purpose of deliberately post-dating it. The attempt is too weak-kneed and should be treated with the contempt it deserves. Scholars like Jacobi and Meyers and Sanskritists like Shama Shastri, Ganapati Shastri and Law have all upheld the traditional view regarding the Arthashastra, which is quite sufficient for disproving any fantastic theory that men like Keith may prefer to advance.

After this rather enforced digression we come to the work itself. The thesis of the work is split up into fifteen well-defined sections. The first one of these deals with the breeding and education of a prospective ruling prince such as would fit him out for the onerous duties ahead. He is to be conversant with a knowledge of things both human and divine. Besides, a faithful performance of the peculiar duties attaching to his caste, under the bending sickle of the compass of his intelligence should come trade and industry, politics and criminal administration, economics and agriculture and other pastoral pursuits in general. It next drifts to a description of the king's ministers and the council, elaborating a good deal on the functions of the spies. These are to keep the sovereign well-posted with all manner of information, more particularly such as would help him in safeguarding his person as well as realm. A vigilant eye must pursue every detail of the slightest development along the borders. Then follows a chart on the duties associated with his position as the administrative head of the state. Elaborate precautions are pointed towards his conduct in the zenana so that no lurking assassin or intrigue can touch his person there. The next section embodies a minute parcelling out of administrative duties under different heads. The third deals with the province of law, while the fourth covers the numerous penalties that should not only fit the crime but also exercise a deterrent effect in addition. It is curious to notice in connection with the last that cheating in whatever form, be it from a dealer or a trader, an astrologer or a spiritualist, a black-marketeer or an adulterator, a false weigher or unfair measurer, invited upon itself dangerous penalties. In section V some shrewd expedients are suggested for getting rid of the ministers who have virtually served their turn and by continuing longer in office are likely to prove detrimental rather than useful. It ends with some clever ruses and devices, which, however, are only to be resorted to in time of real need for replenishing the depleted state treasury. In the sixth the seven main props of administration, namely, the King, Minister, Land, Fort, Treasure, Army and Ally come in for treatment. There is also a fine theoretical dissertation on inter-state relations. Next section (VII) concerns itself with peace, war, neutrality, attack, alliance and wavering attitude. Book VIII deals with the causes that make the land a prey to hastening ills. Among these are mentioned the self-indulgence and other vices to which monarchs are known so often to succumb and the distress that results from the calamitous visitations of nature such as fire, flood and the like. The next two sections (IX & X) deal with war, for the successful prosecution of which, manoeuvring treachery and deceit are considered as necessary as military prowess. Once a war has been declared, the king becomes primarily the leader of the host and has to imbue the soldiery with something of his own fire and flame. In addition to the armed forces he has to equip a suitable propaganda machinery through the employment of astrologers, priests and bards. Ways and means are next (XI) suggested for sowing the seeds of dissension and discord in the ranks of the enemy through cunning artifices and the employment of decoy women, who are to become conquerors with more than their eyes. The twelfth unfolds a scheme of things whereby a weak king can reinforce himself for a career of aggrandisement by summoning to his aid spies and secret agents, harlots and poisoners, etc. These are to operate from within the coveted territory as saboteurs and fifth columnists in general. Section XIII informs us about devices whereby the morale of a besieged people is to be undermined by a propaganda which aims at showing that the invader is the recipient of God's peculiar pleasure and is fully in the know of all that is happening within the walls. The spy who has earlier wormed his way into the confidence of the enemy king could, when the latter is hard pressed, entice him away to listen to the soft, seductive logic of a supposed miracle-working ascetic, and when off his guard quietly despatch him there. In the possible alternative of winning through a forced assault, the conquering hero directly on supplanting the old regime, should be ready with a vast scheme of pacification which will earn him a place in the affections of the subjugated people. He is above all to show himself to be one of them by according due deference to their religion and social customs and by shedding off every tinge of alien predilections. He should flourish his favours about rather liberally, grant a general amnesty to all those who had fought against him and make him immune from exacting

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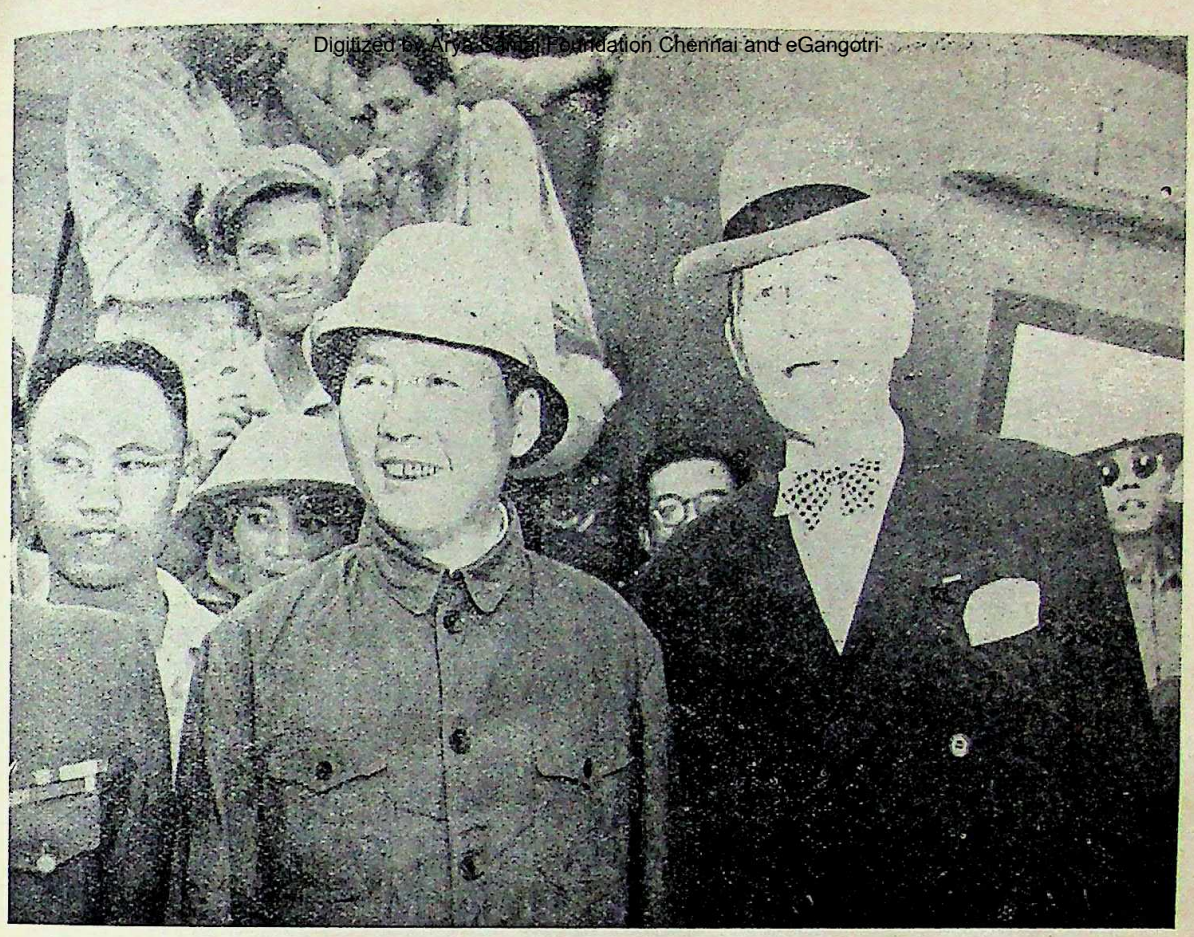
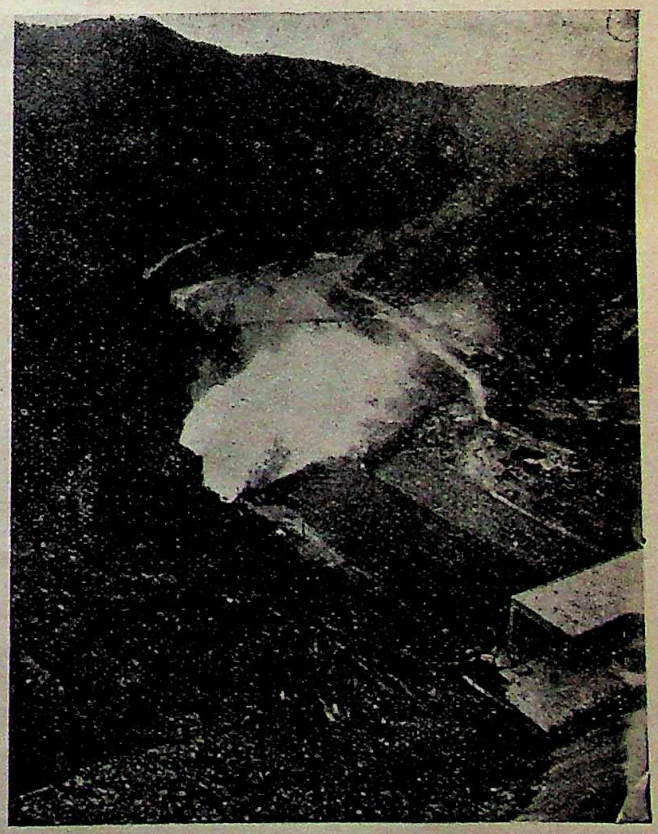


Mao Tse-Tung, Chairman of the Communist party of China, and U. S. Ambassador to China Patrick J. Hurley at the Chungking air-field

The "cold light" of a firefly is reproduced in a pitcher during a lecture by Samuel G. Hibben, director of applied lighting for the Westinghouse Lamp Division



Shooting out from the spillway tunnels of Fontana Dam excess waters are dispersed into a vast spray to reduce river erosion

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DDT, the powerful insecticide, is used at the American seaside resort of Jones Beach near New York City in the form of an experimental oil-fog spray to exterminate sand flies, fleas and mosquitoes

An air view of the Clinton Engineer Works at Oak Ridge in the southern U. S. State of Tennessee where atomic bomb production is carried on

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impositions. All his efforts should be directed towards excelling the deposed monarch in virtue. The penultimate section embodies instructions of a miracle working variety. We are told how a man can make himself invisible, see in the dark, tread unharmed through live embers, change his physiognomy and put men and beasts to sleep at will. Recipes are provided for causing death, blindness, madness, etc. All this is fantastic and even shocking. But in the light of what our own civilised world is witnessing, we have perforce to make ourselves shock-proof. The book concludes with an enunciation of thirty-two methodological principles bearing on its main thesis.

The foregoing review of its contents shows that it embodies a frank and ruthless exposition of statecraft and has hence been likened to the work of the notorious Florentine, whose Prince has enjoyed such unabashed popularity in Europe for the past 400 years and has come to be an eternally prescribed text book in the varsities. The main difference between the two is that whereas the former is very much in the nature of a theoretical dissertation the latter pursues a historical method. Another point of difference is that Arthashastra being the work of a Brahman theologian as well as politician does not succeed in bringing about a complete divorce between politics and morals, which is so characteristic of Machiavelli.

> "The state, we may say with Machiavelli and Mussolini, is all in all, but the Arthashastra means something quite definite by the State, namely, an order of society which the State does not create but which it exists to secure. The ways of King, for the text assumes that the rule must by royal, are dictated by the necessity of preserving his power ; as Hobbes logically and deliberately, so the Arthashastra implicitly argues, the King's duty of securing the welfare of the system of which he is protector, gives to him a morality of his own. Mere raison d'etat cannot justify everything nor over-ride everything. Moral sanctions are ever there to point a limit to a ruler's sovereignty."—Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 455-56.

He does, of course, many times trespass the bounds of the accepted canons of the Hindu ethics but he seldom preaches an utter neglect of moral principles.

Arthashastra, in the words of Ganapati Shastri, is "a method of Government by which a king should rule for the welfare of his millions of subjects, cautious and dexterous in preventing treachery; watching over the conduct of subjects and officials."

The King's will, though regarded supreme, was to be conditioned by definite moral sanctions. He was enjoined to guard against avarice, pride, anger, drunkenness and insolence. He was to shun as the very devil the four special temptations : Hunting, Gambling, Drink and Women. He was in the last resort but a leader of the people and hence the interests of those who were to be led must be a matter of paramount consideration with him. He was above and beyond all a protector of his people and any neglect of public weal left him open to serious punishment such as the last Nanda had courted for himself by his continued and gross misdemeanour. Kautiyla drew out a chart of king's daily duties with such austere rigidity that it must have been honoured more in breach than in observance. Practice must have varied a good deal from the precept, as what Kautilya was so sedulously putting down was intended to evolve an abstract theoretical system for universal and permanent application. Machiavelli, on the other hand, portrayed the *Prince* as he had found him in flesh and blood in the person of the unscrupulous Caesar Borgia.

The four objects of government according to Chanakya were the acquisition of territory, its preservation, its extension by further annexations and finally the proper utilization and enjoyment of all that had been gathered in. It will thus be seen that the Arthashastra and the *Prince* were both treatises written for the 'new prince', the usurper, the self-made tyrant who has not been born to power but has risen to it. Not having the support of traditional loyalty and affection, he was to be guided by precepts in order to maintain himself in the seat of authority. This was the function that these two political philosophers, flung so far apart in point of time tried to discharge in order to prop up the new regime in the seat of authority. Both are equally concerned about devising means by which their respective heroes could gain complete domination of the state and keep their iron grip securely fastened on all that pertains to its governance and administration. The protection of the King's person is with both an object of earnest solicitude. In the absence of the habitual loyalty of an affectionate people to a legitimate and long-standing dynasty, a counterpoise had to be found if any insidious attempts, aimed at effecting a change of masters, were to be successfully thwarted nay nipped in the very bud. Kautilya's circumspection would not exclude from suspicion even the princes of the royal blood who are to be employed far from the capital and preferably on the frontiers. All conceivable thorns in the side of the state are to be eradicated so that they do not develop into a malignant tissue importing a menace to the state. The methods suggested are appallingly drastic.

Kautilya and Machiavelli are both at one in suggesting that the new sovereign should make himself feared so that through weak courses and pusillanimous conduct he does not make himself an object of contempt. His work according to them would be easier if the family of the dethroned monarch is completely wiped out. He is, however, not to touch the property of his subjects since the sores of the disinherited fester for ever. The paeans of his glory and might should be trumpeted abroad and all acts of clemency or of generosity should redound to his personal credit and let the odium of all dirty deeds fall upon his ministers and other functionaries. A heart of flint and an iron heel are the essential hall-marks of a great ruler. Weakness, vacillation and undue brooding over what ought to be done are sure to send a ruler down the vale. A pretence of virtue and of straight-dealing must be maintained at all costs but even a suggestion of being soft-hearted is to be totally avoided. Whatever has to be done must be done thoroughly and well with a show of full force as the snake is not to be scotched but killed. Kautilya further believed with Machiavelli that the severities that become necessary and unavoidable should be inflicted all at once and not administered in small dozes as their moral effect will thus be utterly lost and which is more important besides, that a prolonged state of insecurity and suffering can betoken a real danger to the State. The weapons of fraud and force both should be in the armoury of a successful ruler or as Machiavelli

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would put it, he must have the slyness of the fox combined with the strength of the lion.

Power politics are alike the keynote of both and hence their insistence on the proper organisation, maintenance and equipment of the armed forces. Be prepared for defence but never be afraid to strike at the first opportunity. States prosper best through aggrandisement. The martial spirit of a people is thus prevented from going into decline. Neighbouring states should be prevented from developing into formidable rivals. When two large states are at war it is futile to sit on the fence as passive spectators. You are thus despised by your friends and foes alike. The former feel betrayed while the latter interpret it as a sign of your inherent weakness. And the victorious power is not likely to spare you, it will swallow you up if it feels it to be manageable proposition. How truly applicable to the neutral states of today and the lesson inculcated here has been brought home to them but alas too late !

Machiavelli's advice could well have been followed today. He suggests that while making war on a nation do not give an impression that you are out to wipe out the whole nation but let it be known instead that your hostility is limited only to a few individuals. And Kautilya's counsel in this respect is tuned in a similar key. Kautilya covers all the ground traversed by Machiavelli but he has much more to tell besides. And his intimate prying into all details of administration makes him Machiavelli and Bentham rolled into one.

The curious similarities between the 'cute' Florentine and astute Brahman, explored by us at some length, make it not unlikely that the latter's work was somehow known to the former. The trade contacts between Italy and India through the old land routes being a matter of familiar history, permit us in safely premising cultural contacts. Similarities between the two are too marked to be taken as mere chance coincidences. The foregoing survey is by no means to be interpreted as implying that Kautilya has furnished a system of political philosophy for the guidance of hard-boiled bureaucrats only. There is much in fact, in his comprehensive thesis which is informed by broader humanities. The sparing of cows from being yoked for manual work and the consideration for the treatment of animal life in general are among the instances in point. Nor did his conception of an all-embracing legislation and administration seek to rule out the rudiments of self-governing institutions which were a part and parcel of the Aryan heritage of freedom and liberty. Village communities and even tribal republics were left completely free to operate their self-governing institutions. Sanitation was the people's concern and Megasthenes bears witness to the surprising degree of efficiency attained in this respect. Medical aid was well-organised and made easily accessible. Widows, orphans, the sick and the infirm were duly cared for and afforded relief. Cornering of grain, adulteration of food and monopolising of trade are strongly condemned by him. The extension of the principle of extraterritoriality to foreigners involves a singular tribute to his legal acumen. Slavery was confined to Shudras alone and no Aryan was to be made a slave. These are among the factors which help to relieve, though we are afraid very partially, the sordidness of a political cult which was ruthless in its conception and execution alike. The political philosophy of Kautilya, with but a few softening touches was harsh and even drastic. It was dictated by the needs of the time and had its vogue. But above the surge of ungenerous and even caustic criticism which has assailed his system through the ages, rises the calm, cool, contemplative figure of Chanakya in its serene and austere majesty, pleading excuse and justification with every nerve and pointing with an unerring finger to the most extenuating of all circumstances, the law of cruel necessity. India had to pass through the crucible of stern politics and get properly schooled in discipline before she could emerge into a united and unified nation.

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INDIA'S NEEDS PRESENTED FOR ANGLO-U.S. LOAN NEGOTIATIONS

ANY American credits extended to Britain should make it possible for India to obtain the dollar resources necessary to enable her to purchase the American capital goods needed for her industrialization, Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, said yesterday in a letter sent to Assistant Secretary of State, William L. Clayton, who is representing the U. S. Government in current conversations with British negotiators.

India does not need American money, Mr. Singh pointed out. It needs the power to convert its frozen sterling balances into dollars, he said. The industrialization of India "alone can overcome its poverty and make it a consumer of American exports," he added.

The full text of Mr. Singh's letter to Assistant Secretary Clayton follows :

"In your discussions of American aid to Britain, I earnestly hope that the urgent needs of India's 400 million people will not be overlooked.

"Poverty is India's main problem. Its standard of living must be raised if India is to develop itself and provide a market for American goods. But its standard of living cannot be raised unless India is industrialized. Industralization means capital goods. The only nation from whom capital goods can now be bought is the United States. And this means that India needs American dollars.

"Let me make it perfectly clear that India does not seek a loan or a gift from the United States. India has ample credit, but it is now frozen in London in the form of unusable sterling. In this connection, I hope you will give favourable consideration to the proposal made by the International Section of the New York Board of Trade that Britain no longer freeze dollar credits that might accrue to India in the normal course of trade.

"But that would only be a small beginning. It is in the interest of both India and the United States to insist that, of any credit extended to Britain, a portion be set apart which will enable India to buy in the American market all the capital goods she needs for her industrialization.

"The disturbing suggestion has been made that one of the objectives of the United States Government should be 'to get the British to agree to refund and scale down' the debt she owes to countries like India,

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in the same way as the United States is planning to forego her lend-lease claims against Britain. I hope this cruelly unjust suggestion will not be entertained. To put Britain's debt to India on the same basis as its debt to the U.S. is to disregard the vast difference in the economic status of the U.S. and India.

"May I emphasize that the sterling balances acquired by India do not represent that country's surplus wealth; rather they represent the bitter sacrifices made by the destitute people of India during the war-sacrifices symbolized by Bengal's one million famine dead.

"Considerations of justice and humanity demand that any arrangement for American aid to Britain guarantees: 1). The necessary dollars resources be set apart for India's crucially necessary industrialization, which alone can overcome its poverty and make it a consumer of U.S. exports, and 2) an end of all freezing of currency exchange."—*India League of America*

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TOLSTOI, TAGORE, ROLLAND

Their Passage Through Purgatory

By SUBHENDU GHOSE

It is in the nature of intellectual man, and, above all, the artist, that he observes and tries to overcome his inward crisis.—Stefan Zweig.

In *Fragments From My Diary*, Gorky has drawn an intriguing pen-picture of Tolstoi:

"Several times I noticed on his face, in his look, the cunning and contented smile of a man who unexpectedly discovers something which he has hidden away. He hides it and then forgets about it. Where can it be? He spends long days of great anguish pondering incessantly, 'Where, oh, where did I put that thing that I want so much?' He is terrified lest the people round him should notice his anguish, should get to know of his loss and worry him about it or injure him in any way. Then he suddenly remembers and finds it. Delighted at his success and no longer afraid to show his feelings to others, he watches those about him with a cunning glance, as much as to say, 'you can't hurt me now!'

But as to what he has found and where he found it—that remains a secret."

Tolstoi himself has given us a clue to the secret in his autobiographical sketches. From his *Confessions* we know that the secret was his faith in God, and the strange behaviour, which impressed Gorky and which Gorky has noted here, was a product of the struggles Tolstoi passed through in order to reach that faith.

Tolstoi was about fifty when he began to experience, as he tells us in his *Confessions*,

"Moments of perplexity, of a stoppage, as it were, of life, as if I did not know how I was to live, what I was to do, and I began to wander, and was a victim to low spirit. Later, these periods of perplexity began to return more and more frequently and invariably took the same form. These stoppages of life presented themselves to me with the same questions, 'Why' and 'What after?' The questions presented themselves to my mind with ever-increasing frequency, demanding an answer with still greater and greater insistence, and like dots grouped themselves into one black spot. . . . Life was meaningless. *Every day of life, every step in it, brought me, as it were, nearer the precipice and I saw clearly that before me there was nothing but ruin. And to stop was impossible; and it was impossible to shut my eyes so as not to see that there was nothing before me but suffering and actual death, absolute annihilation* . . . Thus I was brought to feel that I could live no longer—*some irresistible force was dragging me onward to escape from life.* I do not mean that I wanted to kill myself—*The force that drew me away from life was stronger, fuller and more universal than any wish: it was a force like that of my previous attachment to life, only in a contrary direction.* With all my force I struggled away from life and yet there was *something I hoped for from it.* The idea of suicide came as naturally to me as formerly that of bettering my life. . . . Such was the condition I had to come to, at a time *when all the circumstances of my life were pre-eminently happy ones.*"

With unparalleled determination Tolstoi sought to overcome this inward crisis, wandered painfully and obstinately over the fields of knowledge to find out an explanation of the questions that tormented him. Knowledge failed to cure him of his despair, but increased it.

"I knew that from the knowledge which reason has given man, I could get nothing but the denial of life, and from faith nothing but the denial of reason, which last was even more impossible than the denial of life. By this knowledge founded on reason it was proved that life is an evil. . . . If I went by faith it resulted that, in order to understand the meaning of life, I should have to abandon reason, the very part of me that required a meaning in life. When I had come to the conclusion, I understood that it was useless to seek an answer to my question from knowledge founded on reason, and the answer given by this form of knowledge is only an indication that *no answer can be obtained till the question is put differently—till the question be made to include the relation between the finite and the infinite*, without which there can be no answer. . . .

What meaning is there not to be destroyed by death? The answer is, 'Union with an infinite God, paradise.'

In this way I was compelled to admit that besides the reasoning knowledge, which I once thought the only true knowledge, there was in every living man another kind of knowledge, an unreasoning one—faith—which gives a possibility of living."

During the time when his mind was occupied with the thoughts, Tolstoi's heart was oppressed by a "feeling of dread, of orphanhood, of *isolation* amid things all apart from me, and of hope in a help I knew not

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from whom." This feeling Tolstoi describes as a searching after God :

"This search after a God was not an act of my reason but a feeling, and I say this advisedly, because it was opposed to my way of thinking ; it came from the heart."

Tolstoi had been an earth-bound man of the world, and had never before shown any great inclination towards metaphysics. To serious speculation he had not willingly turned ; he was driven to take recourse to it. From somewhere out in the dark he had received a sudden blow and clutched to save himself from falling. Caught in the vicious grip of a spiritual crisis, he desperately fought to free himself from it, and at last escaped into the foggy realm of faith and mysticism. What followed is well-known. The master-artist would "now compel

Beauty, that spirit clear,
And every art wherein the few excel
Under a peasant smock to serve as dudges !"
—(H. Trench)

The worshipper of the living forms of nature would now glory in a mystic ethic !

* * * *

Romain Rolland tells us in his reminiscenes that between 1882 and 1884, for two years,—(he was then a student in Paris)—he had to go through a terrible inward turmoil :

"What a terrible trial it was ! Every moment, I feared a disaster ; though, seen from outside, the texture of life was the same. In my heart was the deepest despair—a fathomless hell ; dark demons were raging there—hidden from all eyes. I sank into a bottomlss void."

The crisis had no visible cause and resolved itself in a significant manner. One day while reading Spinoza, the message of the great philosopher-saint flashed across his heart : *"Be one with the universe in full consciousness*"* and lo ! the joy of life returned to his death-ridden heart.

* * * *

Our own Tagore too was not spared the trial. In the year 1913, some time before the first world-war started,—"a shock of agony overtook him like a thunder-storm out of a clear, unclouded sky. The mental pain he experienced was almost equivalent to a death-agony. He had hardly expected to survive it." (C. F. Andrws) The first shock came in May, then it passed away. "But early in July", says Andrews, "the darkness again came upon his life, and seemed once more to overwhelm him. It appeared to have no external source, either in bad health or bad climate."

Let us see what Tagore himself has to say about his spiritual crisis. On May 17th, 1913, he writes from Ramgarh :

"I have been experiencing the feeling of a great *expectation*, although it has its elements of very great suffering. . . . To be born naked in the heart of the eternal truth ; to be able *to feel with my entire being the life-throb of the universal heart*—that is the cry of my soul."

On May 21st, he writes :

"I am struggling on my way through the wilderness . . . I know *I must pass through death*. God knows it is death-pang that is tearing open my heart. It is hard to part with the old self."

The next day, Tagore writes :

"The spiritual bath is not that of water, but of fire . . . Our soul is the last thing that we come to know ; for it is dark where the mother feeds the soul in secret. And we can see the sacred light in the intense glow of the fire of suffering . . . The fire is burning fiercely, exposing the hidden corners of my being with all their unsuspected accumulations of untruth and self-deception. Let the fire burn until it has nothing to feed upon. Let nothing be spared that awaits destruction."

On May 25th, he writes :

"My wrestlings with the shadows are over."

As Andrews tells us, they had to be resumed soon after.

* * * *

In Tolstoi's case, as in the case of Tagore and Rolland, the crisis seemed to have developed suddenly, without any visible cause ;—it was a mysterious blow from the dark. In all three cases, the crisis was resolved when 'the finite' could be related to 'the infinite', when the individual's demand 'to feel the life-throb of the universal heart' was satisfied, when the isolated soul could feel 'one with the universe in full consciousness.' Like Rolland and Tagore, it was death that Tolstoi was asked to pass through. At the height of his crisis Tagore experienced 'the feeling of a great expectation', and Tolstoi too 'hoped for something' from the crisis—from the force that was dragging him onward to escape from life.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has advanced a very interesting theory regarding the spiritual crisis of Tagore. He says :

"It seems certain to me that the poet's highly sensitive nature had made him feel dimly beforehand the tragedy which was about to happen. In no other way can I account for his intense suffering."

But can we explain in the same manner the crisis that assailed Rolland or Tolstoi ? Obviously, we cannot. Mr. Andrews' theory, however, appears to contain an element of truth, as we shall see.

Speaking about 'the inner turmoil which shaped Tolstoi into a speculator, a thinker, a life-teacher', Stefan Zweig says :

"Probably it was a mere climacteric condition, fear of old age, fear of death, a neurasthenic depression which turned into a passing spiritual crisis."

But Zweig's supposition throws no light on spiritual crises in general. Rolland was quite young and healthy and had no reason to be afraid of death, when he was afflicted. How could this happen ?

* * * *

Now we are in a position to look more deeply into the crisis of Tolstoi. It is the story of a watchful self burdened with the untruths and self-deceptions it had accumulated through long years, suddenly finding itself drifting away from life elemental—call it universal, infinite or eternal, as you please. The self is asked to shake off its dead accretions and renew itself, for re-establishment of contact with the elemental forces alone can save the soul from death.

Tolstoi was an artist with 'all-seeing eyes', and as an artist he was privileged to assimilate himself with the elemental forces which in the then Russia manifested themselves in the masses ; as an artist he came keenly to feel what was going to happen in Russia,

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clearly to see which way life—elemental life—was flowing. But Tolstoi was an aristocrat too ; the untruths and self-deceptions that were inevitable in the aristocratic life of his time had become a part of his self. Now, elemental forces demanded of him that he shake off this dead accumulations of his old self, that he and naked in the heart of the eternal truth and pass through death into a new life. Class inhibitions would not allow him to cross the Rubicon and come out on the side of the new life. Terrified by what he saw before him whenever he would allow himself to be swept forward by the elemental forces, Tolstoi sought refuge in blind faith and mysticism. To avoid the sweeping hand of the elemental forces he bent backward into the 'moral order',—of course, unconsciously.

* * * *

All the three, whose spiritual crises we have discussed here, were artists. As artists, they were called upon to assimilate themselves with the forces of nature —elemental forces, and transmute them in their mind. It was a big task, achievable only by giants with an untrammeled spirit. To perform it, they had now and then to face the problem of renewing their selves, of shedding off old blind attachments, of passing through purgatory. Rolland and Tagore succeeded ; Tolstoi strove right unto death.

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THE BENGAL FAMINE AND THE PROBLEMS IT RAISES

Rai Bahadur BIJAYBIHARI MUKHARJI

The Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission submitted its report which does not seem to have received the attention it deserves. The Commission with considerable amount of restraint has stated at page 107 of its report :

> "It has been for us a sad task to enquire into the course and the cause of the Bengal Famine. *We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society together with its organs failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed there was a moral and social breakdown as well as an administrative breakdown.*" (Italics mine)

The magnitude of this famine must convince any honest onlooker that it was possibly the greatest single tragedy in this tragic second world war. To have a proper perspective it may be noted that against a million and a half of deaths as stated by the Commission and which is generally held by the Indian nationalists as a great under-estimate, casualities in deaths during the war in Great Britain are reported to be less than two and a half lakhs. The following casualties may be compared :

U. K.	233,042
Canada	36,018
Australia	21,415
India	23,295
Bengal Famine (according to Famine Commission)	1,500,000

This will show that in Bengal which has been all along considered as the most fertile granary of India and of the East, people died through lack of food in one single year in numbers exceeding the number of casualities incurred by Great Britain in this most terrible of terrible wars in actual fighting. It should be also remembered that in Great Britain which produces only 40 per cent of its normal food requirements and had been prevented from importing outside-food by the vigorous submarine warfare that she had to combat with the most cruel and relentless enemy constantly threatening invasion, bombing and attacking almost every day some part or other, the Government and the people of the country so organized themselves that not a single person died from starvation. It is further reported that the organization was so effective that during the war period there had been actually an improvement in health. The question naturally arises as to what is this difference due to ? Why should Bengal, producing almost its total food requirement and capable of producing more, had a million and a half dead through sheer want of food in a year (with many men left dying through malnutrition) while England producing less than half its food requirement, under constant threat of invasion by the Germans for years, could so organize the people as not to let a single Britisher die ? India has a Government which is certainly not a National Government. England has a Government which unquestionably is a National Government, where the parties combined to work for the national good. The administration of Bengal is carried on by a Governor over whose appointment Bengal has no voice and whose interests in Bengal must naturally be of a very transitory character. It has Ministers who have been appointed not by the common will of the people on the basis of a broad-based suffrage, on merits, on capacity, on competence or on unquestionable loyalty to the country but Ministers who are appointed through a constitution riddled with sectional or communal electorate which develops all the fissiparous sectarian tendencies in the nation aggravating them. It consists of men whose sectional prejudices have been developed to the maximum pitch with individual profit secured and kept alive by a widespread system of political patronage through the mechanism of a constitutional form unheard of and unknown in the history of political constitutions throughout the world at any period of human history. It was foisted on India by an authority outside India which holds the thread of the Indo-British administrative system. The moral stature of these Ministers as is natural in the circumstances has not reached a high level. The sectarian system ensures that the scum of the social organism should have a free scope for selfish ends, freer than any political society could ensure. England is governed by a Home Civil Service which consists of its own nationals with no exception. It is recruited from people who form the society and who naturally act and re-act to the forces in the society and whose interests are intermixed with the interests of the society and of the nation as a whole. Successive reforms and strenuous efforts of nationalists have raised the standard both of the integrity and the efficiency of the Civil Service of England. It can hardly be denied that the standard both of efficiency and of integrity of the Home Civil Service of England, whatever they might have been in the days of Lord North, are at a very high level today. Public opinion working through public bodies and a reasonably free Parliament keeps the officers

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in their efficiency and integrity. Dereliction is immediately detected. We had in recent times a Labour Minister summarily ousted from office for suspected misuse of powers. It is not contended that the level reached is the highest and there is no room for improvement, but it can hardly be denied that a very high standard has actually been reached. Bengal, on the other hand, is ruled by three sets of officers in the main—the first includes the Imperial Services, the second the Provincial and other Subordinate Services and the third the Ministerial and the menial services. Throughout the nineteenth century up till now all sources of powers have been withdrawn to the hands of the Imperial Service men. It is they who interpret facts, it is they who evolve policies, and it is they who lay down principles, and get them carried out by the entire Indian Subordinate machinery of the second and the third classes. The Imperial Services again can fairly be divided into two categories—its British and its Indian members. The real powers are in the hands of a group of the former. The latter are *de jure* members of the voting group but are not *de facto* of that category. They make strenuous efforts to imitate the former and in the end imbibe their worst defects. A ruling foreigner has limitations—national as well as circumstantial. An indigenous imitator is worse. He will be less than human if he does not share in the least his country's hopes and fears. He will be more than human if he abjures all hopes of official advancements which only denationalisation can secure. The unresolved contradictions of the situation raise confusions and the Indian officer is more often than not an interesting pathological study. With all these a psycho-analyst may sympathise but the public sees little of integrated ethics or of integrated thought in their outer behaviour. Hence the higher Public Servants form a class apart—aloof, therefore, ignorant; ineffective because they are ignorant; morally and spiritually sterile because they are ineffective; uncreative because they are sterile. They lack a moral purpose and only live for the day in the dull monotony of an uninteresting routine, interested only in questions of official preferments and in chances of life and of career. The effect of this on the problems of the people is disastrous. It is this somnolent group that is in charge of the administration. It interprets facts in its own way, develops theory on this interpretation, lays down policy on its own theory, and enforces the policy through the machinery of provincial, subordinate, ministerial and menial services. These last easily realise that in this institution initiative does not pay, intelligence does not pay, individuality does not pay and they must merge themselves in that unicellular organism that is called the State in this country if they have to secure if not immortality at least a survival, if not for eternity, only for the period of the official career where only one cell has a distinctive life—the Imperial Service—that cell alone leads and functions for the whole. The standardised "behaviour pattern" of these services is uniform and striking for the last two services. Till 1920 this system has been in vogue. Such members of the "human cattle farm" (to use John Stuart Mill's phrase) *i.e.*, of the public of India only contact the machines as have some axes to grind. They are not intended to deliberate on its running or its efficient functioning. One of the mildest proposals of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in the first decade of this century to have "an advisory council" for the District administration was negatived by the Government of India of the day. The sundry members of the public come to sneak out such favours as official patronage may secure. The life history of Muchiram Gur as painted by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee reproduces itself with amazing loyalty to traditions up to date. To that group come the members of the Bar, Professors, Zemindars, Patriots and Knights of the Garter in search of better and brighter prospects.

Since 1920 Bengal is supposed to have a popular ministry. This ministry as stated before is secured by a specially patented form of democracy with sectional representation euphemistically called the "Communal Electorate" which does honour to the authors of the scheme as a distinctive original contribution to the political philosophy or political technique for running the administration of a dependent country. That it succeeded in drawing the scums of social organism almost of each section any honest analysis of the part played by the bulk of the legislators and the ministers during the famine will demonstrate. The sample testing of the intellectual and the moral standard of groups of legislators and ministers would be an amazing revelation even to a Machiavelli should he with *Prince* come to life again for a tour of inspection of the world that he left.

In the circumstances of unhappy Bengal, the Governor comes without any direct knowledge previously acquired. He is completely ignorant of its people, of their habits, of their ways, of their problems and completely ignorant even of their language. To such a province—a province of over 60 millions of people with accumulated problems unattended for decades, accentuated by mal-administration, and confused by the immoral struggle with the growing nationalism of the last three decades—came Sir John Herbert. What his initial qualifications for the appointment were the Government of Winston Churchill alone could know. One read, however, the judgment of his fellow countryman Capt. C. Reed, after his appointment :

> "Major John Herbert was a Junior Whip until the Chief Whip recommended that the Major should be given title and be sent overseas to take an extremely important Governorship . . . Besides the fact that he is a 'good fellow' I can find nothing in the past records to indicate what qualifications he possessed for being given such appointment."

After the Bengal famine, it is probably admitted that Sir John Herbert was not equal to the task to which he was appointed by the Conservative Cabinet. That intellectually he was below par can hardly be denied, that in unconstitutional tendencies he was above par his conduct throughout proves. That he meddled unnecessarily and in every sphere is proved by his many acts. That his meddlesomeness created constitutional confusion has been referred to by many. His moral stature has been publicly impugned but now that he is dead one may draw a veil.

The Civil Services, aloof and ignorant as indicated before, were equipped just to run a machine with a maximum routine and specially when they were responsible to none of the land but to an authority which is non-Indian and unsympathetic. It is alleged that there was panic too in the class that the people of Bengal had large sections which might prove fifth-columnists in case of a Japanese attack not unmixed with a conscious dread of reaction to the policy of fan-

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ning fissiparous anti-national feeling which some at least had followed since their ignoble satrap Sir Bamfylde Fuller had started the conscious State policy of courting the "favourite wife"—a term of endearment by which to the disgrace of the Mahomedan community he used to refer to it—and that love so unnatural had at last conceived and gave birth to the Moslem League. Whatever might have been the psychology, the Civil Service demonstrated its complete incompetence, long recognised by the people but carefully kept hidden under a system where the Lion alone was left to paint himself for the edification of the world. That Indian Civil Service in the past, subject to the limitations of a non-national state, made signal contributions to bring India to the outer form of a modern state must be acknowledged. That to the distinctive efforts of some of the outstanding members thereof India has owed the blue-prints of a Modern State much better drawn than in any other part of Asia must be admitted. But the Indian Civil Service has heavily deteriorated for the last forty years. The growing nationalism accentuated by a despair which the Partition of Bengal had deepened (which Mr. Coupland in his analysis completely ignores) challenged its authority as not even the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 had done. In the struggle that has followed while finer types of British youths stayed back, those that came had their nerves frayed. In the process of fights their finer emotions withered away. The system of administration followed so far had the cracks and fissures accentuated by the struggle. The foundation of the faith of the people in the morality of the administration was badly shaken. The administrative machinery lost all moorings. It functioned in vacuo.

The ministers and the legislators were of moral and intellectual calibre far below par. They found the chances of their life. Communal Electorate is essentially immoral. It is immoral in conception. It is immoral in execution. It is immoral in function. Nothing but self-interest had been the guiding principle of their life—a sense of national wellbeing and the sense of social responsibility were emotions to which they were complete strangers. They had been encouraged to practise political patronage not only by the astute enemies but even by the political baby patriots of India. They were accustomed to distribute appointments by community which in reality meant dstribution by kinship to certain individuals. They distributed contracts by community. They distributed agencies to buy up food produce from village by what they termed specially selected communal agents. Those that were in the trade were unacceptable from communal point of view.

To this administrative set-up of a Governor so equipped, of ministers so selected, of legislators controlling the ministers so elected, and above all the machinery run by the services with complete ignorance and still more incompetence, came the crisis of a threatened Japanese attack. It quailed before the magnitude of the task to which it was so unequal. It was conscious that by no stretch of imagination could it expect to have the trust and the faith of the people of this vast province. Each one of the individual and of the group who had power, vested in him, moved in an ego-centric mutually-exclusive circle away and out of touch with the people. Each did what he could in the circumstances, *i.e.*, lived ostrich-like with its bill stuck deep in sands. Not one had the sense of responsibility to the people who fed and kept him. The Cinderellas who came in for sentimental references when the white man's burden had to be preached—whether by Christian Missionary or Christian administrator—always kept miles away. The background of the situation was the heavy deterioration in ignorance and in incompetence of every aspect of the administration. It was the result of the system that had been followed for decades of complete indifference to the basic needs and the problems of those people.

"There was great difficulty in obtaining medical officers of satisfactory calibre to meet the emergency because medical education was never programmed to the needs of the people" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 125);

"There is a great shortage of nurses in India in normal times for it was no one's concern hitherto, to add to the number" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 125);

"Existing hospitals in Bengal were in general poorly equipped and there was a deficiency in the province of most medical supplies so that there was little to build on in the task of creating hospital accommodation" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 126);

"In Bengal the Public Health Services were insufficient to meet the normal needs of the population and the level of efficiency was low" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 132);

"In general the standard of efficiency reached by Civil Surgeons and subordinate medical personnel left much to be desired. Discipline and a sense of duty were defective and the morals low" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 135).

The Commission correctly recorded:

"In view of the state of medical and public health organisation in Bengal before the famine, it is scarcely surprising that they failed to rise to the occasion" (p. 136).

The more realistic picture, however, is given in Appendix I of the Famine Commission Report which shows the deplorable economic background of the vast population of a province that had been regarded in the past (as observed before) as the granary of India. The Commission wrote in the Appendix:

"Persons who derive all a major part of their income from the cultivation of land 'amount to 72 per cent' and the number of families thus depending is 'eight millions'. Of these—a family counting of little over five members—

1) less than two millions hold more than 5 acres each and about one-third of the number hold more than 10 acres each;

2) about two millions hold between two to five acres;

3) all others, who constitute about one one-half of all the families depend wholly or mainly on the cultivation of land, are either landless or hold less than two acres each."

So the Commission said and which the world, outside the administration Mr. Amery topped, knew. This picture, dismal as it is, does not represent the whole truth. The fragmentations of the land allotment of the family, the lack of irrigation or drainage-facilities, and deplorable rural credit, the complete lack of means for fertilizers, and the break-down in health through

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malaria and other epidemics, show the accumulated debris of poverty and squalor of the people of a province where the administration was in official hands right through for over a century and a quarter. It could be shown by districts that none of their problems —essential for the very existence if not for the improvement of the people—had been tackled or solved. The inevitable effect of continued malnutrition is apparent in high mortality, low life expectations, poor physique, complete lack of energy.

> "With a purchasing capacity of only about 2½ annas the average Indian is only about to meet his energy requirements with cheap carbo-hydrates like rice and cannot afford sufficient protective foods. *Deficiencies in diet such as animal protein, calcium and vitamins A and C are widespread. The result is poor physique, high maternal and infantile mortality rates, and low expectation of life. . . .* Malnutrition is one of the chief causes of the rapid exit of young human beings from the world so soon after their arrival in it." (Dr. John Grant's *Health of India*—1943, p. 8).

The figures above clearly demonstrate that more than half the people of the country had not enough land to grow that which might even in normal time provide their food for the year. Yet Mr. Leopold Amery never hesitated to tell the British Parliament that there were "millions of hoarders" in Bengal which had been responsible for the famine. On July 14, Mr. Amery told the House of Commons that the difficult food situation in India was due to the widespread tendency of *the cultivators to withhold foodgrains* from the market, to larger consumption per head as a result of increased family income and *to hoarding*". He later stated :

> "Such answers as I gave to Parliament could only be based on *official information supplied to me by the Government of India on the strength of that supplied by the Government of Bengal.*"

(Mr. Leopold Amery's speech at Sparkbrook, June 28, 1945)

It is true that Burma knocked off a part of supply but that was a small part—about 5 per cent for the whole of India (*vide*, Mr. Justice Braund's radio speech of April 11). It is true that part of the province had drought and part a storm and flood but even such incidents were not all uncommon. It is true that there was a threat of attack by Japan, so was England under more constant and more relentless attacks by Germany. The cumulative effect of all these might bring on hardships but surely could not have brought about the disaster that the Bengal Famine represented.

The Commission recorded (*Report*, p. 105) :

> "Between the Government in office, and the various political parties, between the Government and the ministry, and between the administrative organisation of Government and the public there was lack of co-operation which stood in the way of a united and vigorous effort to prevent and relieve famine."

The Famine Commission was right but the Famine Commission did not dive deep and did not discover nor emphasise that this lack of cohesion, so essential to integrated thought and effective action, was congenital to the mechanism known as the Government of the country. It is this which marked the difference between the effect of war in England which had a National State and this integration with that in Bengal which congenitally lacked that integration and when each centre of authority revolved round its own axis and often ran counter to each other with no responsibility to the people. There was no synthesising integrating authority or even ideology and motive. The *national spur was lacking*. The vain shackle institution called to-day the State in Bengal was an *assemblage of selfish interests with responsibility to none*. Two millions died because the whole local economy was disturbed by hordes of people animated by the spirit of "safety first and devil take the hindmost" spirit working with the authority of the Defence of India Rules and Denial Policy Schemes. All labour organisations even Governmental groups came to the market. Agents on the basis of communal favouritism unrestrained by any authority and strengthened by the powers of the Defence of India Act and Rules drew off the food that lay in the countryside with no thought for the people, their families and the children. They were no one's concern. The Government of India maintained constitutional aloofness. In vain the Anglo-Indian paper, the *Statesman*, wrote on August 8, 1943 :

> "Surrounded by wheat and fat Punjabis remote from the war zone, the Government of India apparently little heeds Bengal's lamentable state. For that state Bengal in part is blameworthy. Few of any signs of innate greatness such as these tremendous days in world's history demands are discernible among provincial politicians who have manned her ministries. *Most of their energies from the war's outset* have evidently been bent on petty intrigue and acrimony and *manoeuvre for the sports of office.* Her permanent officials, whether British or Indian have shown unmistakable symptoms of infection by the pervasive provincial malaise; consequently they tend to lack imagination or grip."

Lord Linlithgow maintained a well-dignified aloofness from this vulgarly dance of death. With the dying he had no kinship. He demonstrated that it was one thing to know the affairs of India and Bengal as the dignified Chairman of a Royal Commission in India while it was an entirely different proposition to be called on to save Indians from death through sheer starvation. He never even came to Bengal.

The devastating effect of the steady deterioration in the economic and social life of the countryside was apparent to those who had been watching the countryside closely for the last forty years. The villages were being denuded of all that was best in human material who trekked to the cities. Ill-fed villagers, without education, with none left to educate or to guide them, easy victims to any disease from malaria to epidemics of cholera or small-pox through sheer malnutrition, had not a single organisation left in the rural areas to save them. The old village had either died out or migrated to towns. The throbbing village communities —which even in the third decade of the twentieth century had been seen in some form of life— had been fully broken up. The centres of economic life had shifted. The age-long village life had been completely broken up. The Duroga-cum-Naib controlled Union Boards which were superimposed centres of squabbles. Among them peripatetic circle officers moved listlessly with bagfuls of papers sent by higher placed dignitaries at Headquarters who passed them on as a relief to their conscience to report on and which the circle officers

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tossed back to soothe theirs with the scribbling of such notes as they might have time to jot down with equal alacrity. To these Union Boards had gone agents of various interests from the Chairman of District Board in quest of a share of the contract or in search of a vote for the more *paying Honorary work* of a membership for legislature down to the organisers of political parties or of those who "in the interests of patriotism" settled terms of business to share the sports of such *Honorary* office as they might be helped to secure. They gathered round to the favoured agents for securing the food-grains when they functioned as such or round the officials when they in their turn went to start 'relief' centres or 'rehabilitation' centres in the very area which they had helped to be denuded of food-grains or be crushed into degradation. To the bitter disappointment of the province the Congress could be of little use in most areas. It is true that a considerable number had to be within prison-bar after 1942 but the Congress should demand of those, who had managed to live out, to give an account of their activities of relieving the poor. It is meet and proper that the premier national organisation should enquire into the conduct of those who had been outside prison-bar to give an account of their conduct at a time of calamity of such magnitude as Legislators, as Ministers, as members of Self-Governing bodies, and as public men outside. That profiteers and exploiters flourished was apparent. That dishonesty was widespread even the few startling cases of trials of higher officials would prove. When the Defence of India Act, the Rules framed thereunder and the ordinances which came in any number denied the citizen his rights and set up officials to interfere with most of his activities for daily life, his very existence had to be purchased. The common people had none to guide, none to look after, and none to be interested in them.

The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan said :

"Near the dustbins of Calcutta half-starved women and children hunted in the filth for morsel of food. Their corpses were gathered up probably the next day from pavements. The social evils that followed need hardly to be recounted."

The Famine Commission wrote :

"Many suffered from mental disorientation showing a very marked degree of apathy and indifference to their surroundings" (p. 117).

Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission has submitted its report. It supplemented the report by a second volume which dealt with many long-term projects for improvement of the food position for the future. India had a bigger report from a Royal Commission presided over by an individual who subsequently occupied for seven long years the highest Executive office in India and was still the Head when the million and half died which did not even stir him to pay a short visit of inspection, enquiry, and of sympathy. The Government of Bengal probably conscious of the great magnitude of the tragedy set up an Administrative Committee under Sir A. Rowlands. It has since then produced schemes for post-War Reconstruction. But neither Sir John Woodhead's long-term remedies, nor Sir Rowlands' administrative proposals, nor the post-War Reconstruction Schemes will have any effect on the people till the entire system of the Governmental machinery is re-examined and overhauled. On the other hand, these schemes, suggestions and proposals will lead to waste of public money and public energies, if this administrative set-up persists. They will only direct the attention to ineffective channels.

Bengal famine must be re-examined by a National Committee. The congenital defects in the entire constitution and in the administrative machinery must have to be more searchingly analysed and the defects removed before schemes are sought to be operated and public money spent thereon. It would be for the country to set up a Committee—

(*a*) to examine afresh the causes that contributed to the grim tragedy, fully utilising the materials in the report of Sir John Woodhead's Commission and collecting more ;

(*b*) to apportion the responsibilities for the death of the millions, and suggest punishments for the guilty;

(*c*) to suggest remedies for a complete betterment of the conditions of the chronic poverty of the masses and plan out improvements, and devise ways and means to check up the execution of plans from the people's point of view with a definite schedule, and in the light of the needs of each district also check up the Reconstruction Schemes issued by the Government ;

(*d*) to overhaul the administrative machinery liquidate and reshape it to national purpose; the framework must be built up even if the complete transfer of powers is not yet achieved ;

(*e*) to discover the part played by the anti-social forces that through profiteering, black-marketing and dishonesty accentuated the deterioration of the situation, and betrayed complete lack of social responsibility ;

(*f*) to find out ways and means to compel the dishonest exploiters of the situation during war, to disgorge parts for social utilities by processes which might include levy above a certain sum, details could be worked out to hem in so-called war profits;

(*g*) to discover the individuals in the national organisations and in public life who profited by exploiting the situation with a view to eliminate them definitely from participation in any sphere of national life except under a strict control forfeiting franchises of such citizen for life or for a period as the circumstance may determine, a people's tribunal should adjudge the guilt.

After the Famine of Orissa and Bihar in the middle of the last century (a comparatively small affair) Sir Stafford Northcote as Secretary of State for India spoke in the House of Commons (Aug. 2, 1867) thus :

"The catastrophe must always remain a *monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, to the Government of this country and to those of our Indian officials of whom we have been perhaps a little too proud.*"

The problem has moved on to another plane to-day. It has an administrative and a national aspect of wider implications. The grimmest tragedy in human history such as the Bengal Famine of 1943 unquestionably demonstrates to the world in general and to the people of this country in particular the existence of a state of affairs which deserves the most searching analysis and enquiry. It will be a grave mistake to assume that it was due to only temporary causes or only to causes over which human power has no control. Both assumptions are definitely untrue.

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Book Reviews

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ENGLISH

THE MIND OF MAHATMA GANDHI: *Compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao. With a foreword by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. March, 1945. Pp. xii + 191. Price Rs. 3.*

The object of the compilers has been to present within the compass of a small volume the main outline of Gandhiji's philosophy by means of suitable quotations from his writings. The quotations have been arranged under 35 heads with titles such as *My Mahatmaship, Truth is God, My Inconsistencies, The Gospel of Satyagraha, Temples and Idolatry*, etc. These are followed by a short chronology of the Mahatma's life; while a brief glossary and references follow at the end of the book.

The compilers have taken several years to collect all the materials and have apparently exercised a great deal of care in making the extracts as brief and representative as possible. In this they have been fairly successful; but there are just a few remarks one feels inclined to make by way of suggestion. There seems to be some room for improvement with regard to the arrangement of chapters; while a few passages would perhaps have fitted better in places other than where we actually find them. Thus the paragraph at the head of page 52 does not so much illustrate Gandhiji's conception of the oneness of life as where he draws the line of distinction between non-killing and non-violence. A similar feeling was experienced on other pages too; but fortunately such occasions were few and far between.

There is, however, another question to which the reviewer would take the liberty of drawing more attention than is justified by the amount of space devoted in the book to economic questions in comparison with religious ones. But he feels called upon to do so on account of the importance of the subject, as well as due to the fact that little justice seems to be done to it by most contemporary students of Gandhism. This is with reference to the question of class-war, dealt with in Ch. 25 of the present book.

The selections made by the present compilers tend to emphasize one particular aspect of Gandhiji's views on class-conflict. This is where he wants the present possessors of capital, and of talents which have given rise to the accumulation of capital, to work on terms of equality with those whose only capital is labour. But there is another side of the same question dealt with in Gandhiji's writings. If the possessor of capital, and of talents does not voluntarily descend to that level, Labour is free to non-co-operate non-violently with him in order to convert him into the ideal of trusteeship. Under extreme cases, Gandhiji is even prepared to call in the aid of law to serve the interests of the poor. For in the state of Free India, he wishes only such interests to survive as actually subserve the interests of the poor. Every other interest will be revised, or must subside if it is not capable of revision. This is what he said at the Round Table Conference in London in 1931.

In the future society of Gandhiji's conception, there will be economic equality; which means that every man should get what he needs for physical sustenance and for mental and moral development. There should preferably be equal wages for all forms of socially necessary labour. But if the best talents of men refuse to open up except under a system of unequal wages, he would permit that within certain limits; for he does not want society to be a loser otherwise. But then, if he had his own way, he would not allow any man to pass on the unused portion of his earnings to descendants by means of inheritance. "The only successor of a trustee should be the public" is an opinion he has expressed several times within recent years. This, coupled with his view that the means of production of the elementary necessaries of life should be freely available to all, and so placed under "universal ownership" (See *Young India*, 1928, p. 381; *Harijan*, 1938, p. 366, also *Harijan*, 1940, p. 260), changes the entire face of his conception regarding property relations in the free society of the future.

The fact is that Gandhiji understands by the term class-war an attempt to destroy an institution through the destruction of its present upholders; but when we try to convert the men by non-violent non-co-operation and enlist their aid in rooting out the same institution, he does not look upon it as class conflict. Indeed he firmly stands by the right of every man to destroy every form of violence non-violently; and, as he says, violence is the essence of all forms of exploitation.

These are things which need more emphasis than has been assigned to them in Chs. 24, 25 and 28 of the book; although it must be admitted that economics and politics do not form its main burden. But where one has to deal with such questions, naturally the opinions gathered ought to be fully representative and up-to-date, as far as possible.

In spite of what has been said above, the reviewer feels happy to acknowledge that the selections do succeed in giving us a fairly representative idea about Gandhiji's views on various religious and social problems. Congratulations are, therefore, due to the compilers for the time and labour which they have devoted to the task.

The printing and get-up do credit to the distinguished house of publishers.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES 1942: *By George M. Moraes. The Examiner Press, Bombay. 1945. Pp. 188 and plates. Price Rs. 12-8.*

In the years immediately preceding the last Great World-War, yeomen's service was rendered to the cause of Indological studies by the yearly publication of two

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[illegible] could follow. A further letter was received from the Government of India, Department of Supply on the 25th July, 1942, wherein it was pointed out that an enquiry was made regarding the matter and it was found that Bengal Immunity Co. Ltd., was the only Indian firm at that time able to supply Sera up to the standard of army specifications and the same had been given orders [illegible] compared un favour[illegible]

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most important bibliographies, *viz.*, *Bibliographie Bouddhique* issued by an international board of scholars, and *The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* published by the Kern Institute in Holland. Unhappily the very useful career of both these publications was abruptly cut short just before the second World-War, to be more precise, in 1937 and 1939 respectively. It is, therefore, with genuine satisfaction that we welcome the appearance of this first volume of a new bibliography of Indological studies from the competent pen of Professor G. M. Moraes of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Ranged under a remarkably heavy list of sectional headings, comprising as many as 1974 separate entries and interspersed frequently with summaries of contents and short extracts from reviews, the present work almost justifies the high claim advanced on its behalf by the author in his Preface : "It is not merely a publisher's list, but [is] a treatise giving an adequate idea of the year's progress in research. It is intended to assist the antiquarian as much as the student of Indian Constitutional History and Law, of Philosophy and modern Economics, of Religion and Indo-Anglian literature." An added interest is lent to this work by a number of papers prefacing the bibliography and illustrated with plates at its end, which describe the results of some recent archaeological expeditions undertaken by the writers in Gujarat and in the Puddukottai State of Madras. It is aptly brought to a close by an excellent Index extending over 25 printed pages.

We may be permitted to make a few remarks in response to the author's appeal for scholarly co-operation in his Preface. In view of the extreme difficulty of classification, we think that in future issues the number of sectional headings (reaching in the present volume the formidable size of nearly forty for the main divisions alone), should be brought down to a reasonable figure. It may not be without interest to notice in this connection that the sections in the *Bibliographie Bouddhique* were only eight in number, while those included under the head India in *The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* numbered only ten. Next to the limitation of the sectional headings, we would urge greater accuracy specially in the printing of proper names. In the present volume we have such instances of misprints as N. N. Gosh (p. 2), Kiskindhakanda (p. 8), Sylvan Levi (p. 48), Ashtadasasahasrika (p. 64), Rayghat (p. 66), Sadana (p. 72), Gipinath Rao (p. 73), Somokuli kings (p. 76), tatpadanudhata (p. 77), and Skandhasvami Bhasya (p. 105). The present reviewer's name has been twice (pp. 99, 149) mis-spelt as M. N. Ghoshal. On p. 65 we have the meaningless sentence: "The inhabitants prefered the Buddhist faith to the Hinayana school." The slips in transliteration are too numerous to be noticed.

We await the publication of the next volume with the greatest interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIA'S STERLING POSITION AND THE WAR : *By Bimalendu Dhar, M.A., B.L. Published by Co-operative Book Depot, College Street, Calcutta. 1944. Pages 165. Price Rs. 3.*

Mr. B. Dhar has rendered a public service in explaining in this handy volume as to what are these "Sterling Balances" about which one reads so often in the newspapers. The man in the street is not at all clear about them and feels greatly puzzled. What exactly are "India's Sterling Balances?" How have they been accumulated? What is the total amount of these balances? How has India become from a debtor to a creditor country? What is this talk of scaling down these balances? Does Britain intend to honour its obligations and to make these balances available to India? To what extent will they be available to India for purposes of economic planning and industrialisation in the near future? Most of these questions are explained in a simple and clear manner in this book under review, which will be found very useful both by students of Economics in the colleges and by the general reader.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

PIONEER WOMEN OF INDIA : *By Padmini Sen Gupta. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pages 195. Price Rs. 4-12.*

This book contains colourful pen-pictures of some of the leading representatives of modern Indian womanhood. The authoress, who was for a time Editor of the *India Monthly Magazine*, knows some of these personalities intimately and writes about them in an unaffected and sympathetic style. Of others whom she knows only by reputation, she writes with a commendable restraint of imagination and factual accuracy.

Anandabai Joshi "caused sensation in America by lecturing in favour of child marriage." Toru Dutt is described : "Like a flower she blossomed awhile and left a fragrance that will never die." The home of Ramabai Ranade was a "refuge for the sick and poor, the lowly and sorrowful." Lady Dorab Tata is classed as a "woman's woman with a masculine intellect". When Susie Sorabji died, "even the streets mourned her death." Kamini Roy "lisped in numbers, for the numbers came." Swarna Kumari Devi is classed "on a par with the Bronte sisters". Srimathi Atchamamba "whipped Indian women into activity". Saroj Nalini Dutt "never tried to shock people with her modernism". And, of course, Maharani Sunity Devi was "a popular figure in London Society—a favourite of Queen Victoria." Rameshwari Nehru "brought before the public the horrors of child marriage." The Nightingale of India, Sarojini Naidu, is portrayed with a lyrical brush. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit is not only Motilal's daughter and Jawaharlal's sister, but also the first woman minister in India. In her case both beauty and brains went together. Enakshi Rama Rau was the first Indian woman to interest a European audience in Indian films, and Leila Sokhey (Menaka) "helped in restoring Indian dancing to its ancient glory." Philomena Thumboo Chetty is described as "the greatest violin virtuoso of the East", and finally Leela Row is "unquestionably the first great internationally known Indian woman athlete."

There are other scintillating portraits in the gallery. There have undoubtedly been some omissions and their admirers may feel a little unhappy about the selection. The pen-pictures are, however, extremely delightful and informative too.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

THE BLIND IN INDIA AND ABROAD : *By Prof. S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (Columbia), Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 3.*

Prof. S. C. Roy hardly needs any introduction. By his academical achievements in India and abroad and his subsequent activities and devotion to the cause of the unfortunates whom either fate has denied sight or disease has deprived of the unique blessing of seeing, in the form of the All-India Lighthouse for the Blind, an institution to train and rehabilitate the blind (adults), he has endeared himself to his countrymen. The book under review is a collection of his speeches, articles, radio-talks, letters, etc., relating to the cause and various problems of the blind in India and abroad. Though of a sketchy nature, the contents of the book provide ample valuable information and inspiration to the sightless as well as to those engaged in the welfare work for the blind. Prof. Roy has rightly taken the public to task for its attitude towards the blind and has very ably pleaded, citing illustrious examples, that given proper opportunities for education and self-realisation the blind will prove as useful to the society

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as the seeing people. Public and Government apathy towards the amelioration of the appalling conditions of the blind have also not escaped constructive and helpful criticism. On the whole we can call this volume a general survey of the conditions and problems of the blind in India, in contradistinction to that of the blind abroad. More detailed discusson and specialised information regarding the various aspects of the problems of the blind have been left over for the author's next book, which, we earnestly hope, will follow soon.

While the air is full of talk and plans for training the war-blinded soldiers to make them ready once again for the complex programme of readjustment in life, society and the world, why not have a rather comprehensive programme for all the blind. To talk in terms of *pre* and *post*-war blind is too fantastic and absurd. All the blind need to be trained to regain their physical and psychological equilibrium so that all may equally be happy in this world. Prof. Roy's book, we suggest, will serve as a useful guide and handbook for the pioneers in this field. We also commend this book to the lay public for useful general information and instruction.

M. S. SENGAR

I CAN NOT DIE : *By Krishan Chandar. Translated from the original Urdu by Kwaja Ahmed Abbas. Published by Kutub, The Indo-Foreign Publishers. Pages 52. Price Rs. 2-4.*

This is a long short story, one of the many called forth by Bengal famine, from the pen of Krishan Chandar, and was originally called Ann Data in Urdu. It deserves praise not only as a social document of great value but also as a rare specimen of the art of short story. It is divided into three parts, each containing a picture of the devastating famine from different points of view. The first part presents the story through the reactions of a foreign consul recorded in his home despatches. The second part depicts the death of sincere but sentimental idealism, and the third part presents the dead soul of a village musician, himself a victim to the grim human sacrifice. The story rings with bitter irony and sarcasm and is absorbing all through because of the masterly touches of characterisation and the novelty of technique.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

SANSKRIT

ACYUTARAYABHYUDAYA OF RAJANATHA DINDIMA : *Edited by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T. The Adyar Library Series No. 49. Adyar Library. 1945. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This contains a critical edition of the second half of a Sanskrit epic poem complete in twelve cantos celebrating King Acyutaraya of Vijayanagar. The author of the poem, who composed the work towards the middle of the sixteenth century, belonged to a family of poets which originally lived on the banks of the Ganges (in Bengal ?) and migrated to the south at the instance of Chola kings 'for the establishment of Siva temples and proper worship of Siva and his consort.' The edition is based on as many as ten manuscripts variants from which are recorded in the foot-notes. In a fairly long introduction the learned editor demonstrates the historical accuracy of the account given by the poet throughout the work. He also draws attention to the poetic merits displayed by the author in different places of the poem. But it is a pity that the inquisitiveness of the reader to compare the text is left unsatisfied with regard to the first half of the text which is not included in this fine critical edition, on the ground that it was published forty years back, though possibly not with the help of the manuscripts utilised in the present edition. In fact, an edition of the entire work in one single volume would have been more useful and welcome. As regards Vidyanagar, the alternative name of Vijaynagar given by the present poet a reference may be made to an account of the origin of the town as found in the introductory portions of a Tantra digest called the Vidyarnava Tantra (*Indian Culture*, VI, pp. 107-9).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RAJMOHANER STRI : Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya : *Translated by Sri Sajani Kanta Das. Eastern Publishers Syndicate, Ltd. 8-C, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

It is a faithful translation of Bankim Chandra's first novel, which was written in English. Besides the intrinsic literary merit, its historical importance is very great. In plot-construction and the delineation of characters, there is the unmistakable stamp of genius of the master artist. One striking feature of this rendering is that the translator has followed the Bengali prose style of Bankim Chandra with considerable success, so that the reader at times forgets that he is not reading an original work of the great author.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

VAIDIK KAHANIYAN : *By Baldeva Upadhya. Sharada Mandir, 21/17, Ganeshdikshit, Kashi, U.P. Pp. 150. Price Re. 1-12.*

This is a sheaf of eleven stories, the atmosphere and environment of which are suffused with the truths and times of the Vedas. Apart from their conjuring up, before the reader, the vision and vista of light in which the spiritual stalwarts of ancient Aryavarta lived, they help him considerably in understanding the import of a number of well-known verses in the Samhita, the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. (The author has given chapter and verse of these to enable the reader to refer to the original, should he so desire). There is, therefore, an undying evergreen freshness in these "fables", as one is tempted to characterize the collection of tales, under review. Shri Baldevaji's style is simple, even though the subjects selected for treatment by him have an ethical as well as intellectual severity. The young and the old, consequently, can equally derive pleasure and profit from a perusal of *Vaidik Kahaniyan*.

G. M.

RUS MEN TIS MAHINE : *By D. G. Tendulkar. Published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-4.*

Mr. Tendulkar went to Russia in 1934 with a tourist visa for staying there only for six months. But he learnt Russian and loved the Russians and lived there for full thirty months. The book under review is a Hindi translation of his diary, originally written in English, during this time. Though of petit-bourgeois instruction and upbringing, the author is not wanting in his sense of perspective, insight and objectivity in interpreting Russian achievements. He has not burdened his book with propaganda stuff produced by the Government. He has instead lived with Russian peasants, workers, soldiers, women, students and has protrayed with delicate light and shade the intimate scenes of the daily life in the Soviets. He has tried to understand the living soul of Russia and has not failed to notice the social and economic transformations transcending all barriers of tradition. The book is profusely illustrated with the author's own photographs. The translation has not been quite satisfactory and, it is hoped, will be thoroughly revised in the subsequent editions.

M. S. SENGAR

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KANNADA

SATYAGRAHA : "Its History and Technique" : *By Mr. R. R. Diwakar, an eminent Congress worker and writer in Kannada. Published by the Adhyatma Karyalaya, Hubli. Pages 312. Price Rs. 3-8.*

In this valuable book, which is unique of its kind in Kannada, Mr. Diwakar has ably handled the subject. He has himself devoted his whole life-time for the cause of Indian freedom under the non-violent banner of Mahatmaji, being one of the staunchest of the "satyagrahis". His deep study of, and mastery over, the subject are evident on every page of this work from cover to cover. Mr. Diwakar's work is not like that of a casual easy-chair writer of theoretical or academic interest alone but it is an authentic contribution of an avowed "satyagrahi", who has a life-time of actual and active experience behind him in the field of all kinds of Satyagraha movements and has won many laurels for him, including those in the recent 1942 movement. It is, so to say, an authentic narrative of the heroic exploits—in this case also non-violent and peaceful—by a Commander, on active service, who has emerged successful through many a scathing test.

Mr. Diwakar's exposition of the origin and definition of the term Satyagraha is at once learned and lucid. His treatment of its 'history' is both scholarly and realistic with an unerring knowledge of the facts and figures. He says, while tracing the origin of the term to Gandhiji when he was launching the famous South African Satyagraha Movement, that though a principle akin to Satyagraha might be traced to olden times, and, individual cases, it was not the same Satyagraha as it is understood, and, put into practice today, which is seeking to be an all-powerful, yet, peaceful and non-violent, universal force in quest and in the establishment of the Kingdom of Truth and Non-violence. And again Satyagraha is essentially different from "Passive Resistance and Non-resistance" as the former totally eschews of even the idea of violence and has constructive technique or system for its working. So the word Satyagraha which was first invented by Mahatmaji has now become a by-word in every hearth and home in India and abroad also.

And since then it has become a powerful, yet a peaceful weapon, in the hands of its non-violent followers. And further this weapon can be effectively used not only against armed and aggressive nations and tyrannical governments but also internally against aggressive or unjust groups or individuals—why even against one's friends and brothers if need be and if such occasions arise. Mr. Diwakar has delineated the history of this movement, right from the South African days up to the recent upheaval of 1942 movement to which he himself has contributed in no small a degree, very ably with facts and figures, and, faults and merits.

Lastly, he has concisely and convincingly discussed the Tantra *i.e.*, the technique of Satyagraha, without a proper understanding of which the uninitiated and the unwary persons may commit blunders and mischiefs like Chouri Choura and Mulshi Petha, and hence defeat the very purpose of Satyagraha. In a word, in this Sacred Realm of Satyagraha with Truth as its God, its ultimate reality—Love reigns supreme with non-violence, sympathy, equality, honesty, persuasion, patience and suffering as his unflagging and never-failing ministers. The thieves like hatred, deceipt, violence, dishonesty and such others have no entry here. Even that dreadful robber death has nothing to rob here! On the other hand, he occasionally adds to the glory of a martyard Satyagrahi. In short, this work of Mr. Diwakar is at once a *Bible* and an *Encyclopaedia* for every Satyagrahi, written in a facile and forceful style and simple diction.

V. B. NAIK

MARATHI

KALKARTE SHIVRAMPANT PARANJPYE : *By Vaman Krishna Paranjpye. Published by Prof. R. S. Deshpande, Saraswat Colony, Poona, No. 1. Price Rs. 5.*

While narrating the story of the life of his grandfather, the late Mr. Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpye, Mr. Vaman Krishna Paranjpye has rightly designated him as *Kalkarte*. For among the many literary and political achievements of Paranjpye, his editing of the weekly newspaper *Kal* during the eventful years 1905-8 is the most outstanding. Testimony to this is to be found to the most telling effect in Sir Valentine Chirol's *Unrest in India* and the Rowlatt Committee's Report. In those days, *Kal* was not less popular than *Kesari* and Paranjpye not less popular than Tilak. He was the only advocate in Maharashtra of complete political independence like Messrs. Aurovinda Ghose and Bepin Chandra Pal in Bengal and he was the acknowledged inspirer of the band of patriots headed by Vinayak Savarkar in those days. The author has drawn a vivid description in his own words of the irony, sarcasm, banter and paranthesis that characterised his writings, which often were parables, as most of those writirgs are still under ban. The Kher Government in Bombay released only one-tenth of his proscribed literature. This book coming after 16 years of Mr. Paranjpye's death was a great need from the point of view of the younger generation and has come none too soon. It is very adequately illustrated with relevant photographs.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

JIVAN DARSHAN OF DIWAN BAHADUR AMBALALBHAI : *By N. D. Parekh. Printed at the Khadayta Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 35 and 94. Price twelve annas.*

Diwan Bahadur Ambalal was an outstanding personality in Gujarat in the latter part of his life, (1899 to 1914) *i.e.*, after retiring from the Baroda State Service. Literature, Economics, Politics, Education, Social Reform, these and other matters claimed his attention and by his wholehearted devotion to these questions aided by his massive intellect and singular individuality, he has left an impress on Gujarat, which can never be wiped out. Independence of views and their lucid exposition won him a place for himself. The book is divided into two parts, the Preface by Dr. Hariprasad Desai, who had the advantage of coming in close personal contact with him, and who, in a nutshell, sets out the salient features of his career in a very interesting way, and the second part by Mr. Parekh who goes into greater details. Both writers are not blind to his faults and they have not been steered over. That is very creditable to them, as biographers are expected to be fair.

BHARATIYA SHILPA AND STHAPATYA : *By Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Paper cover. Pp. 120. Illustrated.*

All that is worth knowing about ancient and medieval Indian Architecture and Sculpture is described here in simple language, and in the spirit of a devotee. The beauty of the specimens of these two, Architecture and Sculpture, has been reproduced in the apt language of an admiring pilgrim, whether the specimens belong to Buddhists, Brahmins or Muslims. All parts of India, including Ahmedabad, have passed under the review of the writer, and he has done his work in such a way as exhilarates the reader and compels his admiration.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

An Iron Image With Feet of Clay

J. C. Kumarappa writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

With all his good intentions and well meaning efforts Sir Ardeshir Dalal is realising that he is a mere cog in the Imperial Machinery. His speech, explaining the progress of his reconstruction plans at the last General Policy Committee Meeting, was a song of frustrated energy.

Referring to the scandalous protection enjoyed by British Capital in our country under the present constitution he bewails helplessly that "It is not possible for the industrial development of India to proceed unhindered so long as these constitutional provisions remain on the statute book."

Once this night-mare of British domination is disposed of, the prosperity of the people will be assured by their industry. The country will turn green as after a spring shower. What is holding them down is this terrible foreign yoke and exploitation.

After our experience of the use made of the Reserve Bank his talk of an Industrial Finance Corporation gives us the creeps. The fewer the organisations under British rule the better. Every institution they start in that line proves a halter on our industrial progress. The Reserve Bank had proved itself during this war to be a good sponge to soak up every drop of blood left in the country. To this has been added a Tariff Board !

Sir Ardeshir had been detailed out to plan the economic activity of a country of 400 millions. Even the little thought that he has given this subject will hardly touch one or two million. The masses have been left severely alone.

The only attempt in this programme to encourage people's activity has its motive in the demobilisation scheme of the forces.

Practical planning need not wait for the academecians to make up their minds. Such planning is as old as society.

It is pre-thought-out development of society to an accepted ideal whatever it be.

Any plans intended for the welfare of the people should have the economic activity of the masses as the centre. Their diet has to be balanced. Food-grains, vegetables, fruits, gur, milk and its products should have priority over all other production. Industrial and money crops must yield place to these. Plans should allow for the production of a copious supply of all other necessities of the people such as clothing, building materials, etc. Production should not be looked at as an end in itself. Distribution of wealth must naturally be an outcome of production. Cloth, sugar, oil, building-materials, etc. produced by a mill restricts distribution however much the quantity may be greater than the production by village and cottage industries. People must produce for themselves by processes easily accessible to them. This should be the centre of all plans. Then should radiate from this as being accessories to it all other organised industries. Steel rolling mills will supply the raw-materials needed by a village smith. Forests will be planned to supply the needed seasoned timber for the carpenter. The irrigation canals and tanks will water the fields and village roads will be built with the bullock-cart as its patron to meet its needs. The plans will be people-centred and so will have their own ballast and equilibrium. The plan that Sir Ardeshir is thinking of puts the cart before the horse and is material-centred. He is planning for materials and not for the people. It is, therefore, too heavy like an iron image with clay feet. This will topple down any moment. Such a social order will have to be buttressed with violence as Russia and Germany have proved beyond dispute.

No plan is worth the sacrifices a planned economy entails unless it visualises life as a whole and provides for the development of all the faculties of man. Man is more than a mere animal to be contented with a well regulated dairy life of cattle to be fed, watered and grazed at regular times and sumptuously, we need much more than this and that cannot be provided by merely organising large-scale production of goods which Sir Ardeshir is striving hard for, even if he should succeed in his efforts.

The State

G. H. Bradley observes in *The New Review*:

The Oxford Dictionary gives the following definition of a State : 'organised political community with government recognised by the people, commonwealth, nation.' In the light of the above definition, it appears to me to be contradictory to speak of a 'Capitalist' State, using Capitalist in the sense of dominance by private interest : or of a 'Communist' State, using Communist in the Marxian sense of dominance by the proletariat.

As is clear from the definition, the State exists for one common good, *i.e.*, for the good of the individual as such and for his collective good in the community. Therefore, any system which limits itself to or concentrates on one particular class or section of the community cannot claim the title of State : not in the English language anyway. Again, the State must be an organised political community ; therefore to speak of progressing to a point in the history of the State when such organisation and the control it implies ceases to exist, is to destroy not only the State, but the community with it. A community cannot exist without the organisation and control which are implied in the term 'State'. Destroy the State and you destroy the community, and with it the wellbeing of the individual.

Many people visualise the State as existing under one of the two false conditions mentioned above, namely, Capitalism and Communism, with a cloudy notion of some vague system called 'democracy' fluctuating between the two.

Capitalism favours the placing of a maximum of property and ownership in the hands of a few for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the community.

The lower and working classes are reduced to a bare minimum necessary for their existence and the maintenance of a certain standard of production. Wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a few, namely, the capitalists. Under this system the lot of the worker is well below the standards worthy of

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his dignity as a man. Often his only chance of self-betterment lies in taking advantage of whatever measure of competition exists between the several capitalists, and trying to force a higher rate of remuneration by bargaining in much the same way as the auctioneer does. But frequently the capitalist can forestall labour in this matter by agreeing with his fellow capitalists not to outbid them in the labour market; and the working man is faced with accepting an unjust wage, or going out on strike and risking all that it entails.

Communism, on the other hand, aims at the destruction of the Capitalist system, which is laudable, but sets up another class, albeit larger, in its place.

Broadly speaking, the oppressor becomes the oppressed, and the oppressed becomes the oppressor. So that now we have a minority suffering under a majority (at least, that is the theory, practice appears to be somewhat different) where formerly it was the other way about. But herein lies a danger. The new power is not only the industrial power, but is the governing power as well. So that any revolt against the industrial system existing under the Communist regime, is a revolt against the government. That is why Russia dislikes Trade Unions as much as capitalists. So that under this system the worker is in much the same position, only slightly worse, than he was under the Capitalist scheme. Because his new ruler is a capitalist par excellence, equipped with an army, navy, and police force to see to it that he remains satisfied with what is given him. And more is taken away than is given, for private property, which was at least a right under the old Capitalism, is denied him under the new. 'And the last state of that man shall be worse than the first.'

But as neither of these systems can be reconciled with the definition of the State, they should not even be taken into consideration when a State is to be set up. It is obvious there are good points in both, that is why people have been blinded to their evils. The real solution lies in the 'media via', not in a compromise, but in a reasonable and right system that exists autonomously between them; for right usually stands between two extremes.

That system consists in a correct and conscientious application of the definition of the State.

The State must exist for the good of all; minorities or majorities must not be oppressed nor saddled with unjust or immoral burdens.

The rights of the individual must be respected and fully safe-guarded in and by the State, and that right implies the right of private property, the right to a just and sufficient wage, and the right to rear and educate children. The State must take every precaution to safeguard the family, for that is the basis on which it rests. Any infringement of the rights of man, which is a denial of God's authority, is a destruction of the very right by which it exists.

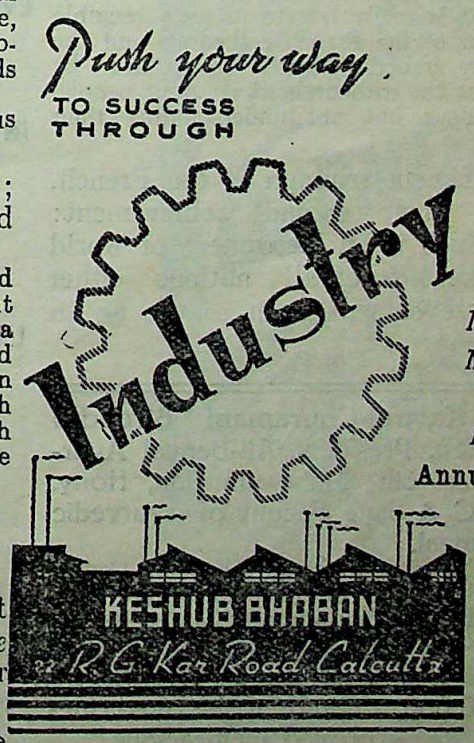
Pakistan Means Continuation of British Rule

In the course of his address delivered at Sir Parshurambhau College, (as published in *The Indian Reader's Digest*) Dr. M. R. Jayakar says:

There is a school of thought which expresses the opinion that if Muslims want Pakistan let us get rid of them by giving it. Are they sure that this severance would appease Muslim League finally? The history of appeasement of the Muslims in the past does not create the hope of a permanent and happy settlement. Gandhiji admitted a division of India as between two brothers, but the Muslim League leader rejected it with scorn. Are we sure that he will not demand a corridor between the north-east and north-west Pakistan to be always kept inviolate and inviolable necessarily by a British guarantee which will have to keep an army of occupation to keep the corridor free of access to Muslims. The Sapru Committee had a sub-committee consisting of Sir H. P. Mody, Dr. John Mathai and Mr. P. R. Sarkar. The first two made a report which makes it clear that Pakistan cannot afford the expense of post-war reconstruction or post-war defence and such post-war expenses will have to be met by Hindustan. If Hindustan does not give this help, Pakistan may claim it from the British or a foreign power.

If the British give it, they will demand guarantees and the old history of the East India Company will be repeated. If a foreign power gives it, it will be for a substantial hold on the affairs of the country. The scheme promises adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards. It is no use being deluded by this talk. If such safeguards can be successfully devised for 45 million non-Muslims in Pakistan, why can't they be devised for 90 million Muslims in India?

The "word mandatory" is used, but who is to enforce the mandate in case of differences If safeguards are broken, a treaty will not save them, because who is to enforce the treaty? If the British come in under guarantee, as the Muslim League leader some times suggests in his speeches, they will demand a guarantee and the history of the past is sure to be repeated. This is the worst feature of the scheme of Pakistan. Rightly examined, it will mean the perpetuation of British domination, whatever professions the sponsors of this scheme may be making today. At the bottom of his idea lies the notion of hostages and reprisals that Pakistan will hold the non-Muslims,



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especially the Hindus, as hostages for the treatment given to 20 million Muslims in Hindustan. It does not take much political foresight to realise that it means perpetual strife and tension and eventually war. It is clear that, whatever the sponsors may say, if the British have to give Pakistan, they will have to give it by force and maintain it by similar force.

The French Contribution to World Culture

Each one of the really great nations, each one really of the spiritually constituted human groups, has something to give to the human spirit considered as a whole. In his article in the *Aryan Path* Denis Saurat speaks of French prose as an "instrument of universality":

The originality of the French up to the fifteenth century is really in their religious architecture. The great achievement of the French after the fifteenth century is in literary prose.

The great Gothic cathedrals created by the French are the Western equivalents of Hindu architecture.

Behind this French contribution to world art was the spirit of the Middle Ages which reached its highest expression in France. The French are the only nation, except perhaps again the Hindus with Asoka, who ever had a saint as a successful king: Saint Louis, Louis the Ninth of the Capetian dynasty is the most splendid human flower of the Middle Ages and his reign represents the one success of Christianity in the political field. In him and in his time emerges the real characteristic of the French spirit—universality. Christianity in this period naively and sincerely believed itself to be the one universal faith and also the one universal system of logic and philosophy. The other nations or races were merely in the dark and had merely to be enlightened. The theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas is in the intellectual field what the reign of Louis the Ninth is in the political field. But, of all the splendours of that period, what is really left to us as a tangible fact is the splendour of the French cathedrals and the philosophy that they embody. Mostly also, it must be confessed, we look at the cathedrals as ignorant people, feeling their splendour but not understanding their meaning.

A more permanent triumph of the French, therefore, is in their second achievement: literary prose, which is an instrument of world culture, which the *elite* of all nations either have learnt to use or will learn to use as an education.

The position of prose writing is somewhat peculiar in the world of the spirit. Real poetry is a direct infusion of the Spirit into human language and conditions, and it cannot be taught.

Prose should be, and good prose is, the clear and exact expression of man's desires. It is, therefore, more difficult for mankind to achieve good prose than to achieve good poetry: in poetry man works with God's help; in prose he is on his own. Yet how necessary it is for man to understand exactly what he wants when he is by himself, away from God, free! Man being a freed individual it is essential to him to come to a clear understanding of himself, with himself. Therefore, prose is an indispensable part of his equipment.

Appropriately, the first real constructive prose in Europe was translated from the Greek. And Amyot's *Lives of Plutarch* marks the grafting of the French tradition upon the Greek achievement. Boileau was to say a century later that there was one thing which passed in art both the ancients and the moderns and that was the French prose style of Pascal in "Les Lettres Provinciales." After Amyot's tuition of Greek art, one of the greatest minds that mankind has ever had, Pascal, put all the power of his creative spirit into the shaping of French prose. After him Moliere, Bossuet, La Bruyere and many other masters polished and refined the instrument. That they succeeded is proved by the fact that what is probably the greatest achievement of the European intellect, Leibniz's *Monadologie*, was written in French in 1714. That the greatest mind of Europe, a Saxon, German-speaking and Latin-writing, should achieve the most perfect expression of his most complicated and subtle thought in French is a culminating fact. And if there were none of the other innumerable reasons, it would be necessary for the world to learn French to have direct access to Leibniz's *Monadologie*. Since in no other language, in no translation, can his exact meaning be understood.

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It will be said : That is too high a model for the common cultured man;—that is true.

But the French instrument was so nearly perfect that it could then also be used by the common man.

Voltaire was the common man, as his protest against Leibniz in *Candide* well shows, and no man has any excuse for not understanding Voltaire. Anatole France is as universally accessible as Voltaire.

It must be pointed out that there is in the world at present no other universal prose—that is to say, no kind of prose that can be truly studied and, if not imitated, at least adapted, by any cultured man in any language in the world. English has an amazing collection of the works of great poets from the time of Chaucer until to-day. English also has an unbelievable accumulation of great prose from Francis Bacon again to the present. But, and this is the important point, each great English master of prose writes his own prose —writes his own English, and it is peculiar to him and you cannot learn to write English prose. Each new writer of prose in English, if he is to be good, is condemned to invent his own art : to create his own instrument. That is the price that the English have paid and are paying for the predominance of their poetry, which overshadows all their achievements, however, great, in prose. But in French literature you go to the poets only for amusement or pleasure or joy. The prose tradition is so continuous, so solid, that poetry has never been allowed to break into it and break it up. For the two solid centuries of their highest culture, the seventeenth and eighteenth, the French have practically no poetry (except as fragmentary illumination in prose writing). Then the forms of mind and thinking of the French were settled and remain now as they were. Therefore any man anywhere who wishes to learn how to write prose must study Pascal, La Bruyere, Voltaire, Stendhal and Anatole France.

Thus we come back to the cathedrals. But there was of course far too much of the world that the cathedral makers did not know about. And far too much of their own thought that the rest of the world could not understand. Their universality was a desire and a dream. So the French spirit turned to the other medium of speech and, as the world evolved and came nearer and nearer to understanding all its parts, in each of its parts, the French produced this new instrument of universality—French prose.

Reminiscences of an Artist

South Verandah : The Last Phase

The following is an extract from *Jorasankor Dharey* by Abanindranath Tagore translated into English form the original Bengali by Kanti Ghosh and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

. . . Mother's time came and she left us for good. Then the call came for Dada, the eldest of us three, and he went away too.

The crowd began to melt away till there were no familiar faces to be seen in our South Verandah. Nor were heard any more the old familiar voices.

Myself was the only one left in that vast solitude —a lonely figure contemplating the ruin of all hopes, unable to shake off the burden of memory. Brother, friends, companions, pupils who used to come there in daily round—all had gone. And in the empty verandah I was left alone—to make toys, to tinker with dry twigs and broken wires—the only diversion left in a drab existence.

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Into that life came Phelabati. She came from nowhere. A speck of child-humanity with no claims to attention.

"Who may you be," I asked.

"I am Phela," she answered.

Only that and nothing more.

"Oh, are you ? You are welcome, my girl."

My welcome was sincere. I was glad. When I am playing with thrown-away things, then comes my Phelabati—the rejected one. (*Phela* literally means "thrown-away".)

"But where are you from, Phelabati ? Where do you live ?"

"Over there—"

And her finger pointed to the crossing of the lane at no great distance.

"And whom have you got at home, Phela ?"

"There's my mother. Her name is Kaumudi."

"And your father's—"

"Basanta."

I was wondering whether this little neighbour of mine was a real fragment of humanity or—a phantom.

"What may you be wanting here, Phela ?" I asked uncertainly.

"Might I play in the verandah for a while ?"

"Why not ?"

She chose her corner and began playing with broken trifles—like myself.

"Will you have some sweets, Phela ?" I ask by and by.

She nods assent. Radhu the maid turns up her nose but she brings the sweets nonetheless and some water in an earthen cup.

Phela eats the sweets, drinks the water and places the empty cup in a corner with gentle care and then resumes her play.

"How did you like the *sandesh*, Phela ?"

"Your sweets are a bit sticky. What my mother gives me are much better—dry and crusty."

And that is that.

She comes daily. I offer her sweets and try to run up an intimacy. She sits in her own corner and I in mine and we both play—with thrown-away trifles. I make toys out of them which fill the small cabinet by my side.

"Shall I dust them for you ?" she asked one day.

She began dusting them every day and would caress them as if they were her living playmates.

"Would you like to have one of these, Phela ?"

"No, what shall I do with them ?"—was her indifferent reply. "I would rather have those small stone pebbles."

"Yes——"

"For my brother to play marbles with." She added promptly.

She would sometimes ask for old newspapers for her father to make paper-bags with for the shop-keepers and occasionally small empty tins for her mother to keep spices in.

Thus she came every day and I got used to her coming. She would approach with stealthy steps dropping from where I never knew.

I only knew she was the playmate of my lonely days. And I was content. She came unbidden, offered herself and asked for nothing in return. She was indeed Phela—a speck of being carelessly thrown into the world, ignored by all, rejected like the broken toys and the torn paper we were playing with. We gathered those trifles and played together—I, an old man and she, a child—in that South Verandah of ours.

She expressed a desire one day to see the inner apartments of the house.

"Would you have them shown to me ?" she asked hesitatingly.

Radhu the maid took her to Parul my daughter-in-law who showed her round and feasted her well.

She had a good look-in. Saw everything with minute care, I was told.

That was her last entry in the South Verandah. And mine too.

I took to bed after that. And in my sick-bed I heard that the house with its South Verandah, laden with the memory of generations, had passed into the hands of Marwaris. I, being an invalid, had been allowed to stay on for a month longer !

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Wavell Proposals

John Haynes Holmes writes in the Editorial Comments in *Unity*, August, 1945 :

What is happening to the new government proposals in India is uncertain as I write. What began as a veritable spate of propaganda news, highly favorable, of course, to the plan offered by Lord Wavell, suddenly shut down into censored silence the moment Indians began to offer criticism. So I do not know what is going on—and I am not much interested either one way or the other. For the British offer is unimportant, and it makes little difference whether it is accepted or not. What it proposes is that the Viceroy's Executive Council be reconstituted so that all the offices save that of Commander-in-Chief be occupied by Indians, these Indians to be chosen by the Viceroy from "leaders of Indian political life", as named or nominated by Indian groups or parties. This sounds like something real—until it is remembered that the so-called power of the Council is anything but real. Under this suggested agreement, the Viceroy is to retain all his present constitutional prerogatives as set forth in the Government of India Act of 1919. This means, among other things, that the Viceroy can veto, at his discretion, all decisions of the Executive Council, and on the other hand, can himself initiate and certify by decree any action of his own. He remains responsible only to the Secretary of State for India in London. The Executive Council, in other words, however reconstituted, is still purely an advisory body, with no real power of its own. So why get excited —least of all imagine that the independence of India is at hand ? The government of the country is as much in British hands as ever, especially in the extensive and populous native states which are not touched by this proposed reform. How little change there is in the situation is shown by the much-touted release of Indian leaders from prison—those heroic men and women who have been held in bondage, without indictment, trial or conviction, in defiance of the Chief Justice's ruling as to the illegality of the whole proceeding, since August, 1942. It is true that a few of the more prominent of these leaders, including Nehru and Azad, have been released. But the great majority of them, numbering thousands, are still behind the bars. Uma Shankar, writing in the *New Leader*, sees "no alternative to acceptance save inactivity or another civil disobedience campaign." But what if it is accepted ? "The cause of Indian independence and freedom is not furthered by it. There will merely be a temporary truce to the struggle against imperialism."

England, Ireland and India

In an article entitled "England, Ireland and India" in *The Catholic World*, Francis McCullagh observes :

Mr. Attlee's greatest asset is his transparent honesty and humility, and before long these qualities may manifest themselves in a way that will swing the British public round to adoration of him. It will then be seen that though he may seem weak, he is not weak. On the questions of India and Ireland he will probably do more good in a day than Mr. Churchill has done in all his life.

In the numerous warnings which he addressed to Eire during the war, Mr. Churchill exhibited himself as a bellowing bully, and, as I shall show later, he had much to do with the partition of that helpless little country after the last war. I will also show, that had he remained in power, he would probably have partitioned India as he partitioned Ireland. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, was to be the Sir Edward Carson of the occasion, and the few thousand Indian Moslems enrolled in Mohammed Ali's fake organization were to carry out, after careful rehearsals, all the Hitleresque liturgy of Carson's "stern and unbending Covenanters," their solemn oath on the Koran, their ceremonial unfurling of the flag of the Prophet (green flag this time, curiously enough; not orange), their stage parades with real rifles and all the rest of their tomfooleries, while Mr. Churchill stood stiffly at the salute as the banners of Islam went past.

The Indian question *must* be tackled, however, for if it is not, it will force itself on the attention of the House as the Irish question forced itself on the House after the last war, and, as Mr. Churchill holds very strong views on India, it will probably be the occasion of the fiercest Parliamentary conflicts of modern times.

Mr. Churchill must have been thinking of India when he emphatically repudiated the Atlantic Charter, soon after signing it, by his famous declaration that he had not become the First Minister of His Majesty's Government in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. This meant that, so long as he was Premier, not an inch of British territory in the Far East would be handed over to the natives who had so long been clamoring for independence, and its importance was enormously increased by the applause with which it was received by the English people and by a large section of the American press.

A hundred other examples of this imperious temper could be given, but I have only space for one. The last time Mahatma Gandhi was in London he was lionized and, though *en deshabille*, as usual, despite the English weather, expected, it was said, to be invited to Buckingham Palace. On hearing this, Churchill who was not in office at the time and did not expect to be ever again in office, publicly expressed his indignation and disgust at the effrontery of "that naked fakir" daring even to think of an audience with the King of England.

All of which goes to show that Mr. Churchill, now seventy-one years of age and more hardened than ever in his imperialism and pride of race, would have been hardly the man to solve the Indian question.

Some thirty years ago when Mr. Asquith introduced his Home Rule Bill which would have placed the Ulster Orangeman on the same level as the Catholic

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Irishman in a common legislature at Dublin, Churchill connived at an illegal conspiracy hatched by personages no less important in the realm than Sir Edward Carson; Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; Field Marshal Lord Kitchener and scores of other officers belonging to the Irish Ascendancy clique, to defy and nullify that Bill by dividing North-East Ulster from the rest of Ireland. Is it not possible that, up to the time of the elections which have thrown them both out of power, he and Mr. Amery Secretary for India, were conniving in the same way at the present amazing defiance of the Moslem Carson, Mohammed Ali Jinnah? Such a gamble would appeal strongly to this descendant of Marlborough, whose whole political life has been a series of gambles.

What a pity he did not try a greater and a nobler gamble, one that would have made England less dependent on Stalin than it is now! He could have imitated the Americans who gave unconditional independence to the Filipinos with the result that the Filipinos fought bravely for them when they were attacked, helped them in every way when they were prisoners, ran an excellent underground service for them during the Japanese occupation, and finally helped them to eject the invaders. What a difference there is between the books written by Carlos Romulo and those written by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru!

This is not the first time that the British have shown a "craven fear of being great." Had they been large-minded enough to give George Washington a commission in their regular army when he asked for it, and treated their American colonies with less injustice, snobbery and distrust there might have been no Saratoga, no Yorktown, no Declaration of Independence, and no Republic of the United States.

By a generous offer to India, Burma and Malaya, Mr. Churchill could have, at one stroke, erased a reproach from the name of his country, raised himself to a pedestal as high as that occupied by Abraham Lincoln, and called into existence an army twice as large as Russia's, an army which would have been strong enough to drive the Japanese out of Burma, Malaya and China, and thus relieve the Americans of a heavy task and spare American mothers the agony of bewailing another million dead.

Indian Students in America

A Staff Correspondent of *America-India Feature and News Service* writes:

For the first time in the history of India, the biggest batch of Indian students arrived in New York on board the M.S. Gripsholm, on the evening of 2nd August, 1945. It carried about seventy students from different parts of India, Bombay alone contributing as many as 40 of them. These included also 13 girl students out of which two will carry on studies in technical subjects. Most of the other girl students will either study Sociology, Domestic Science or Psychology. Almost all the boy students will carry on technical studies. Quite a number of students will be studying Chemical Engineering, and a few will study Electrical Engineering or Aeronautical Engineering. A few are interested in Bio-physics, Bio-chemistry, Medicine and Surgery. As many as 30 students will be going to the Mid-western Universities, Michigan University alone will take as many as 15 boys and 5 girls. Out of the 25 students going to the various Eastern Universities, 10 will stay in New York studying either in the Columbia or the New York University and a few will go to Boston, Cornell, Ohio and Pittsburgh. Of the 10 students who will be going to the Western Universities, 5 will be studying in Minnesota alone.

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of India, the Hindusthan Students Association, the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York, the Watumull Foundation and the Committee of Friendly Relation among Foreign Students took care of the students immediately they got down from the boat and arranged their accommodation in the different hotels, Y.M.C.A.'s and the International House.

At a meeting of the newly arrived students held on the 3rd August in the Home Room of the International House, Probodh Mittra on behalf of the Indian students in America and Mr. Sundaram, the Educational Adviser to the Government of India welcomed the new arrivals. Dr. Tarak Nath Das of the New York City University and one of the most prominent oldest Indian resident of the United States, in an inspiring speech frequently interrupted by loud applause reminded the boys and girls of the vast responsibilities that are hanging ahead for them to face. He reminded them of India's appalling poverty and told them that India can not afford to pay for their high-priced western education, if they are not going to pay back to their motherland in hundred-folds what they are spending here for their education. This he emphasized must be in the shape of concrete service to the country by increasing the standard of national efficiency by removing social distinctions, false sense of prestige and her ultimate slavery. From his experience of work among the students all over the world Professor Das stressed upon the students the need of organizing among themselves, a strong and co-operative body as long as they remain in the United States as students. He said that each one of them are little ambassadors of India and whatever they do and tell the people of this country will go to form the opinion of America towards India.

While deploring the large onrush of unqualified or immatured students, he said that all those rich parents of India who are encouraging to send their wards to foreign countries for education even though they are immature, are doing a definite disservice to the country. They should know, he continued, that the money that they are spending or rather wasting in this way, which they think belongs to them, belongs really to those hungry and toiling millions of India who hardly get enough to keep themselves from starvation.

Swami Nikhilananda of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York also invited the students to participate in a variety entertainment that was given by the centre on his behalf by welcoming this new batch of boys and girls from India.

The old and new students assembled in a general meeting convened by Probodh Mittra of Columbia University to consider plans and proposals for the reorganisation of the Hindusthan Students Association. Probodh Mittra (Columbia University, New York), Mrs. W. Safia Ahmed (Columbia), Mrs. Pritha Sellizi (Teachers' College, Columbia), Allen Currimbhoy (Columbia) and G. B. Pant (Harvard) were elected to form a central executive committee for the All-America Hindusthan Students Association. Probodh Mittra, the Convener of the Association was also elected the corresponding secretary for India and the outside world. It was decided that all those Indian students who wish to get any information or help in the way of their admission to any educational institution in the United States should write personally to him, care of Columbia University, New York, 27, N.Y., U.S.A. Also all those persons and organizations who want to get any information of the Indian students in America or wish to co-operate in their cause should communicate with him in the above address. Persons wishing to get information by air mail or cable must remit the cost in advance. It was decided also to hold regional conferences and conventions during vacations and to propagate Indian news, Indian culture and Indian arts in America.

On behalf of the Watumull Foundation a lunch was given in the Ceylon-India Restaurant to the Indian students. Prominent among those who spoke were Dr. Tarak Nath Das, Dr. V. Kokatnoor, Dr. Krishnalal Sridharani, Professor Schyler (Columbia), Mr. Overtone (Michigan) and Mr. Sundaram, the Education Adviser to the Government of India in Washington. Miss Josephine McLeod, the octogenarian old lady, and only living western associate of Swami Vivekananda blessed the boys and girls. Mrs. Tarak Nath Das also gave some practical suggestions to the boys and girls for living in America.

The Indianization of China

Under the above caption in *China*, Chen Han-seng reviews the book entitled *A Short History of the Chinese People* by L. Carrington Goodrich, published by Harper & Bros., New York and London. In the course of the article he says :

Professor Goodrich's contribution relates to the period of A.D. 200 to 600, during which Buddhism came to its own in China. Readers should feel grateful to him for his emphasis on this period and his remarkable diligence in mustering the historical data. To acquire a good understanding of this period, however, readers should also read Hu Shih's lecture on "the Indianization of China," delivered at the tercentenary celebration of the founding of Harvard University. Hu Shih and Goodrich supplement each other on this subject, as the former has abstracted a set of sociological formula and the latter has collected data to support it, both are necessary in the study of history.

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Buddhism gave to China all that India and the neighbouring lands which it had already won had to give. Thus, Hu Shih ably summarizes the Indianization of China as follows : "The ideas of the world as unreal, of life as painful and empty, of sex as unclean, of the family as an impediment to spiritual attainment, of celibacy and mendicancy as necessary to the Buddhist order, of almsgiving as a supreme form of merit, of love extended to all sentient beings, of vegetarianism, of rigid forms of words and spells as having miraculous power, these are only a few drops in that vast flux of Indian religious and cultural invasion in the third century." Hu Shih formulates the four successive stages of Indianization as wholesale adoption, official persecution, domestication and appropriation. These have been adequately described by Goodrich.

From the second to the seventh century, of these who served in China and helped in the translation of Buddhist texts, 76 came from India and Ceylon, 30 from Perthia and other regions in western Asia, 16 from Khotan, Kucha and other regions in centr. Asia, and 2 from Java and Cambodia. This was of course only a fraction of the total Buddhist missionary population in China. The tide from peninsular and central Asia was overwhelming; and by the third century the Chinese people both in north and in south began to imbibe the spirit of Buddhism. In about 220 a temple capable of holding 3,000 people was completed in Hsuchow, northern Kiangsu with a gilt statue of Buddha. The donor of the *stupa* distributed food for the multitude at the temple, and provided them with straw matting which covered half a mile on each side. An Indian in 250 made the first translation of the 250 articles in the monastic rules, evidently complying with the growing demand of Chinese congregations. By 519 the famous Buddhist Hui Chiao compiled the "Kao Seng Chuan", containing biographies of 500 monks, both Chinese and foreign.

A Chinese monk left in 259 for Khotan, where he remained until his death half a century later. He was the forerunner of some 168 known individuals who made such pilgrimages between 259 and 790. Of these, the most famous ones were Fa Hsien in 405, Hui Sheng in 518, Hsuan-tsang in 630, and I-Chiang in 690. During the period of 965 to 980 no less than 157 Chinese monks visited Gandhara, Magadha and Nepal.

How could there be such wholesale adoption of Buddhism ? Hu Shih has not dealt with this point in his lecture, but Professor Goodrich has given it a correct explanation. "The growing anarchy of the third century must have brought about widespread destruction of libraries, schools and places of worship, and scant opportunity for men to be trained in literature, history, law and ritual. The civil examinations, the backbone of the Confucian system of correct government, partially collapsed." (p. 69) "The Chinese torn and embittered by the sectional warfare at home and probably also disgusted at the depths to which official morals had fallen, were ready to welcome a faith that brought comfort in a time of stress and seemed to answer every need." (p. 61) "One reason for the striking success of the Buddhist missionaries was probably the fact that they captured both the minds and the hearts of the Chinese without resort to force." (p. 62).

This ill-digested alien religion alienated the sympathy of the more nationalstic critics in the country, and anti-Buddhist persecution began in the fifth century. In 446 the Taoists proscribed Buddhism in the northern court of Wei; in 510 a high official of the Liang, by the name of Fan Chen, wrote an essay entitled "Destructibility of the Soul"; in early Tang the official feeling ran so high that the Buddhist pilgrim Hsuan-tsang had to leave the capital, Ch'ang-an, secretly for India in September 629; by 714 no one of "good family" was permitted to have any contact with Buddhist or Taoist priests, and in that year 12,000 monks and nuns were secularized by the government decree.

Han Yu, a staunch Confucian scholar and essayist, spared no energy in condemning Buddhism. By the government decree of 845, undoubtedly under his influence, 4,600 temples and 40,000 shrines were destroyed and 260,500 monks and nuns secularized. Millions of acres of arable land which used to maintain the livelihood of Buddhist priests, were confiscated. Images of Buddha made of gold, silver, jade and other precious materials were handed over to the board of treasury. The bronze images were put into the charge of the superintendent of salt and iron, who smelt them for the minting of coins. The iron images were given into the charge of the prefectural magistrates, who cast them into agricultural implements. When the last and most severe persecution came in 955, some 30,340 monasteries were destroyed, only 2,700 of the most artistic ones were spared.

The fact that in 1021 there were no less than 397,645 monks and 61,240 nuns proves how well Buddhism in China has survived all persecutions. By this time China had already domesticated Buddhism. Taoism, with its philosophical naturalism and nihilism so close to a number of ideas of philosophical Buddhism, was instrumental for this domestication. In a period when the official religion—Confucianism—was in disrepute, the two parallel movements had much in common. They tended to enrich each other, and Buddhism, incomparably the richer, was the greater giver. It soon became a fashion to translate Buddhist terminology into words bodily taken from the sayings of the Taoist thinkers. As Hu Shih pointed out, such borrowed terms are never exact. *Nirvana*, for example, was not *wu-wei*, and an *arhat* was not a *shien-jen*. "But that was the best that could be done in the early stages of intellectual and philosophical borrowings."

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Taoistic interpretations furnished the bridge of cultural transmission and made the new ideas of India more easily acceptable to the Chinese people. In fact the Indian priesthood gradually became the model for the Taoist, except for the Buddhist requirement of celibacy. Finally, the doctrines of the transmigration of the soul and of casual retribution through successive existence were accepted, and India's 33 heavens and 18 hells were taken over and given Chinese names and Chinese presiding deities.

Goodrich tells the story of a dispute between the Taoists and the Buddhists, which also illustrates how the process of domestication went on. "Popular belief held that after Lao-tzu (the founder of Taoism) supposedly left China he went among the barbarians in the west and became the Buddha. One Buddhist, finally deciding to spike this legend, wrote *The Record of Central Asia,* in which he maintained that Lao-tzu had come to Kashmir and paid homage to a statue of the Buddha. A Taoist who refused to accede to this assumption of priority rewrote this book about A.D. 300 under a different title: *The Conversion of the Barbarians.* According to it, Lao-tzu went to India and there became the teacher of Sakyamuni." (p. 67)

Buddhism in China later broke up into many sects, three of which have been most outstanding. These are the vulgar sect of Amidist, the scholastic sect of Tien-tai, and the philosophic sect of Dhyana. The Amidist is the only Buddhist sect that persists today among the common people in China. It is also called by the name of Lotus or The Pure Land. Founded by Hui Yuan (334-416) it has blended together all the Chinese, Indian, Nepalese and Iranian influences. It teaches reliance on faith rather than action, and faith is to be demonstrated by the constant invocation of the names of Amitabha. It was a significant fact that Hui Yuan was formerly a Taoist who continued to use Taoist figures of speech after his conversion. With the Amidist Indian psalmody was particularly well developed.

Tien-tai was eclipsed by the Dhyana, but it still exists. Founded by Chih Kai (538-527) and Hui Sau (d. in 577) it stresses the importance of studying the sacred canon. "The mind of Buddha is in everything, but instruction is imperative if one is to be aware of it and able to put it to serve." (p. 104). But this sect is not one-sided, for it also involves such diverse elements as ecstasy, ritualism and self-discipline.

In contrast to the scholastic sect of Tien-tai is the meditative sect of the Dhyana, which name has been translated into Chinese as *Ch'an* or *Zen.* Often it is called the Chinese Zennism. It was founded by Tao Sheng (397-434), under the influence of the famous Indian translator Kumarajiva (344-413) who had studied the Hinayana at Kashmir and the Mahayana at Kashgat and Kucha. Tao Sheng believed in "sudden enlightenment" and Hui Neng (d. in 713), the founder of Southern Zennism, further emphasized the idea of "Buddhahood within you."

"The whole Zen movement from 700 to 1100", said Hu Shih, "was a revolt against Buddhist verbalism and scholasticism, but it was also a movement to Sinicize Buddhism by sweeping away all its scholastic verbiage and giving special prominence to the idea of salvation through one's own intellectual liberation and insight." In the opinion of Goodrich, Zennism (Chinese for Dhyana) drew heavily from Taoist tenets and practices and probably represented the finest flowering of Indian culture in Chinese soil. (p. 67) At any rate, by 11th century the process of domestication was complete. Buddhism in China was nearer to primitive Buddhism than any Hinayana or Mahayana sects had ever been.

When our author states that the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) was notable for the fusion of Buddhist and Confucian thought and for Buddhism's gradual subsidence from its high place as the most inspiring influence in Chinese life (p. 155), he does not quite

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realize that Neo-Confucianism, as expounded by Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and other Rational Philosophers, was simply an appropriation of Buddhist thought. Chu Hsi. the last and greatest teacher and scholar of the Neo-Confucianists was deeply affected by Buddhist and Taoist teachings during his formative years. He accepted the doctrine of the universality of all existence, the idea of universal reason and of salvation through reason and righteousness. "In every human mind there is the knowing faculty; and in everything there is the reason." He secularized much of the Buddhist ideals of Divine Reason and of suppression of human desire. "Death by starvation is a very important thing." Thus, that human and commonsense atmosphere so frequently felt in the writings of Confucius and Mencius, was done away with by these Rational Philosophers.

After 1158 Chu Hsi devoted himself largely to developing this Neo-Confucianism in voluminous writings. As these writings became required reading for every literate Chinese, after the 14th century, China was truly Indianized. Whereas Pre-Buddhist China believed in fate and predetermination and lived in a simple and natural humaneness, Post-Buddhist China aspires after the indestructible soul, believes in the karma, retribution and salvation, and attempts to live with a feeling of moral austerity and self-righteousness.

Because of the extensive Buddhist pilgrimages both in and out of China, throughout the centuries, Indian cosmology, mathematics, music and medicine have been introduced into China. Long, long before the Indian National Congress Medical Mission to China, medicine played a conspicuous part in Buddhist proselytism in China. Jivaka effected a number of miraculous cures. One of his disciples, an Indian, even had women patients in Loyang. (p. 88) Indian architecture was adopted with the construction of numerous stupas along with carvings similar to those preserved in Taxila and Peshawar. Needless to say, Buddhism has affected Chinese language and literature. From the polysyllabic Sanskrit some 6,000 to 7,000 monosyllabic Chinese terms have been formulated. "The story of the wanderings of Hsuan-tsang had such great appeal to the imagination of romanticists and playwrights that legends based on it have been told and acted countless times. At the hands of Buddhists and Taoists, the short story, heretofore (A.D. 650) concerned solely with fairies and magic, began to deal with everyday life and even with love, and many of them were written in the vernacular". (p. 136) Professor Goodrich's contribution towards the understanding of the period of 200 to 600 is highly praiseworthy. After reading his book one is able to know how various ideas and institutions have travelled from India to China—from dice gaming, elephant chess, puppetry and polo, to Buddhism.

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